AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN THREE VOLUMES

II

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CONSTANTIUS II.

(Reproduced from the plate in *Roman Art* by kind permission of Mrs. Strong.)

From a bust in the Palace of the Conservatori. For a description of Constantius see xxi. **16,** 19; cf. xvi. **10,** 10, and xxi. **16,** 7. For another bust supposed to represent him see *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* for 1932 (pp. 135–138).

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS

II

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PREFACE

In punctuation I have perhaps deviated more than in vol. i. from Clark's system (see Preface to vol. i.), especially when one metrical *clausula* is immediately followed by another consisting of a single word.

In his description of natural phenomena, such as that of the rainbow in xx. 11, 26 ff., Ammianus is often inexact and sometimes not clear. It has seemed best to try to translate what he says, without attempting to reconcile his statements with those of modern times, or with those of the more enlightened Greek and Roman writers.

Inconsistency in the location of places (cf. vol. i., p. 583, note) is sometimes due to errors on the part of Ammianus, more frequently to changes in the boundaries and the names of the provinces in his time.

Ammianus often uses *comes*, "count" without further designations which identify the nature of office; in such instances it seems best to give the word its actual meaning. This applies with greater force to *dux*, of which "duke" is seldom, if ever, a satisfactory rendering. See vol. i., p. xxxiv, note 3, and E. von Nischer in *Amer. Jour. of Phil.*, liii., pp. 25 ff.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

Philadelphia, *June*, 1936.

AMMIANI MARCELLINI
RERUM GESTARUM
LIBRI QUI SUPERSUNT

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LIBER XX[1]

1. *Lupicinus, magister armorum, adversus Scotorum et Pictorum incursiones in Britannias cum exercitu mittitur.*

1. Haec per Illyricum perque Orientem rerum series fuit. Consulatu vero Constantii deciens, terque Iuliani, in Britanniis cum Scottorum Pictorumque gentium ferarum excursus,[2] rupta quiete condicta, loca limitibus vicina vastarent, et implicaret formido provincias, praeteritarum cladium congerie fessas, hiemem agens apud Parisios Caesar distractusque in sollicitudines varias, verebatur ire subsidio transmarinis, ut rettulimus ante fecisse Constantem, ne rectore vacuas relinqueret Gallias, Alamannis ad saevitiam etiam tum incitatis et bella. 2. Ire igitur ad haec ratione vel vi[3] componenda,

[1] In the critical notes some additional names which occur frequently have been abbreviated: Bent(ley) Corn(elissen), C. F. W. M(üller), Momm(sen), etc.

[2] *excursus*, Val.; *excursu*, V. [3] *vi*, added by Val.; V omits.

THE SURVIVING BOOKS OF THE HISTORY OF AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS

BOOK XX

1. ***Lupicinus, master of arms, is sent with an army to Britain, to resist the inroads of the Scots and Picts.***

1. Such was the course of events throughout Illyricum and the Orient. But in Britain in the tenth consulship of Constantius and the third of Julian raids of the savage tribes of the Scots and the Picts, who had broken the peace that had been agreed upon, were laying waste the regions near the frontiers, so that fear seized the provincials, wearied as they were by a mass of past calamities. And Julian, who was passing the winter in Paris and was distracted amid many cares, was afraid to go to the aid of those across the sea, as Constans once did (as I have told),[1] for fear of leaving Gaul without a ruler at a time when the Alamanni were already roused to rage and war. 2. Therefore he decided that Lupicinus,[2] who was at that time

[1] In one of the lost books; it was in 343.

[2] Cf. xviii. 2, 7.

Lupicinum placuit, ea tempestate magistrum armorum, bellicosum sane et castrensis rei peritum, sed supercilia erigentem ut cornua,[1] et de tragico (quod aiunt) cothurno strepentem, super quo[2] diu ambigebatur, avarus esset potius an crudelis. 3. Moto igitur velitari auxilio, Aerulis scilicet et Batavis, numerisque Moesiacorum duobus, adulta hieme dux ante dictus Bononiam venit, quaesitisque navigiis, et omni imposito milite, observato flatu secundo ventorum, ad Rutupias sitas ex adverso defertur, petitque Lundinium, ut exinde suscepto pro rei qualitate consilio, festinaret ocius ad procinctum.

2. *Ursicinus, magister peditum praesentalis, calumniis appetitus discingitur.*

1. Quae cum[3] ita geruntur,[4] post Amidae oppugnationem Ursicinum ad commilitium principis ut peditum magistrum reversum, (successisse enim eum Barbationi praediximus), obtrectatores excipiunt, primo disseminantes mordaces susurros, dein propalam ficta crimina subnectentes. 2. Quibus imperator assensus, ex opinione pleraque aestimans, et insidiantibus patens, Arbitionem et Florentium officiorum magistrum quaesitores dederat spectaturos, quas ob res oppidum sit excisum. 3. Quibus

[1] *ut cornua*, EBG; *incongrue*, Corn.; *cornuae et*, V. [2] *quo*, T²A; *quod*, V. [3] *cum*, V; *dum*, Clark. [4] *geruntur*, NBG; *gererentur* Kiessling, Pighius; *agerentur*, E; *genrentur*, V¹; *genruntur* V².

[1] Cf. xvi. 10, 12, *elatus in arduum supercilium*.

[2] A tribe of Gothic origin which settled in Gaul; associated with the Batavi also in xx, 4, 2; xxvii. 8, 7.

commander-in-chief, should be sent to settle the troubles either by argument or by force; he was indeed a warlike man and skilled in military affairs, but one who raised his brows like horns[1] and ranted in the tragic buskin (as the saying is), and about whom men were long in doubt whether he was more covetous or more cruel. 3. Therefore, taking the light-armed auxiliaries, to wit the Aeruli,[2] the Batavians, and two companies of Moesians, in the dead of winter the leader aforesaid came to Boulogne, and after procuring ships and embarking all his troops, he waited for a favourable breeze and then sailed to Richborough, which lay opposite, and went on to London, intending there to form his plans according to the situation of affairs and hasten quickly to take the field.

2. *Ursicinus, commander of the infantry at the emperor's court, is assailed by calumnies and cashiered.*

1. While this was going on, Ursicinus, after the storming of Amida, had returned to the emperor's service as commander of the infantry; for, as I have said, he succeeded Barbatio.[3] There he was met by detractors, who at first spread whispered slanders, then openly added false charges. 2. These the emperor, since he judged most matters according to his prejudices and was ready to listen to secret attackers, took seriously and appointed Arbitio and Florentius,[4] master of the offices, to investigate as judges the reasons for the destruction of Amida. 3. These

[3] See xviii. 5, 5. [4] Son of Nigrinianus; cf. xv. 5, 12.

apertas probabilesque refutantibus causas, veritisque ne offenderetur Eusebius, cubiculi tunc praepositus, si documenta suscepissent perspicue demonstrantia, Sabiniani pertinaci ignavia haec accidisse, quae contigerunt, a veritate detorti, inania quaedam, longeque a negotio distantia, scrutabantur.

4. Qua iniquitate percitus qui audiebatur, "Etsi me" inquit "despicit imperator, negotii tamen ea est magnitudo, ut non nisi iudicio principis nosci possit et vindicari; sciat tamen velut quodam praesagio, quod dum maeret super his quae apud Amidam gesta amendata[1] didicit fide, dumque ad spadonum arbitrium trahitur, defrustandae Mesopotamiae proximo vere ne ipse quidem cum exercitus robore omni, opitulari poterit praesens."

5. Relatis adiectisque cum interpretatione maligna compluribus, iratus ultra modum Constantius, nec discusso negotio, nec patefieri quae scientiam eius latebant, permissis, appetitum calumniis, deposita militia digredi iussit ad otium, Agilone ad eius locum immodico saltu promoto, ex Gentilium et[2] Scutariorum tribuno.

3. *Defectus Solis: et de duobus Solibus; ac de causis defectuum Solis et Lunae; deque variis Lunae mutationibus et figuris.*

1. Eodem tempore per Eoos tractus caelum subtextum caligine cernebatur obscura, et a primo

[1] On this word see T.L.L., s.v.
[2] *et* added by Gardt.; V omits, def. by Pighius.

[1] See xiv. 7, 9, note 3.

men rejected the evident and plausible reasons, and fearing that Eusebius, then head chamberlain, would take offence if they admitted evidence which clearly showed that what had happened was the result of the persistent inaction of Sabinianus, they turned from the truth and examined into trivial matters far remote from the business in hand.

4. The accused, exasperated at this injustice, said: "Although the emperor despises me, the importance of the present business is such, that it cannot be examined into and punished, except by the judgement of the prince; yet let him know, as if from the words of a seer, that so long as he grieves over what he has learned on no good authority to have happened at Amida, and so long as he is swayed by the will of eunuchs, not even he in person with all the flower of his army will be able next spring to prevent the dismemberment of Mesopotania."

5. When this had been reported and much had been added in a malicious light, Constantius was angered beyond measure; and without sifting the matter or allowing the details of which he was ignorant to be explained, he ordered the victim of the calumnies to give up his command in the army and go into retirement. And by an extraordinary advancement Agilo, a former tribune of the household troops and of the targeteers,[1] was promoted to his place.

3. *An eclipse of the sun; about two suns; the causes of eclipses of the sun and the moon; about the various changes and phases of the moon.*

1. At that same time, throughout the regions of the East the heaven was seen to be overcast with

aurorae exortu ad usque meridiem, intermicabant iugiter stellae; hisque terroribus accedebat, quod cum lux caelestis operiretur, e mundi conspectu penitus lance abrepta, defecisse diutius solem pavidae mentes hominum aestimabant; primo attenuatum in lunae corniculantis effigiem, deinde in speciem auctum semenstrem, posteaque in integrum restitutum. 2. Quod alias non evenit ita perspicue, nisi cum post inaequales cursus iter[1] menstruum lunae ad idem[2] revocatur initium, certis temporum intervallis, id est cum in domicilio eiusdem signi tota reperitur luna sub sole, liniamentis obiecta rectissimis, atque in his paulisper consistit minutis, quae geometrica ratio partium partes appellat. 3. Ac licet utriusque sideris conversiones et motus, ut scrutatores causarum intellegibilium adverterant, in unum eundemque finem, lunari cursu impleto, perenni distinctione conveniunt, tamen sol non semper his diebus obducitur, sed cum luna e regione (velut libramento quodam igneo) orbi et aspectui nostro opponitur media. 4. Ad summam tum sol occultatur, splendore suppresso, cum ipse et lunaris globus astrorum omnium infimus, parili[3] comitatu

[1] *iter*, Val.; *inter*, V. [2] *idem*, G; *id*, V. [3] *infimus parili*, G; *infimis parilis*, V.

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[1] I.e. that the sun had disappeared for good and all.
[2] See note 2, p. 10, § 4, below.
[3] I.e. the full moon; cf. § 7, below.
[4] I.e. parts of degrees, or minutes; cf. Pliny, *N.H.* ii. 48, *scripulis partium*.
[5] The natural philosophers.
[6] At the end of each lunar month.

dark mist, through which the stars were visible continually from the first break of day until noon. It was an additional cause of terror when the light of heaven was hidden and its orb removed utterly from the sight of the world, that the timorous minds of men thought that the darkening of the sun lasted too long;[1] but it thinned out at first into the form of the crescent moon, then growing to the shape of the half-moon, and was finally fully restored. 2. This phenomenon never takes place so clearly as when the moon, after its shifting courses,[2] brings back its monthly journey to the same starting-point after fixed intervals of time; that is to say, when the entire moon,[3] in the abode of the same sign of the zodiac, is found in a perfectly straight line directly under the sun, and for a brief time stands still in the minute points which the science of geometry calls parts of parts.[4] 3. And although the revolutions and movements of both heavenly bodies, as the searchers[5] for intelligible causes had observed, after the course of the moon is completed,[6] meet at one and the same point always at the same distance from each other,[7] yet the sun is not always eclipsed at such times, but only when the moon (by a kind of fiery plumb-line)[8] is directly opposite the sun and interposed between its orb and our vision. 4. In short, the sun is hidden and his brightness suppressed, when he himself and the orb of the moon, the lowest of all the heavenly bodies, accompanying

[7] I.e. are in conjunction.
[8] According to Clark's punctuation, based upon metrical *clausulae* (Introd., p. xxii); but *igneo* seems to be more naturally taken with *orbi*.

obtinentes circulos proprios, salvaque ratione altitudinis interiectae, iunctim locati, ut scienter et decore Ptolemaeus exponit, ad dimensiones venerint, quas[1] ἀναβιβάζοντας et καταβιβάζοντας ἐκλειπτικοὺς συνδέσμους (coagmenta videlicet defectiva.) Graeco dictitamus[2] sermone. Et si contigua eisdem iuncturis praestrinxerint spatia, dilutior erit defectus. 5. Si vero articulis ipsis inhaeserint, qui coactius ascensus vinciunt et descensus, offunditur densioribus tenebris caelum, ut crassato aere ne proxima quidem et apposita cernere queamus.

6. Sol autem geminus ita videri existimatur, si erecta[3] solito celsius nubes, aeternorumque ignium propinquitate collucens, orbis alterius claritudinem tamquam e speculo puriore formaverit.

7. Nunc veniamus ad lunam. Apertum et evidentem ita demum sustinet luna defectum, cum pleno lumine rotundata, solique contraria, ab eius orbe centum octoginta partibus (id est signo septimo) disparatur. Et quamquam hoc per omne plenilunium semper eveniat, non semper deficit tamen. 8. Sed quoniam circa terrenam mobilitatem locata, et a caelo totius pulchritudinis extima, non numquam ferienti se subserit lanci, obiectu metae noctis

[1] *quas*, Novák ; *quos*, V. [2] *dictitamus*, Clark, c.c. ; *dictitant*, G ; *dictitata*, V. [3] *erecta*, V ; *euecta*, Gardt.

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[1] *Μαθηματικὴ Σύνταξις*, vi. 6.

[2] "Ascending and descending ecliptic nodes." The moon in its course shifts from one side to the other of the ecliptic, or sun's course (see § 2, above). The nodes are the points where the moon passes the ecliptic; the node where she passes from the south to the north side is called

each other and each keeping its proper course, maintaining the relation of height between them and being in conjunction, as Ptolemy wisely and elegantly expresses it[1] have come to the points which in Greek we call ἀναβιβάζοντας and καταβιβάζοντας ἐκλειπτικοὶ σύνδεσμοι[2] (that is, eclipse nodes). And if they merely graze the spaces adjacent to these nodes, the eclipse will be partial. 5. If, on the other hand, they stand in the nodes themselves which closely unite the ascent and the descent, the heaven will be overcast with thicker darkness, so that because of the density of the air we cannot see even objects which are near and close at hand.

6. Now it is thought that two suns are seen, if a cloud, raised higher than common and shining brightly from its nearness to the eternal fires,[3] reflects a second brilliant orb, as if from a very clear mirror.

7. Let us now turn to the moon. Then only does she suffer a clear and evident eclipse, when, rounded out with her full light and opposite the sun, she is distant from its orb by 180 degrees (i.e. is in the seventh sign).[4] But although this happens at every full moon, yet there is not always an eclipse. 8. But since the moon is situated near the movement of the earth, and is the most remote from heaven of all that celestial beauty,[5] she sometimes puts herself directly under the disc[6] that strikes upon her, and

"ascending," that where she changes from north to south, "descending."

[3] I.e. the sun. [4] Of the Zodiac.

[5] I.e. is nearer the earth than the other heavenly bodies.

[6] The sun.

in conum desinentis angustum, latet parumper umbrata, tumque nigrantibus involvitur globis, si sol ut sphaerae inferioris curvamine circumfusus, mole obsistente terrena, radiis eam suis illustrare non possit, quam numquam habere proprium lumen, opiniones variae collegerunt.

9. Et cum[1] ad idem signum aequis partibus soli concurrerit, obscuratur (ut dictum est) penitus hebetato candore, Graece σύνοδος dicitur. 10. Nasci autem putatur et tunc lunae[2] cum parva declinatione velut e perpendiculo, superiectum gerit[3] solem. Exortus vero eius adhuc gracilescens, primitus mortalitati videtur, cum ad secundum relicto sole migraverit signum. Progressa itaque porrectius, iamque abunde nitens cornutae habitu μηνοειδής est appellata. Cum autem sole longo coeperit interstitio summoveri, et ad quartum[4] pervenerit signum, radiis eius ad se conversis, maius concipit lumen, et fit Graeco sermone διχόμηνις, quae forma semiorbem ostendit. 11. Procedens deinde iam disiunctissime, quintoque[5] signo arrepto, figuram

[1] *et cum . . . gerit*, added by V[2] in margin. [2] *et tunc lunae*, Her., Clark; *mene*, BG; *tunc nae*, V[2]. [3] *egerit*, Clark; *gerit*, V[2]. [4] *quartum*, Val.; *quintum*, V. [5] *disiunctissime quintoque*, Val.; *disiunctissimo*, V.

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[1] I.e. the shadow cast by the earth; *meta* refers to the shape of the shadow; cf. Cic., *De Div.* ii. 6, 17, *quando illa . . . incurrat in umbram terrae, quae est meta noctis*; *Nat. Deor.* ii. 40, 103.

[2] "Conjunction"; cf. Plut., *Quaest. Rom.* 12, *σύνοδος ἐκλειπτικὴ σελήνης πρὸς ἥλιον*. That is, the time between

is overshadowed and hidden for a time by the interposition of the goal of darkness ending in a narrow cone;[1] and then she is wrapped in masses of darkness, when the sun, as if encompassed by the curve of the lower sphere, cannot light her with its rays, since the mass of the earth is between them; for that she has no light of her own has been assumed on various grounds.

9. And when under the same sign she meets the sun in a straight line, she is obscured (as was said) and her brightness is wholly dimmed; and this in Greek is called the moon's σύνοδος.[2] 10. Now she is thought to be born,[3] when she has the sun above her with a slight deviation from the plumb-line, so to speak. But her rising, which is still very slender, first appears to mortals when she has left the sun and advanced to the second sign. Then having progressed farther and now having abundant light, she appears with horns and is called μηνοειδής.[4] But when she begins to be separated from the sun by a long distance and has arrived at the fourth sign and the sun's rays are turned towards her, she gains greater brilliance, and is called in the Greek tongue διχόμηνις,[5] a form which shows a half-circle. 11. Then, proceeding to the greatest distance and attaining the fifth sign, she shows the figure called

two "new moons"; really, the last appearance of the waning moon, and the first of the actual new moon.

[3] I.e. it is "new moon."

[4] The crescent moon; *μηνοειδής* means "in the form of a crescent"; cf. Hdt. viii. 15.

[5] The half-moon; *διχόμηνις* means "dividing the month"; cf. Lat. *Idus*, to which some give that derivation, wrongly.

monstrat amphicyrti, utrimque prominentibus gibbis. E regione vero cum normaliter steterit contra, lumine pleno fulgebit, domicilium septimi retinens signi, et in eodem tum etiam agens, paululumque progressa, minuitur, quem habitum vocamus ἀπόκρουσιν, et usque[1] easdem formas repetit senescendo, traditurque doctrina multiplici congruente, non nisi tempore intermenstrui deficere visam usquam lunam.

12. Quod autem solem nunc in aethere, nunc in mundo inferiore,[2] versari[3] praediximus, sciendum est siderea corpora (quantum ad universitatem pertinet) nec occidere nec oriri, sed ita videri nostris obtutibus, constitutis in terra, spiritus cuiusdam interni motu suspensa: rerumque magnitudini instar exigui subditum[4] puncti, nunc caelo infixas suspicere stellas, quarum ordo est sempiternus, aliquotiens humana visione languente, discedere suis sedibus arbitrari. Verum ad instituta iam revertamur.

[1] *et usque*, Her.; *atque* A; G omits; *absque*, B; *absque ea idem*, V. [2] *inferiore*, Val.; *interiore*, V. [3] *versari*, Bent.; *cursare*, G; *cursari*, V. [4] *subditum*, Gutschmid; *subditam*, V.

amphicyrtos,[1] and has humps on both sides. But when she has taken a place directly opposite the sun she will gleam with full light, making her home in the seventh sign; and still keeping her place in that same sign, but advancing a little she grows smaller, the process which we call ἀπόκρουσις[2]; and she repeats the same forms as she grows old,[3] and it is maintained by the unanimous learning of many men that the moon is never seen in eclipse except at the time of her mid-course.[4]

12. But when we said that the sun had its course now in the ether and now in the world below,[5] it must be understood that the heavenly bodies (so far as the universe is concerned) neither set nor rise, but that they seem to do so to an eyesight whose fixed situation is on the earth; this is kept hanging in space by some inner force and in its relation to the universe is like a tiny point; and that now we seem to see the stars, whose order is eternal, fixed in the sky, and often through the imperfection of human vision we think that they leave their places. But let us now return to our subject.

[1] The gibbous moon; ἀμφίκυρτος means "curved on each side, gibbous."
[2] Waning. [3] But in inverse order.
[4] That is, at the full moon.
[5] That is, below our horizon and on the other side of the world.

4. *Iulianus Caesar a militibus Gallicanis, quos Constantius ipsi detrahi et in Orientem adversas Persas transferri iusserat, Lutetiae Parisiorum, ubi hiemabat, per vim Augustus appellatur.*

1. Properantem Constantium Orienti ferre suppetias, turbando prope diem excursibus Persicis, ut perfugae concinentes exploratoribus indicabant, urebant Iuliani virtutes,[1] quas per ora gentium diversarum fama celebrior effundebat, magnorum eius laborum factorumque vehens adoreas celsas, post Alamanniae quaedam regna prostrata, receptaque oppida Gallicana, ante direpta a barbaris et excisa, quos tributarios ipse fecit et vectigales. 2. Ob haec et similia percitus, metuensque ne augerentur in maius, stimulante (ut ferebatur) praefecto Florentio, Decentium tribunum et notarium misit, auxiliares milites exinde protinus abstracturum, Aerulos et Batavos, cumque Petulantibus Celtas, et lectos ex numeris aliis trecentenos, hac specie iussos accelerare, ut adesse possint armis primo vere movendis in Parthos.

[1] *exploratoribus . . . uirtutes,* added by V² in margin; *Iuliani,* EW²AG; *Iulianum,* V.

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[1] Cf. Hor., *Epist.* ii. 1, 13, *urit enim fulgore suo qui praegravat artes infra se positas.*

[2] *Adorea* originally meant grain distributed to the soldiers as a reward for a victory; then victory, glory; cf. Hor., *Odes,* iv. 4, 41, *dies . . . qui primus alma risit adorea.*

[3] Praetorian prefect in Gaul; cf. xvi. 12, 14; xvii. 3, 2, etc.; not the same as the Florentius of xx. 2, 2.

[4] See i. 3, note 2.

[5] Mentioned together also in xx. 5, 9; the latter probably got their name from some act of lawlessness, as *per contra* legions were called Pia, Fidelis, etc.

4. *At Paris, where he was wintering, Julianus Caesar is forcibly hailed as Augustus by the Gallic legions which Constantius had ordered to be taken from him and transferred to the Orient against the Persians.*

1. When Constantius was hastening to lend aid to the Orient, which was likely soon to be disturbed by the inroads of the Persians, as deserters reported in agreement with our scouts, he was tormented [1] by the valorous deeds of Julian, which increasingly frequent report was spreading abroad through the mouths of divers nations, carrying the great glory [2] of his mighty toils and achievements after the overthrow of several kingdoms of the Alamanni, and the recovery of the Gallic towns, which before had been destroyed and plundered by the savages whom he himself had made tributaries and subjects. 2. Excited by these and similar exploits, and fearing that their fame would grow greater, urged on besides, as was reported, by the prefect Florentius,[3] he sent Decentius, the tribune and secretary, at once to take from Julian his auxiliaries, namely, the Aeruli and Batavi [4] and the Celts with the Petulantes,[5] as well as three hundred picked men from each of the other divisions [6] of the army; and he ordered him to hasten their march under the pretext that they might be able to be on hand for an attack on the Parthians early in the spring.[7]

[6] On *numeris* see Index of Officials, vol. i.

[7] This would hardly have been possible; cf. *adulta hieme,* in 1, 3.

3. Et super auxiliariis quidem et trecentenis, cogendis ocius proficisci, Lupicinus conventus est solus, transisse ad Britannias nondum compertus, de Scutariis autem et Gentilibus excerpere quemque promptissimum, et ipse perducere Sintula iubetur, Caesaris stabuli tunc tribunus.

4. Conticuit hisque acquieverat Iulianus, potioris arbitrio cuncta concedens. Illud tamen nec dissimulare potuit nec silere: ut illi nullas paterentur molestias, qui relictis laribus transrhenanis, sub hoc venerant pacto, ne ducerentur ad partes umquam transalpinas, verendum esse affirmans, ne voluntarii barbari militares, saepe sub eius modi legibus assueti transire ad nostra, hoc cognito deinceps arcerentur. Sed loquebatur in cassum. 5. Tribunus enim parvi querellas Caesaris ducens, Augusti iussis obtemperabat, et lecta expeditiore manu vigore, corporumque levitate praestanti, cum eisdem profectus est, spe potiorum erectis.[1]

6. Et quia sollicitus Caesar, quid de residuis mitti praeceptis agi deberet, perque varias curas animum versans, attente negotium tractari oportere censebat, cum hinc barbara feritas, inde iussorum urgeret

[1] *erectis*, Bent.; *erectus*, V.

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[1] See xiv. 7, 9, note 3.
[2] I.e. of opportunities for promotion and other rewards for active service; cf. § 12, below.

3. And for speeding the departure of the auxiliaries and the divisions of three hundred Lupicinus alone was called upon (for that he had crossed over to Britain was not yet known at court); but the order to select the most active of the targeteers and the gentiles[1] and personally lead them to the emperor was given to Sintula, then Julian's chief stable-master.

4. Julian kept silence and submitted to this, leaving everything to the will of his more powerful associate. One thing, however, he could neither overlook nor pass over in silence, namely, that those men should suffer no inconvenience who had left their abodes beyond the Rhine and come to him under promise that they should never be led to regions beyond the Alps; for he declared that it was to be feared that the barbarian volunteer soldiers, who were often accustomed to come over to our side under conditions of that kind, might on having knowledge of this thereafter be kept from so doing. But his words were to no purpose. 5. For the tribune, considering Caesar's remonstrances of little moment, carried out the orders of Augustus, chose the strongest and most active of the light-armed troops, and made off with them, while they were filled with hope of better fortunes.[2]

6. And because Julian was anxious as to what ought to be done about the remaining troops which he had been ordered to send, and turned over many plans in his mind, he decided that the business ought to be managed with circumspection, pressed as he was on one side by savage barbarians and on the other by the authority of the emperor's orders;

auctoritas, maximeque absentia magistri equitum augente[1] dubietatem, redire ad se praefectum hortatus est, olim Viennam specie annonae parandae digressum, ut se militari eximeret turba. 7. Perpendebat enim ad relationem suam, quam olim putabatur misisse, abstrahendos e Galliarum defensione pugnaces numeros barbarisque iam formidatos. 8. Qui cum suscepisset Caesaris litteras, monentis petentisque ut venire accelararet, rem publicam consiliis iuvaturus, obstinatissime detrectabat, hac[2] ratione pavore mente confusa, quod aperte[3] scripta significabant, ab imperatore nusquam diiungi debere praefectum, in ardore terribilium rerum. Adiectumque est quod si procurare[4] dissimulasset, ipse propria sponte proiceret insignia principatus, gloriosum esse existimans iussa morte oppetere, quam ei[5] provinciarum interitum assignari. Sed vicit praefecti propositum pertinax, his quae rationabiliter poscebantur, parere, contentione maxima reluctantis.

9. Inter has tamen moras absentis Lupicini, motusque militares timentis praefecti, Iulianus consiliorum[6] adminiculo destitutus, ancipitique sententia fluctuans, id optimum factu existimavit:

[1] *augente*, vulgo; *sugente*, V[1]; *sugerente*, V[2]. [2] *hac*, Novák; *ea*, RBG; *ae*, V. [3] *aperte*, Gardt.; *aperta*, V. [4] *procurare* V; *procurrere*, N, Val.; *procursare*, Gardt.; *properare*, Günther; *pop. Rom.* or *provinciam procurare*, sugg. by Clark; *id procurare*, Novák. [5] *ei*, Val.; B and G omit; *et*, V. [6] *consiliorum*, V; *consiliatorum*, Gardt.

and since the absence of his commander of the cavalry[1] in particular increased his uncertainty, he urged the prefect[2] to return to him; the latter had gone some time before to Vienne, ostensibly to get supplies, but actually to escape troubles in the camp. 7. For he bore in mind that it was in accordance with his own report, which he was thought to have sent some time before, that warlike troops, already formidable to the barbarians, were to be withdrawn from the defence of Gaul. 8. So when he received Julian's letter, urging and begging him to hasten to come and aid his country by his counsels, he most emphatically refused; for his mind was disturbed with fear for the reason that Julian's letter plainly indicated that the prefect[3] ought never to be separated from his commander in the stress of dangerous times. And Julian added that if Florentius hesitated to do his duty, he would himself of his own accord lay down the emblems of princely power, thinking it more glorious to meet death by order, than that the ruin of the provinces should be attributed to him. But the obstinate resolution of the prefect prevailed, and with the greatest emphasis he refused to obey these reasonable demands.

9. However, amid this delay of the absent Lupicinus and of the prefect, who feared mutinies of the soldiers, Julian, deprived of the aid of counsellors and wavering in anxious hesitation, thought the following plan the best: he called out all the soldiers in the usual manner from the posts in which

[1] Lupicinus. [2] Florentius.
[3] Cf. *praefectus praetorio praesens*, xiv. 1, 10, and Index of Officials, vol. i.

et[1] sollemniter[2] cunctos e stationibus egressos, in quibus hiemabant, maturare disposuit. 10. Hocque comperto, apud Petulantium signa famosum quidam libellum humi proiecit occulte, inter alia multa etiam id continentem: "Nos quidem ad orbis terrarum extrema ut noxii pellimur et damnati, caritates vero nostrae Alamannis denuo servient, quas captivitate prima post internecivas liberavimus pugnas." 11. Quo textu ad comitatum perlato lectoque, Iulianus contemplans rationabiles querellas, cum familiis eos ad orientem proficisci praecepit, clavularis cursus facultate permissa, et cum ambigeretur diutius qua pergerent via, placuit notario suggerente Decentio, per Parisios omnes transire, ubi morabatur adhuc Caesar nusquam motus. Et ita est factum. 12. Eisdemque adventantibus, in suburbanis princeps occurrit, et[3] ex more laudans quos agnoscebat, factorumque fortium singulos monens, animabat lenibus verbis, ut ad Augustum alacri gradu pergerent ire,[4] ubi potestas est ample patens et larga, praemia laborum adepturi dignissima. 13. Utque honoratius procul abituros tractaret, ad convivium proceribus corrogatis, petere[5] (siquid in promptu esset) edixit. Qui liberaliter ita suscepti, dolore duplici suspensi

[1] *et*, Her. (*uit* deleted as dittogr.); *via*, G; *tessera*, Val.; lac. after *existimauit*, Momm.; *existimauit vita sollemni*, V. [2] *sollemniter*, Clark; *sollemni*, V. [3] *et*, added by Her.; V omits. [4] *ire*, added by Her. from *iure* (§ 13, line 2). [5] *petere iure*, V; *secure*, Corn.; *iure* del. Her. (cf. note 4).

[1] The *clavularis cursus* was used for transporting soldiers rapidly from place to place; the *clavula* (or *clavulus*), apparently a kind of large wagon, was also for the use of

they were passing the winter, and arranged to hasten them on their way. 10. Scarcely was this known, when someone in the camp of the Petulantes secretly threw on the ground a libellous letter, which among many other things contained the following: "We verily are driven to the ends of the earth like condemned criminals, and our dear ones, whom we freed from their former captivity after mortal battles, will again be slaves to the Alamanni." 11. When this note was brought to headquarters and read, Julian, although he found the complaints reasonable, nevertheless ordered them to set out with their families for the Orient, giving them the privilege of using the wagons of the courier-service.[1] And when there was considerable hesitation as to what route they should take, it was decided, at the suggestion of the secretary Decentius, that they should all go by way of Paris, where Julian still lingered, having as yet made no move. And it was so done. 12. And when the soldiers arrived Caesar met them in the suburbs, and, in his usual manner praising those whom he personally knew, and reminding each one of his valiant deeds, with mild words he encouraged them to go with cheerful step to Augustus, where there was great and extensive power, and they would get worthy rewards for their toil. 13. And in order to treat with greater honour those who were going far away, he invited their officers to dinner and bade them make any request that was in their minds. And since they were so liberally entertained, they departed anxious and filled with twofold

those who were sick or disabled. See Index of Officials, vol. i, s.v. *cursus publicus*.

discesserunt et maesti, quod eos fortuna quaedam inclemens et moderato rectore et terris genitalibus dispararet. Hocque angore impliciti, ut in stativis solati[1] cessarunt. 14. Nocte vero coeptante, in apertum erupere discidium, incitatisque animis, ut quemque insperata res afflictabat, ad tela convertuntur et manus, fremituque ingenti omnes petiverunt[2] palatium, et spatiis eius ambitis, ne ad evadendi copiam quisquam perveniret, Augustum Iulianum horrendis clamoribus concrepabant, eum ad se prodire destinatius adigentes, exspectareque coacti, dum lux promicaret, tandem progredi compulerunt. Quo viso iterata magnitudine sonus, Augustum appellavere consensione firmissima.

15. Et ille mente fundata, universis resistebat et singulis, nunc indignari semet[3] ostendens, nunc manus tendens oransque et obsecrans, ne post multas felicissimasque victorias, agatur aliquid indecorum, neve intempestiva temeritas et prolapsio, discordiarum materias excitaret. Haecque adiciebat, tandem sedatos leniter allocutus:

16. "Cesset ira—quaeso—paulisper: absque dissensione, vel rerum appetitu novarum, impetrabitur facile quod postulatis. Quoniam dulcedo vos patriae retinet, et insueta peregrinaque metuitis loca,

[1] *ut in stativis*, A, Momm., Her.; *utinstativi*, V; *solati*, Her.; *solet*, Momm.; *solita*, V. [2] *petiuerunt*, Clark, c.c.; *petiuerant*, TBG; *petiuerat*, V. [3] *semet*, CG; *sed metum*, B; *nec metum*, Pighius; *setmet*, V.

sorrow: because an unkindly fortune was depriving them both of a mild ruler and of the lands of their birth. But though possessed by this sorrow, they were apparently consoled and remained quiet in their quarters. 14. But no sooner had night come on than they broke out in open revolt, and, with their minds excited to the extent that each was distressed by the unexpected occurrence, they turned to arms and action; with mighty tumult they all made for the palace,[1] and wholly surrounding it, so that no one could possibly get out, with terrifying outcries they hailed Julian as Augustus, urgently demanding that he should show himself to them. They were compelled to wait for the appearance of daylight, but finally forced him to come out; and as soon as they saw him, they redoubled their shouts and with determined unanimity hailed him as Augustus.

15. He, however, with unyielding resolution, opposed them one and all, now showing evident displeasure, again begging and entreating them with outstretched hands that after many happy victories nothing unseemly should be done, and that ill timed rashness and folly should not stir up material for discord. And when he had at last quieted them, with mild words he addressed them as follows:

16. "Let your anger, I pray you, cease for a time. Without dissension or attempts at revolution what you demand shall easily be obtained. And since it is the charm of your native land that holds you back and you dread strange places with which you are

[1] Later destroyed by the Normans. It was perhaps the building known under the name of *Domus Thermarum*, and *Palatium Thermarum*.

redite iam nunc ad sedes nihil visuri (quia displicet) transalpinum. Hocque apud Augustum, capacem rationis et prudentissimum, ego competenti satisfactione purgabo."

17. Conclamabatur post haec ex omni parte nihilo minus, uno parique ardore nitentibus universis, maximoque contentionis fragore, probrosis[1] conviciis mixto, Caesar assentire coactus est. Impositusque scuto pedestri, et sublatius eminens, nullo silente, Augustus renuntiatus, iubebatur diadema proferre, negansque umquam habuisse, uxoris colli decus[2] vel capitis poscebatur. 18. Eoque affirmante, primis auspiciis non congruere aptari muliebri mundo, equi phalera[3] quaerebatur,[4] uti coronatus speciem saltem obscuram, superioris praetenderet potestatis. Sed cum id quoque turpe esse asseveraret, Maurus nomine quidam, postea comes, qui rem male gessit apud Succorum angustias, Petulantium[5] tunc hastatus, abstractum sibi torquem, quo ut draconarius utebatur, capiti Iuliani imposuit confidenter, qui trusus ad necessitatem extremam, iamque periculum praesens vitare non posse advertens, si reniti perseverasset, quinos omnibus aureos, argentique singula pondo promisit.

[1] *probrosis*, Clark; *probros*, V. [2] *decus*, added by Her. (cf. *Aen.* x. 135), Pet.; V omits without lac. [3] *falera*, V²EBG; *phalerae*, V, Gardt., Novák. [4] *quaerebatur*, V; *quaerebantur*, Gardt., Novák. [5] *Petulantium*, Lind.; *speculantium*, V.

[1] Cf. Tac., *Hist.* iv. 15 (*Brinno*) *impositus scuto more gentis et sustinentium umeris vibratus dux deligitur;* Cassiod., *Varia*, x. 31.

[2] See xxi. 10, 2, notes 3, 4. [3] See xvi. 12, 20, note.

unacquainted, return at once to your homes; you shall see nothing beyond the Alps, since that is displeasing to you, and this I will justify to Augustus to his entire satisfaction, since he is willing to listen to reason and is most discreet."

17. After this the shouts continued none the less on every side, and since all insisted with one and the same ardour and with loud and urgent outcries mingled with abuse and insults, Caesar was compelled to consent. Then, being placed upon an infantryman's shield[1] and raised on high, he was hailed by all as Augustus and bidden to bring out a diadem. And when he declared that he had never had one, they called for an ornament from his wife's neck or head. 18. But since he insisted that at the time of his first auspices it was not fitting for him to wear a woman's adornment, they looked about for a horse's trapping, so that being crowned with it he might display at least some obscure token of a loftier station. But when he declared that this also was shameful, a man called Maurus, afterwards a count and defeated at the pass of Succi,[2] but then a standard-bearer[3] of the Petulantes, took off the neck-chain which he wore as carrier of the dragon[4] and boldly placed it on Julian's head. He, driven to the extremity of compulsion, and perceiving that he could not avoid imminent danger if he persisted in his resistance, promised each man five gold pieces[5] and a pound of silver.

[4] From the time of Trajan the standard of the cohorts; see xvi. 10, 7.

[5] The *aureus* was the standard Roman gold coin, equal to 25 *denarii* or 100 sesterces.

19. Hisque gestis, haut minore quam antea cura constrictus, futuraque celeri providens corde, nec diadema gestavit, nec procedere ausus est usquam, nec agere seria quae nimis urgebant. 20. Sed cum ad latebras secessisset occultas, accidentium varietate perterritus Iulianus, aliqui palatii decurio, qui ordo est dignitatis, pleniore gradu signa Petulantium ingressus atque Celtarum, facinus indignum turbulente exclamat, pridie Augustum eorum arbitrio declaratum, clam interemptum. 21. Hocque comperto, milites quos ignota pari sollicitudine movebant et nota, pars crispantes missilia, alii minitantes nudatis gladiis, diverso vagoque (ut in repentino solet) excursu, occupavere volucriter regiam,[1] strepituque immani excubitores perculsi, et tribuni et domesticorum comes Excubitor nomine, veritique versabilis perfidiam militis, evanuere metu mortis subitae dispalati. 22. Viso tamen otio summo, quieti stetere paulisper armati, et interrogati, quae causa esset inconsulti motus et repentini, diu tacendo haesitantes super salute principis novi,[2] non antea discesserunt, quam adsciti in consistorium, fulgentem eum augusto habitu conspexissent.

[1] *regiam*, EAG; *regem*, B; *regum*, V. [2] *novi*, added by Clark, c.c.

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[1] The thirty *silentarii*, who kept watch before the emperor's room when important business was going on and maintained quiet, were commanded by three decurions.

19. When this was done, troubled with no less anxiety than before and with quick intuition foreseeing the future, he neither wore a diadem, nor dared to appear anywhere or attend to any of the serious matters that were most pressing. 20. But when he had withdrawn to seclusion and retirement, alarmed by the change in his fortunes, one of the decurions of the palace, which is a position of dignity,[1] hastened at rapid pace to the camp of the Petulantes and Celts, and wildly cried that a shameful crime had been committed, in that the man whom the day before their choice had proclaimed Augustus had been secretly done to death. 21. Upon hearing this the soldiers, who were equally excited by all news, known to be true or not, some brandishing darts, others with naked swords and uttering threats, rushing forth from different sides and in disorder (as is usual in a sudden commotion) quickly filled the palace. The fearful uproar alarmed the guards, the tribunes, and the count in command of the household troops, Excubitor by name, and in fear of treachery from the fickle soldiers they scattered in dread of sudden death and vanished from sight. 22. The armed men, however, seeing the perfect quiet, stood motionless for a time, and on being asked what was the cause of the ill-advised and sudden commotion, they kept silence for a long time, being in doubt as to the new emperor's safety; and they would not leave until they were admitted to the council chamber and had seen him resplendent in the imperial garb.

These preserved order and acted as adjutants to the emperor.

5. *Iulianus Aug. contionem habet ad milites.*

1. His tamen auditis, etiam illi quos antegressos rettulimus, ducente Sintula, cum eo iam securi Parisios revertuntur: edictoque ut futura luce cuncti convenirent in campo, progressus princeps ambitiosius solito, tribunal ascendit, signis aquilisque circumdatus et vexillis, saeptusque tutius[1] armatarum cohortium globis. 2. Cumque interquievisset paulisper,[2] dum alte contemplatur praesentium vultus, alacres omnes visos et laetos, quasi lituis verbis (ut intellegi possit) simplicibus incendebat:

3. "Res ardua poscit et flagitat, propugnatores mei reique publicae fortes et fidi, qui mecum pro statu provinciarum vitam saepius obiecistis, quoniam Caesarem vestrum firmo iudicio ad potestatum omnium columen sustulistis, perstringere pauca summatim, ut remedia permutatae rei iusta[3] colligantur et cauta. 4. Vixdum adulescens specie tenus purpuratus (ut nostis), vestrae tutelae nutu caelesti commissus, numquam a proposito recte vivendi deiectus sum, vobiscum in omni labore perspicuus, cum dispersa gentium confidentia, post civitatum excidia, peremptaque innumera hominum milia, pauca quae semiintegra sunt relicta cladis

[1] *tutius*, T^2, Val.; *totius*, V. [2] *paulisper*, Damsté; Fletcher would tr. *interquievisset* and *paululum*; *paululum*, V. [3] *rei iusta*, G; *re rustra*, V; *re in tuta*, V^3.

[1] xx. 4, 3.

5. *Julianus Augustus makes an address to the soldiers.*

1. Yet, hearing of these events the troops also that had gone before under the lead of Sintula (as I have said),[1] now free from anxiety returned with him to Paris. Then proclamation was made that on the following day all should assemble in the plain, and the ruler appeared in greater state than common and took his place on the tribunal, surrounded by the standards, eagles, and banners, and for greater safety hedged about with bands of armed cohorts. 2. And after a brief silence, during which from his high position he surveyed the faces of those present, on finding them all eager and joyous, using simple words in order to be understood, he stirred them as by the blare of clarions, speaking as follows:

3. "The difficulties of the situation, ye brave and faithful defenders of my person and of the state, who with me have often risked your lives for the welfare of the provinces, require and entreat, since by your firm resolve you have advanced your Caesar to the pinnacle of all human power, that I should touch briefly on a few matters, in order to devise just and wise remedies for those changed conditions. 4. Hardly had I come to my growth, when (as you know) I assumed the purple, so far as appearance goes, and was committed by Heaven's will to your protection. Since then I have never been thwarted in my purpose of right living, and I have been closely observed with you in all your toils, when through the widespread arrogance of foreign nations, after the destruction of cities and the loss of countless thousands of our men, incalculable disaster

immensitas persultaret. Et retexere superfluum puto, quotiens hieme cruda rigentique caelo, quo tempore terrae ac maria opere Martio vacant, indomitos antea, cum iactura virium suarum reppulimus Alamannos. 5. Id sane nec praetermitti est aequum [1] nec taceri, quod cum prope Argentoratum illuxisset ille beatissimus dies, vehens quodam modo Galliis perpetuam libertatem, inter confertissima tela me discurrente, vos vigore ususque diuturnitate fundati, velut incitatos torrentes, hostes abruptius inundantes, superastis ferro prostratos, vel fluminis profundo submersos, paucis relictis nostrorum, quorum exequias honestavimus, celebri potius laude quam luctu. 6. Post quae opinor tanta et talia, nec posteritatem tacituram de vestris in rem publicam meritis, quae gentibus cunctis plene iam cognita sunt, si eum [2] quem altiore fastigio maiestatis ornastis, virtute gravitateque, siquid adversum ingruerit, defendatis. 7. Ut autem rerum integer ordo servetur, praemiaque virorum fortium maneant incorrupta, nec honores ambitio praeripiat clandestina, id sub reverenda consilii vestri facie statuo, ut neque civilis quisquam iudex, nec militiae rector, alio quodam praeter merita suffragante, ad potiorem veniat gradum, non sine detrimento pudoris, eo qui pro quolibet petere temptaverit discessuro."

8. Hac fiducia spei maioris animatus inferior miles, dignitatum iam diu expers et praemiorum,

[1] *est aequum*, added by G; *oportet* by Brakman, *est* by Pighius; V omits. [2] *iam . . . eum*, added by Her.; *plene quem*, without lac., V; *si plene*, G.

was overrunning the few regions that were left half ruined. It is needless, methinks, to rehearse how often in raw winter and under a cold sky, when lands and seas are exempt from the labours of Mars, we repelled the hitherto invincible Alamanni and broke their strength. 5. But this surely it is right neither to pass by nor consign to silence, that when that happiest of days dawned near Argentoratus, which in a sense brought lasting freedom to the Gauls, while I hastened about amid showers of weapons, you, upheld by your might and by long experience, overcame the enemy, rushing on like mountain torrents, either striking them down with the steel or plunging them in the river's depths; and that too with but few of our number left upon the field, whose funerals we honoured with plentiful praise rather than with grief. 6. After such great and glorious exploits, posterity, I believe, will not be silent about your services to your country, which are now well known to all nations, if you defend with courage and resolution the man whom you have honoured with a higher title of majesty, in case any adverse fortune should assail him. 7. And to the end that a sound course of conduct may be maintained, that the rewards of brave men may remain free from corruption, and that secret intrigue may not usurp honours, this I declare in the presence of your honorable assembly: that no civil official, no military officer, shall reach a higher rank through anyone supporting him beyond his merits, and that none who tries to intrigue for another shall escape without dishonour."

8. Through confidence in this promise the soldiers of lower rank, who had long had no share in honours

hastis feriendo clipeos sonitu assurgens ingenti, uno prope modum ore dictis favebat et coeptis. 9. Statimque ne turbandae dispositioni consultae, tempus saltem breve concederetur, pro actuariis obsecravere[1] Petulantes et Celtae, recturi quas placuisset provincias, mitterentur; quo non impetrato, abiere nec offensi nec tristes.

10. Nocte tamen, quae declarationis Augustae praecesserat diem, iunctioribus proximis rettulerat imperator, per quietem aliquem visum, ut formari Genius publicus solet, haec obiurgando dixisse: "Olim Iuliane vestibulum aedium tuarum observo latenter, augere tuam gestiens dignitatem, et aliquotiens tamquam repudiatus abscessi[2]: si ne nunc quidem recipior, sententia concordante multorum, ibo demissus et maestus. Id tamen retineto imo[3] corde quod tecum non diutius habitabo."

6. *Singara a Sapore oppugnata, et capta: oppidani cum equitibus auxiliaribus et duobus legionibus praesidiariis in Persidem abducti; oppidum excisum.*

1. Haec dum per Gallias agerentur intente, truculentus rex ille Persarum, incentivo Antonini

[1] *obsecrauere,* G; *observare,* V. [2] *abscessi,* NT[2], Eyssen.; *abcesse,* V. [3] *imo,* CG; *inme,* V; *in meo,* B; *intimo,* Her.

[1] Officers of the army, who received the provisions from the contractors and delivered them to the soldiers; and kept the accounts; see also xv. 5, 3, note.

and rewards, were inspired with greater hope; rising to their feet and clashing their spears against their shields with mighty din, almost with one voice they acclaimed the emperor's words and plans. 9. And at once, lest even an instant should be allowed to interfere with so resolved a purpose, the Petulantes and Celts begged in behalf of certain commissaries[1] that they might be sent as governors to whatever provinces they might choose; and when the request was denied, they withdrew neither offended nor ill-humoured.

10. But in the night before he was proclaimed Augustus, as the emperor told his nearer and more intimate friends, a vision appeared to him in his sleep, taking the form in which the guardian spirit of the state is usually portrayed, and in a tone of reproach spoke as follows: "Long since, Julian, have I been secretly watching the vestibule of your house, desiring to increase your rank, and I have often gone away as though rebuffed. If I am not to be received even now, when the judgements of many men are in agreement, I shall depart downcast and forlorn. But keep this thought in the depths of your heart, that I shall no longer abide with you."

6. *Singara is besieged by Sapor, and captured. The citizens with the auxiliary cavalry and two legions on garrison duty are carried off to Persia. The city is destroyed.*

1. While these things were being vigorously carried out in Gaul, that savage king of the Persians, since the urgency of Antoninus was doubled by the coming

adventu Craugasii duplicato, ardore obtinendae Mesopotamiae flagrans, dum ageret cum exercitu procul Constantius, armis multiplicatis et viribus, transmisso sollemniter Tigride, oppugnandam adoritur Singaram, milite usuique congruis omnibus, ut[1] existimavere qui regionibus praeerant, abunde munitam. 2. Cuius propugnatores viso hoste longissime, clausis ocius portis, ingentibus animis per turres discurrebant et minas,[2] saxa tormentaque bellica congerentes, cunctisque praestructis, stabant omnes armati, multitudinem parati propellere, si moenia subire temptasset.

3. Adventans itaque rex cum per optimates suos propius admissos, pacatiore colloquio flectere defensores ad suum non potuisset arbitrium, quieti diem integrum dedit, et matutinae lucis exordio, signo per flammeum erecto vexillum, circumvaditur civitas a quibusdam vehentibus scalas, aliis componentibus machinas, plerisque obiectu vinearum pluteorumque tectis, iter ad fundamenta parietum quaerentibus subvertenda. 4. Contra haec oppidani superstantes propugnaculis celsis, lapidibus eminus telorumque genere omni ad interiora ferocius se proripientes arcebant.

5. Et pugnabatur eventu ancipiti diebus aliquot, hinc inde multis amissis et vulneratis: postremo

[1] *ut*, added by G; V omits. [2] *minas*, V; *minis*, Momm.; *pinnas*, Novák.

[1] See xviii. 10, 1.

of Craugasius,[1] burned with the desire of gaining possession of Mesopotamia while Constantius was busy at a distance with his army. So, having increased his arms and his power and crossed the Tigris in due form, he proceeded to attack Singara, a town which, in the opinion of those who had charge of that region, was abundantly fortified with soldiers and with all necessities. 2. The defenders of the city, as soon as they saw the enemy a long way off, quickly closed the gates and full of courage ran to the various towers and battlements, and got together stones and engines of war; then, when everything was prepared, they all stood fast under arms, ready to repulse the horde, in case it should try to come near the walls.

3. Accordingly, the king on his arrival, through his grandees, who were allowed access, tried by peaceful mediation to bend the defenders to his will. Failing in this, he devoted the entire day to quiet, but at the coming of next morning's light he gave the signal by raising the flame-coloured banner, and the city was assailed on every side; some brought ladders, others set up engines of war; the greater part, protected by the interposition of penthouses and mantlets, tried to approach the walls and undermine their foundations. 4. Against this onset the townsmen, standing upon their lofty battlements, from a distance with stones and all kinds of missile weapons tried to repel those who boldly strove to force an entrance.

5. The battle raged for several days with uncertain outcome, and on both sides many were killed and wounded. Finally, in the heat of the mighty

fervente certaminum mole, et propinquante iam vespera, inter machinas plures admotus aries robustissimus, orbiculatam turrim feriebat ictibus densis, unde reseratam urbem obsidio superiore docuimus. 6. Ad quam conversa plebe dimicabatur artissime, facesque cum taedis ardentibus et malleolis, ad exurendum imminens malum undique convolabant, nec sagittarum crebritate nec glandis hinc inde cessante. Vicit tamen omne prohibendi commentum acumen arietis, coagmenta fodiens lapidum recens structorum, madoreque etiam tum infirmium. 7. Dumque adhuc ferro certatur et ignibus, turri collapsa, cum patuisset iter in urbem, nudato propugnatoribus loco, quos periculi disiecerat magnitudo, Persarum agmina undique ululabili clamore sublato, nullo cohibente cuncta oppidi membra complebant, caesisque promisce paucissimis, residui omnes mandatu Saporis vivi comprehensi, ad regiones Persidis ultimas sunt asportati.

8. Tuebantur autem hanc civitatem legiones duae (prima Flavia primaque Parthica), et indigenae plures cum auxilio equitum, illic [1] ob repentinum malum [2] clausorum,[3] qui omnes (ut dixi) vinctis manibus ducebantur, nullo iuvante nostrorum. 9. Nisibin enim sub pellibus agens pars maior exercitus custodibat, intervallo perquam longo discretam, alioqui numquam labenti Singarae vel temporibus

[1] *illic*, Traube; *ilico*, V. [2] *malum*, BG; *ad* V; *adventum hostium*, Momm. [3] *clausorum*, Clark; *inclusorum*, V.

[1] In a lost book; it happened in 348.
[2] I.e. the huge ram.

conflict, just as evening was coming on, among many engines a ram of uncommon strength was brought up, which with rapidly repeated blows battered the round tower where (as we have related) [1] the city was breached in the former siege. 6. To this spot the people flocked and the battle went on in dense array; from all sides flew firebrands with blazing torches and fiery darts to set fire to the great menace,[2] while the showers of arrows and sling-shots from both sides never ceased. But the sharp head of the ram overcame every attempt at defence, penetrating the joints of the new-laid stones, which were still moist and therefore weak. 7. And while the combat still went on with fire and sword, the tower collapsed and a way was made into the city; the defenders, scattered by the great danger, abandoned the place; the Persian hordes, raising shouts and yells, rushed from all sides and without opposition filled every part of the city; and after a very few of the defenders had been slain here and there, all the rest were taken alive by Sapor's order and transported to the remotest parts of Persia.

8. This city was defended by two legions, the First Flavian and the First Parthian, as well as by a considerable number of natives, with the help of some horsemen who had hastily taken refuge there because of the sudden danger. All these (as I have said) were led off with hands bound, and none of our men could aid them. 9. For the greater part of the army was in camp guarding Nisibis, which was a very long distance off; besides, even in former days no one had ever been able to aid Singara when

priscis, quisquam ferre auxilium potuit, aquarum penuria cunctis circum arentibus locis. Et licet ad praesciscendos adversos subitosque motus, id munimentum opportune locavit antiquitas, dispendio tamen fuit rei Romanae, cum defensorum iactura aliquotiens interceptum.

7. ***Bezabden oppidum, a tribus legionibus defensum, Sapor expugnat ; ac reparatum praesidio commeatuque instruit : idem Virtam munimentum frustra adoritur.***

1. Exciso itaque oppido, rex Nisibin prudenti consilio vitans, memor nimirum quae saepius ibi pertulerat, dextrum latus itineribus petit obliquis, Bezabden, quam Phaenicham quoque institutores veteres appellarunt, vi vel promissorum dulcedine illectis defensoribus retenturus,[1] munimentum impendio validum in colle mediocriter edito positum, vergensque in margines Tigridis, atque ubi loca suspecta sunt et humilia, duplici muro vallatum. Ad cuius tutelam tres legiones sunt deputatae, secunda Flavia secundaque Armeniaca, et Parthica itidem[2] secunda cum sagittariis pluribus Zabdicenis, in quorum solo tunc nobis obtemperantium hoc est municipium positum.

2. Primo igitur impetu, cum agmine cataphractorum fulgentium, rex ipse sublimior ceteris

[1] *retenturus*, V ; *reseraturus* or *tentaturus*, C. F. W. M. ; *recepturus*, Novák. [2] *Partica itidem*, NT²G ; *Parthicas fidem*, V.

in trouble, since all the surrounding country was dried up from lack of water. And although in early times a stronghold had been established there as a convenient place for learning in advance of sudden outbreaks of the enemy, yet this was a detriment to the Roman cause, since the place was several times taken with the loss of its defenders.

7. ***The town of Bezabde, defended by three legions, is stormed by Sapor ; who repaired it and supplied it with a garrison and provisions ; he also makes a vain attack on the fortress of Virta.***

1. After the destruction of the city the king prudently turned aside from Nisibis, doubtless remembering what he had often suffered there,[1] and marched to the right by side roads to Bezabde, which its early founders also called Phaenicha, hoping to gain entrance into the place by force or by winning the defenders with flattering promises. Bezabde was a very strong fortress, placed upon a hill of moderate height which sloped towards the banks of the Tigris, and where it was low and therefore exposed to danger it was fortified with a double wall. For the defence of the place three legions were assigned, the Second Flavian, the Second Armenian, and also the Second Parthian with a great number of bowmen of the Zabdiceni, on whose soil, at that time subject to us, this town was situated.

2. On his first attack the king himself, with a troop of horsemen gleaming in full armour and

[1] Nisibis was besieged three times by the Persians. It was finally ceded to them by Jovian ; see xxv. 7, 9-11.

castrorum ambitum circumcursans, prope labra ipsa fossarum venit audentius, petitusque ballistarum ictibus crebris [1] et sagittarum, densitate opertus armorum in modum testudinis contextorum, abscessit innoxius. 3. Ira tamen tum sequestrata, caduceatoribus missis ex more, clausos blandius hortabatur, ut vitae speique consulturi, obsidium deditione solverent opportuna, reseratisque portis egressi, supplices victori gentium semet offerrent. 4. Quibus adire propius ausis, defensores moenium ideo pepercerunt, quod cohaerenter sibi iunctos duxerant eisdem notos ingenuos Singarae captos: eorum enim miseratione, telum nemo contorsit, nec super pace respondit.

5. Deinde datis indutiis diei totius et noctis, ante alterius lucis initium Persarum populus omnis adortus avide vallum, acriter minans ac fremens, ubi ad ipsa moenia confidenter accessit, dimicabat [2] vi magna resistentibus oppidanis. 6. Eaque [3] re sauciabantur plerique Parthorum, quod pars scalas vehentes, alii opponentes vimineas crates, velut caeci pergebant introrsus, nec nostris innocui.

[1] *ictibus crebris*, Bent., Novák; *actibus cretis*, V; *iactibus crebris*, Eyssen. [2] *dimicabat*, HA; *instabat*, G; *dicabat*, V. [3] *eaque*, Haupt, Novák; *atque ea re*, Gardt.; *et quae res*, V.

[1] Probably, there was a cessation of hostilities, rather than a truce. Ammianus is loose in his use of military terms; see *Amer. Jour. of Phil.*, liii., pp. 21 ff.

himself towering above the rest, rode about the circuit of the camp, and with over-boldness advanced to the very edge of the trenches. But becoming the target of repeated missiles from the ballistae and of arrows, he was protected by a close array of shields placed side by side as in a tortoise-mantlet, and got away unhurt. 3. However, he suppressed his anger for the time being, and sending heralds in the usual manner, courteously urged the besieged, taking regard for their lives and their hope for the future, to put an end to the blockade by a timely surrender, unbar their gates and come forth, presenting themselves as suppliants to the conqueror of the nations. 4. When these heralds dared to come close, the defenders of the walls spared them for the reason that they had brought in close company with them some freeborn men who had been taken prisoner at Singara and were recognised by the garrison. In pity for these men no one hurled a weapon; but to the offer of peace no answer was made.

5. Then a truce [1] was granted for a whole day and night, but before the beginning of the next day the entire force of the Persians fiercely attacked the rampart, uttering cruel threats and roaring outcries; and when they had boldly advanced close up to the walls, they began to fight with the townsmen, who resisted with great vigour. 6. And for this reason a large number of the Parthians were wounded, because, some carrying scaling ladders, others holding hurdles of osiers before them, they all rushed within range as though blinded; and our men were not unscathed. For clouds of arrows flew thick

Sagittarum enim nimbi crebrius volitantes, stantes confertius perforabant, partibusque post solis occasum aequa iactura digressis, appetente postridie luce, ardentius multo quam antea pugnabatur, hinc inde concinentibus tubis, nec minores strages utrubique visae sunt, ambobus obstinatissime colluctatis.

7. Verum secuto die otio communi assensu post aerumnas multiplices attributo, cum magnus terror circumsisteret muros, Persaeque paria formidarent, Christianae legis antistes exire se velle gestibus ostendebat et nutu, acceptaque fide quod redire permitteretur incolumis, usque ad tentoria regis accessit. 8. Ubi data copia dicendi quae vellet, suadebat placido sermone discedere Persas ad sua, post communes partis utriusque luctus, formidari [1] etiam maiores affirmans forsitan adventuros. Sed perstabat in cassum, haec multaque similia disserendo, efferata vesania regis obstante, non ante [2] castrorum excidium digredi pertinaciter adiurantis. 9. Perstrinxit tamen suspicio vana quaedam episcopum (ut opinor), licet asseveratione vulgata multorum, quod clandestino colloquio Saporem docuerat, quae moenium appeteret membra, ut fragilia intrinsecus et invalida. Hocque exinde veri simile visum est, quod postea intuta loca carieque nutantia, cum exultatione maligna,[3] velut regentibus

[1] *formidari*, V; *formidatos*, Pet.; *formidare*, suggested by Clark. [2] *non ante*, added by G; V omits; *regis non se ante*, Corn. [3] *maligna*, Clark, c.c.; *magna*, V.

and fast, and transfixed the defenders as they stood crowded together. After sunset the two parties separated with equal losses, but just before dawn of the following day, while the trumpets sounded on one side and the other, the struggle was renewed with much greater ardour than before, and on either side equally great heaps of dead were to be seen, since both parties fought most obstinately.

7. But on the following day, which after manifold losses had by common consent been devoted to rest, since great terror encircled the walls and the Persians had no less grounds for fear, the chief priest of the sect of Christians indicated by signs and nods that he wished to go forth; and when a pledge had been given that he would be allowed to return in safety, he came as far as the king's tent. 8. There being given permission to say what he wished, with mild words he advised the Persians to return to their homes, declaring that after the lamentable losses on both sides it was to be feared that perhaps even greater ones might follow. But it was in vain that he persisted in making these and many similar pleas, opposed as they were by the frenzied rage of the king, who roundly swore that he would not leave the place until the fortress had been destroyed. 9. But the bishop incurred the shadow of a suspicion, unfounded in my opinion, though circulated confidently by many, of having told Sapor in a secret conference what parts of the wall to attack, as being slight within and weak. And in the end there seemed to be ground for this, since after his visit the enemy's engines deliberately battered those places which were tottering and insecure from decay, and that too with

penetralium callidis, contemplabiliter machinae feriebant hostiles.

10. Et quamquam angustae calles difficiliorem aditum dabant ad muros, aptatique arietes aegre promovebantur, manualium saxorum, sagittarumque metu arcente, nec ballistae tamen cessavere nec scorpiones, illae tela torquentes, hi lapides crebros, qualique simul ardentes pice et bitumine illiti, quorum assiduitate per proclive labentium, machinae [1] haerebant velut altis radicibus fixae, easque malleoli et faces iactae destinatius exurebant.

11. Sed cum haec ita essent, caderentque altrinsecus multi, ardebant magis oppugnatores, naturali situ et ingenti opere munitum oppidum ante brumale sidus excindere, rabiem regis non ante sedari posse credentes. Quocirca nec multa cruoris effusio, nec confixi mortiferis vulneribus plurimi, ceteros ab audacia parili revocabant. 12. Sed diu cum exitio decernentes, postremo periculis obiectavere semet abruptis, et agitantes arietes denso saxorum molarium pondere, fomentisque ignium variis ire protinus vetabantur. 13. Verum unus aries residuis celsior, umectis taurinis copertus [2] exuviis, ideoque minus casus flammeos pertimescens aut tela, antegressus omnes erepsit [3] nisibus magnis ad murum, vastoque acumine coagmenta lapidum

[1] *machinae*, G; *machinarum*, V; *moles machinarum*, Her
[2] *copertus*, Clark; *opertus*, EBG; *opertus*, V[2] from *copertes*
[3] *erepsit*, Her.; *repsit*, NBG; *epsit*, V.

spiteful exultation, as if those who directed them were acquainted with conditions within.

10. And though the narrow footpaths yielded difficult access to the walls, and the rams that had been prepared were moved forward with difficulty, since the fear of stones thrown by hand and of arrows kept them off, yet neither the ballistae nor the scorpions ceased, the former to hurl darts, the latter showers of stones and with them blazing wicker baskets, smeared with pitch and bitumen. Because of the constant fall of these as they rolled down the slope, the engines were halted as though held fast by deep roots, and the constant shower of fiery darts and brands set them on fire.

11. But in spite of all this, and though many fell on both sides, the besiegers were fired with the greater desire to destroy the town, defended though it was by its natural situation and by mighty works, before the winter season, believing that the king's rage could not be quieted until that was done. Therefore neither the great outpouring of blood nor the many mortal wounds that were suffered deterred the survivors from like boldness. 12. But after a long and destructive struggle, they finally exposed themselves to extreme peril, and as the enemy pushed on the rams, huge stones coming thick from the walls, and varied devices for kindling fire, debarred them from going forward. 13. However, one ram, higher than the rest, which was covered with wet bull's hide and therefore less exposed to danger from fire or darts, having gone ahead of all the others, made its way with mighty efforts to the wall. There, digging into the joints of the stones with its huge beak, it

fodiens, turrim laxatam evertit. Qua sonitu lapsa ingenti, superstantes quoque repentina ruina deiecti, diffractique vel obruti, mortibus interiere diversis et insperatis, inventoque tutiore ascensu, armata irruit multitudo.

14. Trepidis deinde superatorum auribus ululantium undique Persarum intonante fragore, artius proelium intra muros exarsit, hostium nostrorumque catervis certantibus comminus, cum confertis inter se corporibus hinc indeque stricto mucrone, nulli occurrentium parceretur. 15. Magna denique mole, ancipiti diu exitio renitentes obsessi, postremo plebis immensae ponderibus effuse disiecti sunt. Et post haec iratorum hostium gladii quicquid inveniri poterat concidebant, abreptique sinibus matrum parvuli ipsaeque [1] matres trucidabantur, nullo quid ageret respectante. Inter quae [2] tam funesta gens rapiendi cupidior, onusta spoliorum genere omni, captivorumque examen maximum ducens, tentoria repetivit exsultans.

16. Rex tamen gaudio insolenti elatus, diuque desiderio capiendae Phaenichae flagrans, munimenti perquam tempestivi, non ante discessit quam labefactata murorum parte reparata firmissime, alimentisque affatim conditis, armatos ibi locaret, insignis origine, bellique artibus claros. Verebatur

[1] *ipsaeque*, Langen; *ipse quoque*, V. [2] *inter quae*, Her. (from *quoque* in preceding line); V omits.

[1] I.e. than for bloodshed.

weakened a tower and overthrew it. As this fell with a mighty roar, those also who stood upon it were thrown down by its sudden collapse and either dashed to pieces or buried. Thus they perished by varied and unlooked-for forms of death, while the armed hordes of the enemy, finding the ascent safer, rushed into the town.

14. Then, while the din of the yelling Persians thundered on all sides in the terrified ears of the overmatched townsmen, a hotter fight raged within the walls, as bands of our soldiers and of the enemy struggled hand to hand; and since they were crowded body to body and both sides fought with drawn swords, they spared none who came in their way. 15. Finally the besieged, after long resisting imminent destruction, were at last with great difficulty scattered in all directions by the weight of the huge throng. After that the swords of the infuriated enemy cut down all that they could find, children were torn from their mothers' breasts and the mothers themselves were butchered, and no man recked what he did. Amid such scenes of horror that nation, greedier still for plunder,[1] laden with spoils of every sort, and leading off a great throng of captives, returned in triumph to their tents.

16. The king, however, filled with arrogant joy, and having long burned with a desire of taking Phaenicha, since it was a very convenient stronghold, did not leave the place until he had firmly repaired the shattered parts of the walls, stored up an immense quantity of supplies, and stationed there an armed force of men distinguished for their high birth and renowned for their military skill. For

enim quod accidit, ne amissionem castrorum ingentium ferentes aegre Romani, ad eadem obsidenda viribus magnis accingerentur.

17. Latius se proinde iactans, additaque spe quicquid aggredi posset adipiscendi, interceptis castellis aliis vilioribus, Virtam adoriri disposuit, munimentum valde vetustum, ut aedificatum a Macedone credatur Alexandro, in extremo quidem Mesopotamiae situm, sed muris velut sinuosis circumdatum et cornutis, instructioneque varia inaccessum. 18. Quod cum omni arte temptaret, nunc promissis defensores alliciens, nunc poenas cruciabiles minitans, aliquotiens struere aggeres parans, obsidionalesque admovens machinas, multis acceptis vulneribus quam illatis, omisso vano incepto, tandem abscessit.

8. *Iulianus Aug. per litteras Constantium A. de re Lutetiae gesta certiorem facit.*

1. Haec eo anno inter Tigrim gesta sunt et Euphraten. Quae cum frequentibus nuntiis didicisset Constantius, expeditiones metuens [1] Parthicas, hiemem apud Constantinopolim agens, impensiore cura limitem instruebat eoum [2] omni apparatu bellorum, armaque et tirocinia cogens, legionesque augens iuventutis validae supplementis, quarum

[1] *expeditiones metuens*, tr. by Novák, c.c. [2] *eoum*, C. F. W. M.; *cum*, V.

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[1] See 11, 6-25, below.

he feared what actually happened,[1] namely, that the Romans, taking to heart the loss of such a powerful stronghold, would strive with all their might to recover it.

17. Then, filled with greater confidence and inspired with the hope of accomplishing whatever he might undertake, after capturing some insignificant strongholds, he prepared to attack Virta, a fortress of great antiquity, since it was believed to have been built by Alexander of Macedon; it was situated indeed on the outer frontier of Mesopotamia, but was girt by walls with salient and re-entrant angles and made difficult of access by manifold devices. 18. But after resorting to every artifice, now tempting the defenders with promises, now threatening them with the cruelest punishments, sometimes preparing to build embankments and bringing up siege-engines, after suffering more losses than he inflicted, he at last gave up the vain attempt and departed.

8. *Julianus Augustus informs Constantius Augustus by letter of what happened at Paris.*

1. These were the events of that year between the Tigris and the Euphrates. Constantius, learning of them through frequent reports and passing the winter in Constantinople for fear of a Parthian invasion, with particular care furnished the eastern frontier with all kinds of warlike equipment; he also got together arms and recruits, and by the addition of vigorous young men gave strength to the legions, whose steadiness in action had often

statariae pugnae per orientales saepius eminuere[1] procinctus, auxilia super his Scytharum poscebat, mercede vel gratia, ut adulto vere profectus e Thraciis, loca suspecta protinus occuparet.

2. Inter quae Iulianus apud Parisios hibernis locatis, summa coeptorum quorsum evaderet pertimescens haeserat[2] anxius, numquam assensurum Constantium factis multa volvendo considerans, apud quem sordebat ut infimus et contemptus. 3. Circumspectis itaque trepidis rerum novarum exordiis, legatos ad eum mittere statuit, gesta docturos, eisque concinentes litteras dedit, quid actum sit quidve fieri oporteat deinceps, monens apertius et demonstrans. 4. Quamquam eum haec dudum comperisse opinabatur, relatu Decentii olim reversi, et cubiculariorum recens de Galliis praegressorum,[3] qui ad Caesarem[4] aliqua[5] portavere sollemnia. Et quamquam nova referret,[6] non repugnanter tamen nec arrogantibus verbis quicquam scripsit, ne videretur subito redundasse tumore.[7] Erat autem litterarum sensus huius modi:

5. "Ego quidem propositi mei fidem non minus moribus quam foederum pacto (quoad fuit) unum

[1] *eminuere*, Kiessling; *emicuere*, EBG; *enimuere*, V; *emicuere*, V². [2] *haeserat*, Her. and Clark, c.c.; *erat*, V. [3] *praegressorum*, V; *regressorum*, G; *progressorum*, NB. [4] *Caesaream*, Corn., Gardt. (cf. xx. 9, 1); *Caessarem*, V. [5] *aliqua*, V; *maligna*, Corn. [6] *nova referret*, added by Novák. [7] *redundasse*, W, Novák; *redundasset*, V¹; *repuggnasse*, V²; *tumore*, added by Novák.

been conspicuously successful in oriental campaigns. Besides this, he asked the Scythians for auxiliaries, either for pay or as a favour, intending in the late spring to set out from Thrace and at once occupy the points of danger.

2. Meanwhile Julian, who had taken up his winter quarters at Paris, was in anxious suspense, dreading the outcome of the step which he had taken. For after long and careful consideration he was convinced that Constantius would never consent to what had been done, since in the emperor's eyes he was scorned as base and contemptible. 3. Therefore pondering well the dangers of beginning a revolution, he decided to send envoys to Constantius to inform him of what had happened; and he gave them a letter to the same purport, in which he more openly set forth and made clear what had been done, and what ought to be done later. 4. But yet he thought that Constantius had long since had news of the event through the reports of Decentius, who had come back some time before, and of the chamberlains, who had lately passed through on their way from Gaul after bringing the Caesar a part of his regular income.[1] And although he reported the changed conditions, he did not write anything in a hostile tone nor in arrogant language, lest he should seem suddenly to have become full of haughtiness. The purport of the letter was as follows:

5. "I for my part have remained true to my principles, not less in my conduct than in the observance of agreements, so long as they remained in force,

[1] Part of the tribute exacted in Gaul; for this meaning of *sollemnia*, cf. xxii. 7, 10, *annua complentes sollemnia*.

semper atque idem sentiens conservavi, ut effectu multiplici claruit evidenter. 6. Iamque inde uti me creatum Caesarem pugnarum horrendis fragoribus obiecisti, potestate delata contentus, currentium ex voto prosperitatum, nuntiis crebris (ut apparitor fidus), tuas aures implevi, nihil usquam periculis meis assignans, cum documentis assiduis constet, diffusis permixtisque passim Germanis, in laboribus me semper visum omnium primum, in laborum refectione postremum.

7. "Sed bona tua venia dixerim, siquid novatum est nunc (ut existimas): in multis bellis et asperis, aetatem sine fructu conterens miles, olim deliberatum implevit, fremens, secundique impatiens loci rectorem, cum nullas sibi vices a Caesare diuturni sudoris et victoriarum frequentium rependi posse contemplaretur. 8. Cuius iracundiae nec dignitatum augmenta, nec annuum merentis stipendium, id quoque inopinum accessit, quod ad partis orbis eoi postremas venire iussi homines [1] assueti glacialibus terris, separandique liberis et coniugibus, egentes trahebantur et nudi. Unde solito saevius efferati nocte in unum collecti, palatium obsidere, Augustum Iulianum vocibus magnis appellantes et crebris. 9. Cohorrui (fateor) et secessi, amendatusque dum potui, salutem occultatione [2] quaeritabam et latebris. Cumque nullae darentur indutiae, libero pectoris

[1] *iussi homines*, tr. by G; *hominis iussi*, V, with *homines* def. by Pighius. [2] *occultatione*, Corn.; *mussatione*, G; *salutemus latione*, V; *dissimulatione*, C. F. W. M.

always keeping one and the same mind, as is clearly evident from many of my actions. 6. From the time when you first made me Caesar and exposed me to the dread tumults of war, content with the power committed to me, I filled your ears (like a trusty servant) with constant reports of successful achievements proceeding to my heart's desire, never attributing anything at all to my own perils; and yet it is clear from constant proofs that in the contests with the widely scattered and often interallied Germans I was in toil, always seen first of all, and in rest from toil, last.

7. "But if now, with your kind indulgence be it said, there has been any change (as you think), it is the soldiers, exhausting themselves without profit in many cruel wars, who have in rebellious fashion carried out a resolve of long standing, being impatient of a leader of the second rank, since they thought that no recompense for their unremitting toil and repeated victories could be made by a Caesar. 8. To their anger at neither winning increase in rank nor receiving the annual pay was added the unlooked-for order, that men accustomed to cold regions should go to the remotest parts of the eastern world and be dragged away destitute and stripped of everything, separated from their wives and children. Angered by this beyond their wonted manner, they gathered together at night and beset the palace, shouting loudly again and again 'Julianus Augustus.' 9. I was horrified (I confess it) and withdrew; and holding aloof as long as I could, I tried to save myself by remaining in hiding and concealment. But when no respite was given,

muro (ut ita dixerim) saeptus, progressus ante conspectum omnium steti, molliri posse tumultum auctoritate ratus vel sermonibus blandis. 10. Sed[1] exarsere mirum in modum, eo usque provecti, ut quoniam precibus vincere pertinaciam conabar, instanter mortem contiguis assultibus intentarent. Victus denique mecumque ipse contemplans,[2] quod alter confosso me forsitan libens declarabitur princeps, assensus sum, vim lenire posse ratus[3] armatam.

11. "Gestorum hic textus est, quem mente quaeso accipito placida. Nec actum quicquam secus existimes, vel susurrantes perniciosa malignos admittas, ad compendia sua excitare secessiones principum assuetos; sed adulatione vitiorum altrice depulsa, excellentissiman virtutum omnium adverte iustitiam, et condicionum aequitatem, quam propono, bona fide suscipito, cum animo disputans, haec statui Romano prodesse, nobiscum,[4] qui caritate sanguinis et[5] fortunae superioris culmine sociamur. 12. Ignosce enim: quae cum ratione poscuntur, non tam fieri cupio, quam a te utilia probari et recta, avide tua praecepta deinde quoque suscepturus.

13. "Quae necesse sit fieri in compendium redigam breue. Equos praebebo currules Hispanos, et miscendos Gentilibus atque Scutariis adulescentes Laetos quosdam, cis Rhenum editam barbarorum progeniem, vel certe ex dediticiis, qui ad nostra

[1] *set*, added by Clark, *quum*, by Bent.; V omits, def. by Pighius. [2] *contemplans*, Corn.; *contestans*, V, def. by Pighius. [3] *posse ratus*, Her.; *speratus*, Löfstedt, Pighius; *superatus*, V. [4] *nobiscum*, Novák; *nobisque*, AG; *nobis*, V. [5] *et*, add. in G; V omits (def. Heilmann).

[1] Cf. Cic. *De Rep.* I. 49.

protected by the rampart of a free conscience (so to say), I went forth and stood before them all, supposing that the outbreak could be quieted by my authority or by persuasive words. 10. But their excitement was most unusual, and they went so far that when I tried to overcome their obstinacy by entreaties, they rushed upon me and threatened me with instant death. Overcome at last, and thinking to myself that if I were slain another would perhaps willingly be proclaimed emperor, I yielded, expecting that I could thus quiet their armed violence.

11. "This is a full account of what took place, and I pray that you will receive it in a spirit of peace. Do not suspect that anything different was done, or listen to malicious and pernicious whisperers, whose habit it is to excite dissension between princes for their own profit; but rejecting flattery, the nurse of vices, turn to justice, the most excellent of all virtues, and accept in good faith the fair conditions which I propose, convincing yourself that this is to the advantage of the rule of Rome[1] as well as to ourselves, who are united by the tie of blood and by our lofty position. 12. And pardon me: I am not so desirous that these things which are reasonably demanded should be done, as that they should be approved by you as expedient and right, and for the future also I shall eagerly receive your instructions.

13. What ought to be done I will reduce to a few words. I will furnish Spanish horses for your chariots, and to be mingled with the household troops and the targeteers some young men of the Laeti, a tribe of barbarians on this side of the Rhine, or at any rate from those of them who voluntarily

desciscunt. Et haec ad usque exitum vitae me spondeo non modo grato animo,[1] verum cupido quoque facturum. 14. Praefectos praetorio, aequitate et meritis notos, tua nobis dabit clementia, residuos ordinarios iudices, militiaeque moderatores, promovendos arbitrio meo concedi est consentaneum, itidemque stipatores. Stultum est enim cum ante caveri possit ne fiat, eos ad[2] latus imperatoris adscisci, quorum mores ignorantur et voluntates.

15. "Hoc sane sine ulla dubitatione firmaverim: tirones ad peregrina et longinqua Galli transmittere,[3] diuturna perturbatione, casibusque vexati gravissimis, nec sponte sua poterunt nec coacti, ne consumpta penitus iuventute, ut[4] affliguntur praeterita recordantes, ita desperatione pereant impendentium. 16. Nec Parthicis gentibus opponenda auxilia hinc acciri conveniet, cum adhuc nec barbarici sint impetus interclusi, et (si dici quod verum est pateris), haec provinciae malis iactatae continuis, externis indigeant adiumentis et fortibus.

17. "Haec hortando (ut aestimo) salutariter scripsi, poscens et rogans. Scio enim scio nequid sublatius dicam, quam[5] imperio congruit,[6] quas rerum acerbitates, iam conclamatas et perditas, concordia vicissim sibi cedentium principum, meliorem

[1] *animo*, added by G; V omits; *non modo gratum verum cupidum* (om. *animo*) sugg. by Pighius. [2] *eos ad*, NA; *ad* BG; V omits *ad*, def. by Pighius. [3] *transmittere* or *dimittere*, Clark, c.c.; *mittere*, V, def. by Pighius. [4] *ut*, added by Val.; V omits. [5] *quam*, Clark; *cum*, V; *parum*, Novák. [6] *congruit*, Clark; *congrues* V^1; *congruens*, V^2, Novák.

come over to us. And this I promise to do to the end of my life, with not only a willing but an eager spirit. 14. As praetorian prefects your clemency shall appoint for us those who are known for their justice and their merits; the promotion of the other civil officials and military officers, as well as of my bodyguard, is properly to be left to my decision. For it would be folly, since it can be prevented from happening, that those should be attached to an emperor's person whose character and inclinations are unknown to him.

15. "This at least I would declare without any hesitation: the Gauls, since they have been harassed by long continued troubles and grievous misfortunes, cannot voluntarily or under compulsion send recruits to foreign and distant countries, for fear that, if they lose all their young manhood, downcast as they are by the memory of their past afflictions, even so they may perish from despair at what may befall hereafter. 16. Furthermore, it will not be expedient to draw from here auxiliaries to be opposed to the Parthian nations, since the onsets of the barbarians are not yet checked and (if you will permit me to speak the truth) these provinces which have been vexed with constant calamities need aid themselves from without, and valiant aid too.

17. "In urging these measures I have written (I think) to the advantage of the state both in my requests and in my demands. For I know, I do know, not to say anything more arrogantly than befits my authority, what wretched conditions, even when everything seemed already lost and without remedy, have been brought to a better state by the harmony

revocavit in statum, cum appareat maiorum exemplo nostrorum, moderatores haec et similia cogitantes, fortunate beateque vivendi repperire quodam modo viam, et ultimo tempori posteritatique iucundam sui memoriam commendare."

18. His litteris iunctas secretiores alias Constantio offerendas clanculo misit, obiurgatorias et mordaces, quarum seriem nec scrutari licebat,[1] nec (si licuisset), proferre decebat in publicum.

19. Ad id munus implendum, electi viri sunt graves, Pentadius officiorum magister, et Eutherius cubiculi tunc praepositus, post oblatas litteras relaturi, nullo suppresso, quae viderunt, et super ordine futurorum fidenter acturi.

20. Auxerat inter haec coeptorum invidiam, Florenti fuga praefecti, qui velut praesagiens concitandos[2] motus ob[3] militem (ut sermone tenus iactabatur), accitum, consulto discesserat Viennam, alimentariae rei gratia divelli causatus a Caesare, quem saepe tractatum asperius formidabat. 21. Dein cum comperisset eum ad Augustum culmen evectum, exigua ac prope nulla vivendi spe versus in metum, ut longe disiunctus, malis se quae suspicabatur, exemit, et necessitudine omni relicta, digressus venit ad Constantium itineribus lentis, utque se nulli obnoxium culpae monstraret, Iulianum

[1] *licebat*, Clark; *licunt*, V; *licuerat*, Novák. [2] *concitandos*, NAG; *concitanda moturus militem*, Pet.; *concitandos motus ut militem*, V. [3] *ob*, G; *et*, A; *ut*, V.

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[1] At Julian's court.
[2] To serve in the Orient; cf. 4, 2, above.

of rulers yielding in turn to each other. Indeed, it is clear from the example of our forefathers that rulers who have these and similar designs are able somehow to find a way of living happily and successfully and of leaving to posterity and to all future time a happy memory of their lives."

18. Along with this letter he sent another of a more private nature to be delivered to Constantius secretly, which was written in a more reproachful and bitter tone; the content of this it was not possible for me to examine, nor if it had been, would it have been fitting for me to make it public.

19. To perform this mission two men of importance were chosen, Pentadius, the court marshal,[1] and Eutherius, who was then head chamberlain.[1] After delivering the letters they were to report what they saw without concealing anything and to deal confidently with the course of future events.

20. Meanwhile the odium of the enterprise had been increased by the flight of the prefect Florentius, who, as if anticipating the disturbances that would arise from the summoning of the soldiers[2] (which was the subject of common talk) had purposely withdrawn to Vienne, alleging the need of provisions as his excuse for parting from Caesar, whom he had often treated rudely and consequently feared. 21. Then, on hearing that Julian had been raised to the eminence of an Augustus, having small hope or none at all for his life, he became afraid and tried by distance to avoid the dangers that he suspected. So, abandoning all his family, he left and came by slow stages to Constantius, and to show his guiltlessness of any fault, he assailed Julian with many charges

ut perduellem multis criminibus appetebat. 22. Cuius post abitum, bene Iulianus cogitans et prudenter, scirique volens quod praesenti quoque pepercisset, caritates eius cum re familiari intacta, publico cursu usu permisso,[1] ad Orientem vehi[2] tutius imperavit.

9. *Constantius A. Iulianum Caesaris nomine contentus esse iubet, legionibus Gallicanis uno animo constanter repugnantibus.*

1. Nec minore studio secuti legati, haec secum ferentes, quae praediximus, intentique ad viandum, cum venirent ad iudices celsiores, oblique tenebantur, morasque per Italiam et Illyricum perpessi diuturnas et graves, tandem transfretati per Bosporum, itineribusque lentis progressi, apud Caesaream Cappadociae etiam tum degentem invenere Constantium, Mazacam antehac nominatam, opportunam urbem et celebrem, sub Argaei montis pedibus sitam. 2. Qui intromissi data potestate offerunt scripta, hisque recitatis, ultra modum solitae indignationis excanduit imperator, limibusque[3] oculis eos ad usque metum contuens mortis, egredi iussit, nihil post haec percontatus, vel audire perpessus.

3. Perculsus tamen ardenter, cunctatione stringebatur ambigua, utrum in Persas an contra Iulianum

[1] *publico cursu usu permisso*, V; *usu* del. as dittography by Pet.; *publico cursu, usu permisso*, Momm.; *publici cursus*, Lind. [2] *uehi*, Novák; *redire*, G; *digredi*, Her.; *redi*, V. [3] *limibusque*, Amm. alone seems to use this form; cf. *limes*, xvii. 7, 13.

as a traitor. 22. After his departure, Julian, considering the matter well and wisely, and wishing it to be known that he would have spared him even if he had been present, left his dear ones and his property unmolested, gave them the use of the public courier-service, and bade them ride in safety to the Orient.

9. *Constantius Augustus bids Julian to be content with the title of Caesar, but the Gallic legions firmly and unanimously object.*

1. The envoys followed with no less diligence, bearing with them the messages which I have mentioned and intent upon their journey; when, however, they fell in with higher officials they were covertly detained, but after suffering continual and serious delays as they passed through Italy and Illyricum, they at last crossed the Bosporus, and proceeding by slow stages found Constantius still tarrying in Cappadocia at Caesarea. This was a well-situated and populous city, formerly called Mazaca, situated at the foot of Mount Argaeus. 2. When the envoys were given audience, they presented their letters, but no sooner were they read than the emperor burst out in an immoderate blaze of anger, and looking at them askance in such a way that they feared for their lives, he ordered them to get out, asking no further questions and refusing to listen to anything.

3. Yet, though burning with anger, he was tormented by uncertainty whether it were better to order those troops in which he had confidence to

moveri iuberet acies quibus fidebat, haesitansque diu perpensis consiliis, flexus est quorundam sententia utilium suasorum, et iter orientem versus edixit. 4. Statim tamen et legatos absolvit, et Leonam quaestorem suum in Gallias cum litteris datis ad Iulianum pergere celeri statuit gradu, nihil novatorum se asserens suscepisse, sed eum si saluti suae proximorumque consulit, tumenti flatu deposito, intra Caesaris se potestatem continere praecipiens. 5. Utque id facile formido intentatorum efficeret, velut magnis viribus fretus, in locum Florentii praefectum praetorio, Nebridium tum quaestorem eiusdem Caesaris promoverat, et Felicem notarium, officiorum magistrum, et quosdam alios. Gomoarium enim successorem Lupicini, antequam sciretur huius modi quicquam, magistrum provexit armorum.

6. Ingressus itaque Parisios, Leonas susceptus ut honoratus et prudens, postridie principi progresso in campum, cum multitudine armata pariter et plebeia, quam de industria convocarat, e tribunali (ut emineret altius) superstanti, scripta iubetur offerre. Replicatoque volumine edicti quod missum est, et legi ab exordio coepto, cum ventum fuisset

[1] By this disregard of Julian's wishes as to appointments (see 8, 14, and 9, 8, below) he hoped to intimidate his rival.

[2] See § 4, above.

march against the Persians or against Julian. After hesitating long and weighing the counsel given him, he yielded to the advice of some who persuaded him to his advantage, and ordered a march towards the Orient. 4. The envoys, however, he dismissed at once, and only ordered his quaestor Leonas to proceed at rapid pace to Gaul with a letter which he had given him for Julian, in which he declared that he accepted none of the changes, but charged him, if he had any regard for his own life and that of his friends, to drop his swelling pride and keep within the bounds of a Caesar's power. 5. And to the end that fear of his threats might bring this about the more easily, as an indication of confidence in his great strength in place of Florentius he promoted Nebridius, who was then quaestor of the aforesaid Caesar, to the rank of praetorian prefect, and the secretary Felix to that of master of the officies,[1] besides making some other appointments. And indeed Gomoarius had been advanced to the rank of commander-in-chief, as successor to Lupicinus, before Constantius knew anything of this kind.

6. Accordingly, Leonas,[2] having entered Paris, was received as an honoured and discreet person, and on the following day, when the prince had come to the field with a great number of soldiers and townsmen, whom he had purposely summoned, and was standing aloft on a tribunal in order to be more conspicuous from a high position, he ordered the letter to be handed to him. And after unrolling the scroll of the edict which had been sent, he began to read it from the beginning. And when he had come to

ad locum id continentem, quod gesta omnia Constantius improbans Caesaris potestatem sufficere Iuliano censebat, exclamabatur undique vocum terribilium sonu: 7. "Auguste Iuliane,"[1] ut provincialis et miles, et rei publicae decrevit auctoritas recreatae quidem, sed adhuc metuentis redivivos barbarorum[2] excursus.

8. Quibus auditis, Leonas cum Iuliani litteris haec eadem indicantibus, revertit incolumis, solusque admissus est ad praefecturam Nebridius; id enim Caesar quoque scribens, ex sententia sua fore aperte praedixit. Magistrum enim officiorum iam pridem ipse Anatolium ordinavit, libellis antea respondentem, et quosdam alios ut sibi utile videbatur et tutum.

9. Et quoniam cum haec ita procederent, timebatur Lupicinus, licet absens agensque etiam tum apud Britannos, homo superbae mentis et turgidae, eratque suspicio quod (si haec trans mare didicisset) novarum rerum materias excitaret, notarius Bononiam mittitur, observaturus sollicite, ne quisquam fretum oceani transire permitteretur. Quo vetito, reversus Lupicinus, antequam horum quicquam sciret, nullas ciere potuit turbas.

[1] Quotation mark after *Iuliane*, Clark; after *excursus* (at end of paragraph), Lind. [2] *barbarorum*, EBG; *barbarum*, V, Heilman, reading *bar. red.* exc., c.c.

the place where Constantius, rejecting all that had been done, declared that the power of a Caesar was enough for Julian, on all sides terrifying shouts arose: 7 "Julianus Augustus," as was decreed by authority of the province, the soldiers, and the state—a state restored indeed, but still fearful of renewed raids of the savages.

8. On hearing this, Leonas returned in safety, with a letter of Julian to the same purport, and Nebridius alone was admitted to the prefecture; for Caesar in his letter had openly said that such an appointment[1] would be in accordance with his wishes. As to the master of the offices, he had long before chosen for that office Anatolius, who previously had answered petitions, and some others, in accordance with what seemed to him expedient and safe.

9. But while matters were thus proceeding, Lupicinus was to be feared, although he was absent and even then in Britain, for he was a man of haughty and arrogant spirit[2] and it was suspected that if he should learn of these things while across the sea, he would stir up material for a revolution; accordingly, a secretary was sent to Boulogne, to watch carefully and prevent anyone from crossing the strait. Because of this prohibition Lupicinus returned before hearing of anything that had happened, and so could cause no disturbance.

[1] I.e. the appointment of a praetorian prefect; not of Nebridius, as appears from xxi. 5, 11, 12, below.
[2] Cf. xx. 1, 2, note.

10. *Iulianus Aug. Francos cognomine Attuarios trans Rhenum inopinantes aggressus, post plurimos partim captos, partim occisos, ceteris pacem petentibus dedit.*

1. Iulianus tamen iam celsiore fortuna, militisque fiducia laetior, ne intepesceret, neve ut remissus argueretur et deses, legatis ad Constantium missis, in limitem Germaniae secundae egressus est, omnique apparatu, quem flagitavit [1] instans negotium, communitus, Tricensimae oppido propinquabat. 2. Rheno exinde transmisso, regionem subito pervasit Francorum, quos Atthuarios vocant, inquietorum hominum licentius etiam tum percursantium extima Galliarum. Quos adortus subito nihil metuentes hostile, nimiumque securos, quod scruposa viarum difficultate arcente, nullum adhuc [2] suos pagos introisse meminerant principem, superavit negotio levi: captisque plurimis et occisis, orantibus aliis qui superfuere, pacem ex arbitrio dedit, hoc prodesse possessoribus finitimis arbitratus. 3. Unde reversus pari celeritate per flumen, praesidiaque limitis explorans diligenter et corrigens, ad usque Rauracos venit, locisque recuperatis, quae olim barbari intercepta retinebant ut propria,

[1] *flagitauit*, Clark; *flagitabat* EBG; *flagitabit*, V. [2] *adhuc*, Novák; *ad*, V.

[1] Modern Kellen; cf. xviii. 2, 4, note.
[2] *ex arbitrio* is rather a vague expression, but the context seems to make it clear.

10. *Julianus Caesar, having unexpectedly attacked the so-called Atthuarian Franks on the other side of the Rhine, and killed or captured the greater number of them, granted them peace at their request.*

1. Julian, however, being now happier in his lofty station and in the confidence which the soldiers felt in him, in order not to become lukewarm or be accused of negligence and sloth, after sending envoys to Constantius set out for the frontier of Second Germany, and, thoroughly equipped with all the material that the business in hand demanded, drew near to the city of Tricensima.[1] 2. Then crossing the Rhine, he suddenly invaded the territory of those Franks known as Atthuarii, a restless people, who even then were lawlessly overrunning the frontiers of Gaul. Having attacked them unexpectedly, when they feared no hostile demonstration and were quite off their guard, because they could remember no invasion of their land as yet by any emperor, protected as they were by rough and difficult roads, he defeated them with slight trouble; and after having captured or killed a great many, when the rest who survived begged for peace, he granted it on his own conditions,[2] thinking this to be to the advantage of the neighbouring settlers. 3. From there he returned with equal speed by way of the river, and carefully examining and strengthening the defences of the frontier, he came as far as Augst; and there having recovered the places which the savages had formerly taken and were holding as their own, he fortified them with special care and

eisdemque pleniore cura firmatis, per Besantionem Viennam hiematurus abscessit.

11. *Constantius A. Bezabden omnibus copiis oppugnat, ac re infecta discedit ; et de arcu caelesti.*

1. Hic per Gallias erat ordo gestorum. Quae dum ita prospere succedunt et caute, Constantius accitum Arsacen Armeniae regem, summaque liberalitate susceptum, praemonebat et hortabatur, ut nobis amicus esse perseveraret et fidus. 2. Audiebat enim saepius eum temptatum a rege Persarum fallaciis et minis et dolis, ut Romanorum societate posthabita, suis rationibus stringeretur. 3. Qui crebro adiurans, animam prius posse amittere quam sententiam, muneratus cum comitibus quos duxerat redit ad regnum, nihil ausus temerare postea promissorum, obligatus gratiarum multiplici nexu Constantio, inter quas illud potius excellebat, quod Olympiada (Ablabi filiam), praefecti quondam praetorio, ei copulaverat coniugem sponsam fratris sui Constantis.

4. Quo dimisso a Cappadocia ipse per Melitenam (minoris Armeniae oppidum), et Lacotena et Samosata, transito Euphrate Edessam venit, ibique dum agmina undique convenientium militum, et

went by way of Besançon to Vienne, to pass the winter.

11. *Constantius Augustus attacks Bezabde with all his forces, but withdraws without accomplishing his purpose ; and on the rainbow.*

1. Such was the series of events in Gaul. While they were going on so successfully and so wisely, Constantius sent for Arsaces, king of Armenia, and after entertaining him with the greatest generosity forewarned and urged him to continue to be faithful and friendly to us. 2. For he heard that he had often been worked upon by the Persian king with deception, with threats, and with guile, to induce him to give up his alliance with the Romans and involve himself in the Persian's designs. 3. And the king, swearing with many an oath that he could sooner give up his life than his resolve, after receiving rewards returned to his kingdom with the retinue that he had brought with him; and after that he never dared to violate any of his promises, being bound to Constantius by many ties of gratitude, among which this was especially strong—that the emperor had given him to wife Olympias, daughter of Ablabius, a former praetorian prefect, and the betrothed of his brother Constans.

4. After the king had been sent off from Cappadocia, Constantius going by way of Melitena (a town of Lesser Armenia), Lacotena, and Samosata, crossed the Euphrates and came to Edessa. There he lingered for a long time, while he was waiting for the troops of soldiers that were assembling from

rei cibariae abundantes copias operitur, diu moratus, post aequinoctium egreditur autumnale Amidam petens.

5. Cuius cum prope venisset moenia favillis oppleta,[1] collustrans, flebat cum gemitu, reputans qualis miseranda civitas pertulerat clades. Ibi tunc forte Ursulus praesens, qui aerarium tuebatur, dolore percitus exclamavit: "En quibus animis urbes a milite defenduntur, cui ut abundare stipendium possit, imperii opes iam fatiscunt!" Quod dictum ita amarum militaris multitudo postea apud Chalcedona recordata, ad eius exitium consurrexit.

6. Exinde cuneis confertis incedens, cum Bezabden adventaret, fixis tentoriis, vallo fossarumque altitudine circumsaeptis, obequitans castrorum ambitum longius, docebatur relatione multorum, instaurata esse firmius loca, quae antehac incuria corruperat vetustatis. 7. Et nequid omitteret, quod ante fervorem certaminum erat necessario praestruendum, viris prudentibus missis, condicione posita dupla, urgebat moenium defensores redire ad suos, alienis sine cruore concessis, aut in dicionem venire Romanam, dignitatibus augendos et[2] praemiis. Atque cum illi destinatione nativa reniterentur, ut clare nati periculisque et[2] laboribus indurati[3] obsidioni congrua parabantur.

[1] Comma after *oppleta*, Clark, c.c. [2] *et*, added by G; V omits. [3] *indurati*, Val.; *in cuncta*, V.

all sides and for plentiful supplies of provisions; after the autumnal equinox he set out on his way to Amida.

5. When he came near the walls and surveyed only a heap of ashes, he wept and groaned aloud as he thought of the calamities the wretched city had endured. And Ursulus, the state-treasurer, who chanced to be there at the time, was filled with sorrow and cried: "Behold with what courage the cities are defended by our soldiers, for whose abundance of pay the wealth of the empire is already becoming insufficient." And this bitter remark the throng of soldiers recalled later at Chalcedon and conspired for his destruction.[1]

6. After this advancing in close order and coming to Bezabde, Constantius pitched his tents and encircled them with a palisade and with deep trenches. Then, riding about the circuit of the fort at a distance, he learned from many sources that the parts which before had been weakened by age and neglect had been restored to greater strength than ever. 7. And not wishing to leave anything undone that must be done before the heat of battle, he sent men of judgement and offered alternative conditions, urging the defenders of the walls either to give up the possessions of others without bloodshed and return to their own people, or to submit to the sway of Rome and receive increase of honours and rewards. And when with their native resolution they rejected these offers, being men of good birth and inured to perils and hardships, all the preparations for a siege were made.

[1] Cf. xxii. 3, 7-8.

8. Densis itaque ordinibus, cum tubarum incitamentis, latera oppidi cuncta adortus alacrius[1] miles, legionibus in testudines varias conglobatis paulatim tuto progrediens, subruere moenia conabatur, et quia telorum omne genus in subeuntes effundebatur, nexu clypeorum soluto discessum est, in receptum canentibus signis. 9. Laxatis deinde ad diem unum indutiis, tertia luce milite[2] curiosius tecto, elatis passim clamoribus, ascensus undique temptabatur. Et licet defensores sub[3] obtentis ciliciis, ne conspicerentur ab hostibus, latebant intrinsecus, tamen quotiens flagitabat necessitas, lacertos fortiter exsertantes, lapidibus subiectos incessebant et telis. 10. Et vimineae crates cum procederent confidenter, essentque parietibus iam[4] contiguae, dolia desuper cadebant et[5] molae, et columnarum fragmenta, quorum ponderibus nimiis obruebantur oppugnatores, hiatuque violento disiectis operimentis, cum periculis ultimis evadebant.

11. Decimo itaque postquam pugnari coeptum est die, cum spes nostrorum inferior[6] cuncta maerore compleret, transferri placuerat molem arietis magnam, quam Persae quondam, Antiochia pulsibus eius excisa, relatam reliquerant apud Carras. Quae subito visa, aptataque faberrime, clausorum hebe-

[1] *alacrius*, Her.; *alacris*, EBG; *alacrus* V[2], *alacris*, V[1]. [2] *milite*, added by Her.; V omits. [3] *defensores sub*, Clark; *defensoribus*, V. [4] *iam*, added by Novák; V omits. [5] *et*, added by Her.; V omits. [6] *inferior*, G; *interior*, V.

[1] See illustration, pp. 328-9.
[2] By which the besiegers were protected.

8. Then in close array and urged on by the trumpets the soldiers most vigorously attacked the town on every side, and with the legions gathered together into various tortoise-formations[1] and so advancing slowly and safely, they tried to undermine the fortifications; but since every sort of weapon was showered upon them as they came up, the connection of the shields was broken and they gave way, while the trumpets sounded the recall. 9. Then, after a single day's truce, on the third day, with the soldiers more carefully protected and amid loud outcries everywhere, they attempted from every quarter to scale the walls; but although the defenders were hidden within behind hair-cloth stretched before them, in order that the enemy might not see them, yet whenever necessity required they would fearlessly thrust out their right arms and attack the besiegers with stones and weapons. 10. But when the wicker mantlets[2] went confidently on and were already close to the walls, great jars fell from above along with millstones and pieces of columns, by the excessive weight of which the assailants were overwhelmed; and since their devices for protection were rent asunder with great gaps, they made their escape with the greatest peril.

11. Therefore on the tenth day after the beginning of the siege, when the waning hope of our men was causing general dejection, it was decided to bring into action a ram of great size, which the Persians, after formerly using it to raze Antioch, had brought back and left at Carrae. The unlooked-for sight of this and the skilful manner in which it was put together would

taverat mentes, ad usque deditionis remedia paene prolapsas, ni resumptis viribus opponenda minaci machinae praeparassent. 12. Nec temeritas post haec cessaverat nec consilium; namque dum instrueretur aries vetustus et dissolutus, ut facile veheretur, omni arte omnique virium nisu, et oppugnatorum [1] vineae [2] firmitudine summa defensabatur, tormenta nihilo minus et lapidum crebritas atque fundarum ex utraque parte plurimos consumebant, et aggerum moles incrementis celeribus consurgebant, acriorque in dies adulescebat obsidio, multis nostrorum idcirco cadentibus, quod decernentes sub imperatoris conspectu, spe [3] praemiorum, ut possint facile qui essent agnosci, nudantes galeis capita, sagittariorum hostilium peritia fundebantur. 13. Proin dies et noctes intentae vigiliis cautiores stantes utrubique faciebant. Et Persae aggerum altitudine iam in sublime porrecta, machinaeque ingentis horrore perculsi, quam minores quoque sequebantur, omnes exurere vi maxima nitebantur, et assidue malleolos atque incendiaria tela torquentes, laborabant in cassum, ea re quod umectis coriis et centonibus erant opertae materiae plures, aliae unctae alumine diligenter, ut ignis in eas laberetur innoxius. 14. Verum has admoventes fortitudine magna, Romani licet difficile defensa-

[1] *oppugnatorum*, Val.; *oppugnaturum*, V. [2] *uineae* Her.; *ui et*, G; *ueniet*, V. [3] *spe*, added by G; V omits.

have daunted the besieged, who had already been almost reduced to seeking safety in surrender, had they not taken heart again and prepared defences against the menacing engine. 12. And after this they lacked neither rash courage nor good judgement. For although the ram, which was old and had been taken apart for ready transportation, was being set up with all skill and with every exertion of power, and was protected by the besiegers with a mantlet of great strength, yet the artillery and the showers of stones and sling-shots continued none the less to destroy great numbers on both sides. The massive mounds too were rising with rapid additions, the siege grew hotter every day, and many of our men fell for the reason that, fighting as they were under the emperor's eye, through the hope of rewards and wishing to be easily recognised they put off their helmets from their heads and so fell victims to the skill of the enemy's archers. 13. After this, days and nights spent in wakefulness made both sides more cautious. The Persians, too, when the height of the mounds had already become great, stricken with horror of the huge ram, which other smaller ones followed, all strove with might and main to set fire to them, constantly hurling firebrands and blazing darts. But their efforts were vain, for the reason that the greater part of the timbers were covered with wetted hides and rags, while in other places they had been carefully coated with alum,[1] so that the fire fell on them without effect. 14. But these rams the Romans pushed forward with great courage, and although they had difficulty in protecting them, yet through their eagerness to take the town,

[1] Gellius, xv. 1. 6 f., quoting Quadrigarius, tells how Archelaus made a wooden tower fireproof by smearing it with alum.

bant, tamen cupiditate potiundi oppidi ne prompta quidem pericula non [1] contemnebant. 15. Et contra propugnatores cum iam discussurus turrim oppositam aries maximus adventaret, prominentem eius ferream frontem, quae re vera formam effingit arietis, arte subtili illaqueatam altrinsecus, laciniis retinuere longissimis, ne retrogradiens resumeret vires, neve ferire muros assultibus densis contemplabiliter posset, fundentes quoque [2] ferventissimam picem. Et diu promotae machinae stabant, muralia saxa perferentes et tela.

16. Iamque aggeribus cumulatius excitatis, defensores, ni vigilassent, exitium affore iam sperantes, in audaciam ruere praecipitem, et repentino decursu, portis effusi, primosque adorti nostrorum, faces sitellasque ferreas onustas ignibus in arietes magnis viribus iaciebant. 17. Verum post ambiguam proelii varietatem,[3] plurimi nullo [4] impetrato intra moenia repelluntur: moxque ex aggeribus quos erexerunt [5] Romani, idem Persae propugnaculis insistentes, sagittis incessebantur, et fundis telisque igniferis, quae per tegumenta turrium volitantia, paratis qui restinguerent, plerumque irrita labebantur.

18. Cumque pauciores utrubique fierent bellatores, et Persae truderentur ad ultima ni potior

[1] *non*, added by Novák; V omits. [2] *quoque*, G; *que*, V. [3] *varietatem*, suggested by Her.; *sortem*, Novák; *uirtutem*, V. [4] *nullo*, Haupt, C. F. W. M.; *nihil*, V. [5] *erexerunt*, Clark, c.c.; *erexerant*, EBG; *erexerat*, V.

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[1] Double negative as an affirmative, as in xxi. 1, 13.

they were led to scorn [1] even imminent dangers. 15. And on the other hand the defenders, when the huge ram was already drawing near to shake down a tower which stood in its way, by a subtle device entangled its projecting iron end (which in fact has the shape of a ram's head) on both sides with very long ropes, and held it so that it might not move back and gather new strength, nor be able with good aim to batter the walls with repeated lunges; and in the meantime they poured down scalding-hot pitch. And the engines which had been brought up stood for a long time exposed to the huge stones and to the missiles.

16. And now, when the mounds were raised still higher, the garrison, fearing that destruction would soon be upon them unless they should rouse themselves, resorted to utter recklessness. Making a sudden rush through the gates, they attacked the foremost of our men, with all their strength hurling upon the rams firebrands and baskets made of iron and filled with flames. 17. But after fighting with shifting fortune the greater number were driven back within the walls without effecting anything. Then those same Persians, when they had taken their place on the bulwarks were assailed from the mounds, which the Romans had raised, with arrows, sling-shots, and fiery darts, which, however, though they flew through the coverings of the towers, for the most part fell without effect, since there were men at hand to put out the fires.

18. And when the fighting men on both sides became fewer, and the Persians were driven to the last extremity unless some better plan should suggest

ratio succurrisset, impensiore opera procursus temptabatur ex castris, et eruptione subita multitudinis facta, inter armatos qui portabant ignes amplioribus ordinatis, iaciebantur corbes in materias ferreae, plenae flammarum, et sarmenta aliaque ad ignes concipiendos aptissima. 19. Et quia conspectum abstulerant fumi nigerrimae nubes, classico excitante in pugnam, legiones procinctae celeri gradu venerunt, et subcrescente paulatim ardore bellandi, cum ventum fuisset ad manus, repente machinae omnes effusis ignibus urebantur praeter maiorem, quam diruptis[1] restibus quibus e muro iactis implicabatur, virorum fortium acrior nisus aegre semustam extraxit.

20. At ubi nocturnae tenebrae finem proeliis attulerunt, non in longum militi quies data. Cibo enim exiguo refectus et somno, rectorum monitu excitus, munitiones a muro longe demovit, dimicare succinctius parans per sublimes aggestus, qui iam consummati muris altius imminebant. Utque facile defensuri[2] moenia pellerentur, in ipsis aggerum summitatibus binae sunt locatae ballistae, quarum metu ne prospicere quidem posse hostium quisquam crederetur. 21. His satis provisis, prope ipsum crepusculum triplex acies nostrorum instructa,

[1] *diruptis*, Bent., Gardt.; *direptis*, V. [2] *defensuri*, A; *defensori*, V.

[1] I.e. greater than in previous assaults. For *amplioribus* = *pluribus*, cf. xvi. 2, 6, *cum timeret ut ampliores*.
[2] I.e. than would be possible with the siege-engines.

itself, a carefully devised sally from the fortress was attempted. A vast throng made a sudden rush, with still greater numbers[1] of men carrying material for setting fires drawn up among the armed soldiers; then iron baskets filled with flames were hurled upon the woodwork, as well as faggots and other things best suited for kindling fires. 19. And because the pitch-black clouds of smoke made it impossible to see, the legions were roused to the fight by the clarion and in battle array advanced at rapid pace. Then, as their ardour for fighting gradually increased and they had come to hand-to-hand conflict, on a sudden all the siege-engines were destroyed by the spreading flames, except the greater ram; this, after the ropes which had been thrown from the walls and entangled it had been broken, the valiant efforts of some brave men barely rescued in a half-burned condition.

20. But when the darkness of night put an end to the fighting, the rest which was allowed the soldiers was not for long. For after being refreshed with a little food and sleep, they were aroused at the call of their officers and moved the siege-engines to a distance from the wall, preparing to fight with greater ease[2] on the lofty earthworks, which were now finished and overtopped the walls. And in order that those who would defend the ramparts might the more readily be kept back, on the very highest part of each mound two ballistae were placed, through fear of which it was believed that no one of the enemy would be able even to put out his head. 21. When these preparations had been sufficiently made, just before dawn our men were drawn up in three divisions and tried an assault upon the walls,

conisque galearum minacius nutans, scalas vehentibus multis, impetum conabatur in muros. Iamque resultantibus armis et tubis, uno parique ardore hinc indeque pugnabatur audaci conflictu, latiusque sese pandente manu[1] Romana, cum Persas occultari viderent, pavore impositorum aggeribus tormentorum, pulsabant turrim ariete, et cum ligonibus et dolabris et vectibus scalae quoque[2] propinquabant utrimque convolante missilium crebritate. 22. Afflictabant tamen multo vehementius Persas ictus varii ballistarum, tamquam per transennam a clivis structilibus decurrentes. Unde fortunas suas sitas in extremo iam cogitantes, destinatam ruebant in mortem, et partiti munera dimicandi inter necessitatis articulos, relictis qui moenia tuerentur, reserata latenter postica, strictis gladiis valida manus erupit, pone sequentibus aliis, qui flammas occulte portabant. 23. Dumque Romani nunc instant cedentibus, nunc ultro incessentes excipiunt, qui vehebant foculos repentes incurvi, prunas unius aggesti inseruere iuncturis ramis arborum diversarum, et iunco et manipulis constructi cannarum: qui conceptis incendiorum aridis nutrimentis, iam

[1] *manu Romana*, Clark, adding *manu*; *Roma*, changed to *Romanu*, V (*Romana*, V[2]). [2] *scalae quoque*, Her.; *scalisque*, G; *scaleque*, V.

the cones of their helmets nodding in threatening wise and many carrying scaling-ladders. And now, while arms clashed and trumpets brayed, both sides fought with equal ardour and courage. And as the Romans extended their forces more widely and saw that the Persians were in hiding through fear of the engines placed upon the mounds, they attacked a tower with the ram; and in addition to mattocks, pickaxes, and crowbars the scaling-ladders also drew near, while missiles flew thick and fast from both sides. 22. The Persians, however, were more sorely troubled by the various missiles sent from the ballistae, which as if along a tight rope[1] rushed down the artificial slopes of the earthworks. Therefore, thinking that their fortunes were now at their lowest ebb, they rushed to meet certain death, and distributing the duties of their soldiers in the midst of their desperate crisis, they left some behind to hold the walls, while a strong force secretly opened a postern gate and rushed out, drawn sword in hand, followed by others who carried concealed fires. 23. And while the Romans now pressed hard on those who gave way, and now met those who ventured to charge, the men who carried the fire-pans, stooping low and creeping along, pushed live coals into the joints of one of the mounds, which was built of the boughs of various kinds of trees, of rushes, and of bundles of cane. These, as soon as the dry fuel caught fire, at once

[1] *Transenna* has various meanings, one of which is *extentus funis* (Serv. on *Aen.* v. 488). *Per transennam* in this sense occurs only here. In xxv. 6, 14 Ammianus by *e transenna emissi*, refers probably to runners starting in a race when the rope is dropped, and meaning "all together." Some take *per transennam* in the same sense, but it seems to refer rather to the accuracy of the marksmen, as if their missiles slid down a rope stretched from their *ballistae* to the mark at which they aimed.

cremabantur, militibus cum intactis tormentis exinde periculose digressis.

24. Ut vero certaminibus finem vespera dedit incedens, partesque discesserunt ad otium breve, imperator in varia sese consilia diducens et versans, cum excidio Phaenichae diutius imminere, necessariae rationes urgerent, quod munimentum velut insolubile claustrum, hostium excursibus erat obiectum, et serum repelleret tempus: certaturus leviter ibi statuit immorari, alimentis destituendos forsitan cedere existimans Persas. Quod secus atque rebatur evenit. 25. Cum enim remissius pugnaretur, umente caelo undantes nubes cum tenebris advenere minacibus, assiduisque imbribus ita immaduerat solum, ut luti glutinosa mollities, per eas regiones pinguissimi caespitis, omnia perturbaret. Et super his iugi fragore, tonitrua fulguraque mentes hominum pavidas perterrebant.

26. Accedebant arcus caelestis conspectus assidui. Quae species unde ita figurari est [1] solita, expositio brevis [2] ostendet. Halitus terrae calidiores et umoris spiramina conglobata in nubes, exindeque disiecta in aspergines parvas, ac radiorum fusione splendida facta, supinantur volubiliter contra ipsum igneum orbem, irimque conformant, ideo spatioso curvamine sinuosam, quod in nostro panditur mundo, quem sphaerae dimidiae parti rationes physicae superponunt. 27. Cuius species quantum mortalis oculus contuetur, prima lutea visitur, secunda

[1] *figurari est*, Pet.; *itaque igurari et*, V; *figurari sit*, E, Val. [2] *breuis*, Val.; *dure bis*, V.

[1] The meaning seems to be that the vault of the heavens is therefore a hemisphere.

burst into flame, and our soldiers only with extreme peril got away with their engines uninjured.

24. But when the coming of evening put an end to the fighting, and both sides withdrew for a brief rest, the emperor, divided between various plans and pondering them—since pressing reasons urged a longer attempt to destroy Phaenicha, a fortress opposed as an almost unsurmountable barrier to the enemy's inroads; but the lateness of the season dissuaded him—finally decided to stay there, and to carry on light skirmishes, thinking that perhaps the Persians would yield through lack of supplies. But the result was not what he looked for. 25. For when the fighting slackened, wet weather followed, dripping clouds with menacing darkness appeared, and the ground was so drenched with continual rains, that soft and sticky mud caused general trouble in that region of rich turf. And, besides all this, thunder and lightning with repeated crashes terrified the timorous minds of men.

26. More than this, rainbows were constantly seen; and how that phenomenon is wont to occur, a brief explanation will show. The warmer exhalations of the earth and its moist vapours are condensed into clouds; these are then dissipated into a fine spray, which, made brilliant by the sun's rays that fall upon it, rises swiftly and, coming opposite the fiery orb itself, forms the rainbow. And the bow is rounded into a great curve, because it extends over our world, which the science of natural philosophy tells us rests upon a hemisphere.[1] 27. Its first colour, so far as mortal eye can discern, is yellow, the second

flavescens vel fulva, punicea [1] tertia, quarta purpurea, postrema caerulo concreta et viridi. 28. Hac [2] autem mixta pulchritudine temperatur, ideo ut terrenae existimant mentes, quod prima eius pars dilutior cernitur, aeri concolor circumfuso, sequens fulva, id est paulo excitatior quam lutea, punicea tertia, quod solis obnoxia claritudini, pro [3] reciprocatione [4] spiritus fulgores eius purissime [5] e regione deflorat, quarta ideo purpurat, quod intermicante asperginum densitate, per quas oritur, radiorum splendor concipiens [6] ostendit aspectum flammeo propiorem, qui color quanto magis diffunditur, concedit in caerulum et virentem.

29. Arbitrantur alii tunc iridis formam rebus apparere mundanis, cum altius delatae nubi crassae radii solis infusi, lucem iniecerint liquidam, quae non reperiens exitum, in se conglobata nimio splendescit attritu, et proximos quidem albo colores a sole sublimiore decerpit, subvirides vero a nubis similitudine superiectae, ut in mari solet usu venire, ubi candidae sunt undae quae litoribus illiduntur, interiores sine ulla concretione caerulae.

30. Et quoniam indicium est permutationis aurae (ut diximus), a sudo aere nubium concitans globos, aut contra ex concreto mutans in serenam laetitiam

[1] *punicea*, EAG; *pucea*, V. [2] *haec*, sugg. by Clark.
[3] *pro*, omitted by EG ("perhaps rightly," Clark).
[4] *reciprocatione*, E, Val.; *reticatione*, V. [5] *purissime*, Erfurdt; *purissimos*, G; *purissimem*, V. [6] *splendorem concipiens*, Madvig; *splendorum conspiciens*, V.

golden or tawny, the third red, the fourth violet,[1] and the last blue verging upon green. 28. It shows this combination of beautiful colours, as earthborn minds conceive, for the reason that its first part, corresponding in colour with the surrounding air, appears paler; the second is tawny, that is, somewhat more vivid than yellow; the third is red, because it is exposed to the brightness of the sun, and in proportion to alternation in the air absorbs its brilliance most purely, being just opposite;[2] the fourth is violet, because receiving the brightness of the sun's rays with a thick rain of spray glittering between, through which it rises, it shows an appearance more like fire; and that colour, the more it spreads, passes over into blue and green.

29. Others think that the form of the rainbow appears to earthly sight when the rays of the sun penetrate a thick and lofty cloud and fill it with clear light. Since this does not find an outlet, it forms itself into a mass and glows from the intense friction; and it takes the colours nearest to white from the sun higher up, but the greenish shades from resemblance to the cloud just above it. The same thing usually happens with the sea, where the waters that dash upon the shore are white, and those further out without any admixture are blue.

30. And since the rainbow is an indication of a change of weather (as I have said), from sunny skies bringing up masses of clouds, or on the contrary changing an overcast sky to one that is calm and

[1] "Purple" varied from scarlet to violet.
[2] I.e. the air is so affected by contact with the first two bands that it becomes more receptive of the effect of the sun's rays.

caelum, ideo apud poetas legimus saepe, Irim de caelo tunc[1] mitti, cum praesentium rerum verti necesse sit status. Suppetunt aliae multae opiniones et variae, quas dinumerare nunc est supervacuum, narratione redire unde digressa est festinante.

31. His ac talibus imperator inter spem metumque iactabatur, ingravescente hiemis magnitudine, suspectisque[2] per avios tractus insidiis, inter quae etiam tumultum[3] exasperati militis verebatur. Super his urebat eius anxiam mentem, quod velut patefacta ianua divitis domus, irritus propositi reverteretur.

32. Quas ob res omisso vano incepto, hiematurus Antiochiae redit in Syriam, aerumnosa[4] perpessus et gravia; nec enim levia erant damna quae Persae intulerant,[5] sed[6] atrociora diuque deflenda. Evenerat enim hoc, quasi fatali constellatione ita regente diversos eventus, ut ipsum Constantium dimicantem cum Persis, fortuna semper sequeretur afflictior, unde vincere saltim per duces optabat, quod aliquotiens meminimus contigisse.

[1] *tunc*, added by Her.; V omits. [2] *suspectisque*, G; *speratisque*, Haupt; *superetisque*, V (second *e* del. by V[3]). [3] *tumultum*, G; *tum*, preceded by lac. 18 letters, V. [4] *aerumnosa*, Hadr. Val., Haupt; *aerumnosam*, V. [5] *perpessus et . . . int(ulerant)*, added by Novák; *etulerint sed atrotia*, V. [6] *sed*, V, Novák; *et*, Haupt, Corn.

pleasant, we often read in the poets that Iris is sent from heaven when it is necessary to change the present condition of affairs. There are many other different opinions, which it would be superfluous to enumerate at present, since my narrative is in haste to return to the point from which it digressed.

31. For these and similar reasons the emperor wavered between hope and fear, since the severity of winter was drawing near and attacks were to be looked for in that trackless region, while also he feared mutiny of the exasperated soldiers. Besides this, his anxious mind was tormented by the thought that when, so to speak, the door of a rich house was open before him, he was returning without success.

32. Therefore abandoning his fruitless attempt, he returned to Syria, purposing to winter in Antioch, having suffered severely and grievously; for the losses which the Persians had inflicted upon him were not slight but terrible and long to be lamented. For it had happened, as if some fateful constellation so controlled the several events, that when Constantius in person warred with the Persians, adverse fortune always attended him. Therefore he wished to conquer at least through his generals, which, as we recall, did sometimes happen.

LIBER XXI

1. *Iulianus Aug. Viennae quinquennalia celebrat: quo modo Constantium A. brevi moriturum praenoverit: et de variis artibus futura praenoscendi.*

1. Intercluso hac bellorum difficili sorte Constantio trans flumen Euphratem, Iulianus agens apud Viennam, firmandis [1] in futura consiliis, dies impendebat et noctes, quantum opes patiebantur angustae, altius semet attollens, semperque ambigens, utrum Constantium modis omnibus alliceret in concordiam, an terroris incutiendi gratia lacesseret prior. 2. Quae sollicite reputans, utrumque formidabat, et amicum cruentum et in aerumnis civilibus saepe victorem, maximeque Galli fratris exemplum, mentem eius anxiam suspendebat, quem inertia mixtaeque periuriis fraudes prodidere quorundam. 3. Erigebat tamen aliquotiens animum ad multa et urguentia,[2] tutissimum ratus inimicum se ex confesso monstrare, ei cuius ex praeteritis motus coniectabat ut prudens, ne [3] per amicitias fictas insidiis falleretur occultis. 4. Parvi igitur habitis, quae per Leonam Constantius scripserat, nulloque arbitrio eius promotorum suscepto, praeter Nebridium, quinquennalia Augustus iam edidit:

[1] *firmandis*, C. F. W. M.; *formandis*, V. [2] *urguentia*, Clark, c.c.; *urgentia*, V. [3] *ne*, Lind.; *ni*, V.

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[1] See xx. 9, 4.

BOOK XXI

1. *Julianus Augustus celebrates quinquennial games at Vienne; how he knew beforehand that Constantius Augustus would shortly die; and on various means of foretelling future events.*

1. While Constantius was involved in this hard fortune of wars beyond the river Euphrates, Julian passed the time at Vienne, spending days and nights in making secure plans for the future, so far as his narrow means allowed, constantly gaining greater confidence, but always in doubt whether to try every means for inducing Constantius to come to an understanding, or to strike him with terror by attacking him first. 2. Anxiously weighing these alternatives, he feared Constantius both as a cruel friend and as frequently victor in civil troubles; and in particular his mind was made anxious and uncertain by the example of his brother Gallus, whom his own negligence and the combined deceit and perjury of certain men had betrayed 3. Sometimes, however, he took courage to meet many urgent affairs, thinking it far safer to show himself an open enemy to one whose conduct he, as a sagacious prince, could infer from the past, for fear of being deceived by secret plots under cover of a feigned friendship. 4. Therefore, making light of the letter that Constantius had sent through Leonas,[1] and recognising the authority of none of those whom his rival had promoted except Nebridius, being now an Augustus he celebrated quinquennial

et ambitioso diademate utebatur, lapidum fulgore distincto, cum inter exordia principatus, assumpta vili corona circumdatus erat xystarchae similis purpurato. 5. Inter quae Helenae coniugis defunctae suprema miserat Romam, in suburbano viae Nomentanae condenda, ubi uxor quoque Galli quondam (soror eius) sepulta est Constantina.

6. Acuebat[1] autem incendebatque eius cupiditatem, pacatis iam Galliis, incessere ultro Constantium, animus[2] coniciens eum per vaticinandi praesagia multa (quae callebat) et somnia, e vita protinus excessurum.

7. Et quoniam erudito et studioso cognitionum omnium principi, malivoli praenoscendi futura pravas artes assignant, advertendum est breviter, unde sapienti viro hoc quoque accedere[3] poterit, doctrinae genus haud leve.

8. Elementorum omnium spiritus, utpote perennium corporum praesentiendi motu semper et ubique vigens, ex his, quae per disciplinas varias affectamus, participat nobiscum munera divinandi: et substantiales potestates ritu diverso placatae, velut ex perpetuis fontium venis, vaticina mortalitati suppeditant verba, quibus numen praeesse dicitur Themidis, quam

[1] *acuebat*, Wagner; *accidebat*, Eyssen.; *accidat*, V.
[2] *animus*, Momm. (after *somnia*, Novák); V omits.
[3] *accedere*, Bent.; *accidere*, V.

[1] Cf. Suet., *Dom.* 4, 4, *Certamini praesedit crepidatus, purpuraque amictus toga Graecanica, capite gestans coronam auream*, etc.
[2] As usual in Greece.

games; and he wore a magnificent diadem,[1] set with gleaming gems, whereas at the beginning of his principate he had assumed and worn a cheap crown, like that of the director of a gymnasium attired in purple.[2] 5. While these games were going on he had sent to Rome the remains of his deceased wife Helena, to be laid to rest in his villa near the city on the via Nomentana, where also her sister Constantina,[3] formerly the wife of Gallus, was buried.

6. Moreover, now that Gaul was quieted, his desire of first attacking Constantius was sharpened and fired, since he inferred from many prophetic signs (in which he was an adept) and from dreams, that Constantius would shortly depart from life.

7. And since to an emperor both learned and devoted to all knowledge malicious folk attribute evil arts for divining future events, we must briefly consider how this important kind of learning also may form part of a philosopher's equipment.

8. The spirit pervading all the elements, seeing that they are eternal bodies, is always and everywhere strong in the power of prescience, and as the result of the knowledge which we acquire through varied studies makes us also sharers in the gifts of divination; and the elemental powers,[4] when propitiated by divers rites, supply mortals with words of prophecy, as if from the veins of inexhaustible founts. These prophecies are said to be under the control of the divine Themis, so named because she reveals in advance

[3] Wrongly, here and elsewhere for Constantia; see vol. i, p. 4, n. 1.
[4] Demons, in the Greek sense of the word δαίμονες: cf. xiv. 11, 25, *substantialis tutela*.

ex eo quod fixa fatali lege decreta, praescire facit in posterum, quae τεθειμένα sermo Graecus appellat, ita cognominatam, in cubili solioque Iouis, vigoris vivifici, theologi veteres collocarunt.

9. Auguria et auspicia non volucrum arbitrio futura nescientium colliguntur (nec enim hoc vel insipiens quisquam dicet) sed volatus avium dirigit deus, ut rostrum sonans aut praetervolans pinna, turbido meatu vel leni, futura praemonstret. Amat enim benignitas numinis, seu quod merentur homines, seu quod tangitur eorum affectione, his quoque artibus prodere quae impendent.

10. Extis itidem pecudum attenti fatidicis, in species converti assuetis [1] innumeras, accidentia sciunt. Cuius disciplinae Tages nomine quidam monstrator est, ut fabulantur, in Etruriae partibus emersisse subito visus e terra.

11. Aperiunt tunc quoque ventura, cum aestuant hominum corda, sed locuntur divina. Sol enim (ut aiunt physici) mens mundi nostras mentes ex sese velut scintillas diffunditans cum eas incenderit vehementius, futuri conscias reddit. Unde Sibyllae crebro se dicunt ardere, torrente vi magna flammarum. Multa significant super his crepitus vocum, et occurrentia signa, tonitrua quin etiam et fulgura, et fulmina itidemque siderum sulci.

[1] *adsuetis*, Clark; *suetis*, AG, Heilmann; *sueti*, V.

decrees determined for the future by the law of the fates, which the Greeks call τεθειμένα;[1] and therefore the ancient theologians gave her a share in the bed and throne of Jupiter, the life-giving power.

9. Auguries and auspices are not gained from the will of the fowls of the air which have no knowledge of future events (for that not even a fool will maintain), but a god so directs the flight of birds that the sound of their bills or the passing flight of their wings in disturbed or in gentle passage foretells future events. For the goodness of the deity, either because men deserve it, or moved by his affection for them, loves by these arts also to reveal impending events.

10. Those, too, who give attention to the prophetic entrails of beasts, which are wont to assume innumerable forms, know of impending events. And the teacher of this branch of learning is one named Tages, who (as the story goes) was seen suddenly to spring from the earth in the regions of Etruria.[2]

11. Future events are further revealed when men's hearts are in commotion, but speak divine words. For (as the natural philosophers say) the Sun, the soul of the universe, sending out our minds from himself after the manner of sparks, when he has fired men mightily, makes them aware of the future. And it is for this reason that the Sibyls often say that they are burning, since they are fired by the mighty power of the flames. Besides these, the loud sounds of voices give many signs, as well as the phenomena which meet our eyes, thunder even and lightning, and the gleam of a star's train of light.

[1] Things fixed and immutable.
[2] See xvii. 10, 2, note.

12. Somniorum autem rata fides et indubitabilis foret, ni ratiocinantes coniectura fallerentur[1] interdum. Quae[1] (ut Aristoteles affirmat) tum fixa sunt et stabilia, cum animantis altius quiescentis, ocularis pupula[2] neutrubi inclinata, rectissime cernit. 13. Et quia vanities aliquotiens plebeia strepit, haec imperite mussando, si esset praesentiendi notitia quaedam, cur ille se casurum in bello, vel alius hoc se passurum ignoravit aut illud, sufficiet dici, quod et grammaticus locutus interdum est barbare, et absurde cecinit musicus, et ignoravit remedium medicus: sed[3] non ideo nec grammatica nec musica nec medicina subsistit. 14. Unde praeclare hoc quoque (ut alia) Tullius: "Signa ostenduntur" ait "a dis rerum futurarum. In his siqui erraverit, non deorum natura sed hominum coniectura peccavit." Ne igitur extra calcem (quod dicitur) sermo decurrens, lecturo fastidium ferat, ad explicanda prospecta revertamur.

2. *Iulianus A. Viennae Christianum se simulat illiciendae multitudinis causa: et die festo in Ecclesia inter Christianos Deum precatur.*

1. Cum apud Parisios adhuc Caesar Iulianus quatiens scutum variis motibus exerceretur in

[1] *fallerentur interdum: quae*, Bent., Madvig; *fallerentur interdumque*, BG; *fallerentur. interdumque*, V. [2] *pupula*, Her.; *pupilla*, W²BG; *popiala*, V. [3] *set*, Clark; *at* A; *et*, V.

12. The faith in dreams, too, would be sure and indubitable, were it not that their interpreters are sometimes deceived in their conjectures. And dreams (as Aristotle declares) are certain and trustworthy, when the person is in a deep sleep and the pupil of his eye is inclined to neither side but looks directly forward. 13. And because the silly commons oftentimes object, ignorantly muttering such things as these: "If there were a science of prophecy, why did one man not know that he would fall in battle, or another that he would suffer this or that": it will be enough to say, that a grammarian has sometimes spoken ungrammatically, a musician sung out of tune, and a physician been ignorant of a remedy, but for all that grammar, music, and the medical art have not come to a stop. 14. Wherefore Cicero has this fine saying, among others: "The gods," says he, "show signs of coming events. With regard to these if one err, it is not the nature of the gods that is at fault, but man's interpretation."[1] Therefore, that my discourse may not run beyond the mark (as the saying is) and weary my future reader, let us return and unfold the events that were foreseen.

2. *Julianus Augustus at Vienne pretends to be a Christian, in order to win the favour of the populace; and on the day of a festival he prays to God in church among the Christians.*

1. At Paris, when Julian, still a Caesar, was shaking his shield while engaged in various exercises

[1] Cic., *De Nat. Deorum*, ii. 4, 12; *De Div.* i. 52, 118.

campo, axiculis, quibus [1] orbis erat compaginatus, in vanum excussis, ampla [2] remanserat sola, quam retinens valida manu stringebat. 2. Territisque ut omine diro praesentibus cunctis, "Nemo" inquit "vereatur: habeo firmiter quod tenebam." Item cum apud Viennam postea quiesceret sobrius, horrore medio noctis, imago quaedam visa splendidior, hos ei versus heroos modo non vigilanti aperte edixit,[3] eadem saepius replicando, quibus fretus nihil asperum sibi superesse existimabat

Ζεὺς ὅταν εἰς πλατὺ τέρμα μόλῃ κλυτοῦ ὑδροχόοιο,
Παρθενικῆς δὲ Κρόνος μοίρῃ βαίνῃ ἐπὶ πέμπτῃ
εἰκοστῇ, βασιλεὺς Κωνστάντιος Ἀσίδος αἴης
τέρμα φίλου βιοτοῦ στυγερὸν καὶ ἐπώδυνον ἕξει.

3. Agebat itaque nihil interim de statu rerum praesentium mutans, sed animo tranquillo et quieto incidentia cuncta disponens, paulatimque sese corroborans, ut dignitatis augmento, virium quoque congruerent incrementa. 4. Utque omnes nullo impediente, ad sui favorem illiceret, adhaerere cultui Christano fingebat, a quo iam pridem occulte desciverat, arcanorum participibus paucis, harus-

[1] *quibus*, N, Novák; *quis*, BG; *quid*, V. [2] *ansa*, G; *ample*, V. [3] *edixit*, Clark, c.c.; *dixit*, V.

[1] Practice in manœuvres with the shield was a regular part of military exercises; Vegetius, ii. 14, *qui dimicare gladio, et scutum rotare doctissime noverit, qui omnem artem didicerit armaturae*. The shield must not fall to the ground; cf. Martial, ix. 38, 1 f.: *Summa licet velox, Agathine, pericula ludas, non tamen efficies ut tibi parma cadat.*

in the field,[1] the sections of which the orb of the shield was fashioned fell apart and only the handle remained, which he held in the grasp of a strong hand. 2. And when all who were present were terrified by what seemed a direful omen, he said: "Let no man be afraid; I hold firmly what I was holding." [2] Again at Vienne at a later time, when he went to sleep with a clear head, at night's dread mid a gleaming form appeared and recited to him plainly, as he lay almost awake, the following heroic verses, repeating them several times; and trusting to these, he believed that no difficulty remained to trouble him:

"When Zeus the noble Aquarius' bound shall reach,
And Saturn come to Virgo's twenty-fifth degree,
Then shall Constantius, king of Asia, of this life
So sweet the end attain with heaviness and grief." [3]

3. Accordingly, he continued to make no change in his present condition, merely with calm and tranquil mind attending to everything that came up and gradually strengthening his position, to the end that his increase in rank might be attended also with a growth in power. 4. And in order to win the favour of all men and have opposition from none, he pretended to be an adherent of the Christian religion, from which he had long since secretly revolted; and making a few men sharers in his secrets, he was given up to soothsaying and auguries, and to other

[2] Cf. Suet., *Jul.* 59, "*teneo te, Africa.*"
[3] The author of the verses is not known; they are quoted, with slight differences in the wording, by Zonaras, xiii. 11 c, and Zosimus, iii. 9.

picinae auguriisque intentus, et ceteris quae deorum semper fecere cultores. 5. Et ut haec interim celarentur, feriarum die, quem celebrantes mense Ianuario Christiani Epiphania dictitant, progressus in eorum ecclesiam, sollemniter numine orato discessit.

3. *Vadomarius, rex Alamannorum, rupto foedere, per emissarios limites vastat, et Libinonem comitem cum paucis interficit.*

1. Dum haec ita aguntur, propinquante iam vere, nuntio percitus inopino, ad tristitiam versus est et maerorem. Didicit enim Alamannos a pago Vadomarii exorsos, unde nihil post ictum foedus sperabatur incommodum, vastare confinis Raetiis tractus, nihilque sinere intemptatum, manus praedatorias fusius discurrentes. 2. Quod ne dissimulatum redivivas bellorum materias excitaret, Libinonem quendam comitem cum Celtis et Petulantibus misit, hiemantibus secum, negotium (ut poscebat ratio) correcturum. 3. Qui cum mature prope oppidum Sanctionem[1] venisset, longe visus a barbaris, qui iam certamina meditantes, sese per valles abdiderant, hortatusque milites licet numero

[1] *Sanctionem*, V; *Sanetionem*, Her.

[1] It was celebrated on January 6th, to commemorate the appearance of Christ to the *magi* who came from the East with gifts. The Orientals for a long time believed that it was the date of His birth and baptism.

[2] With Constantius; see xvi. 12, 17; xviii. 2, 19.

practises which the worshippers of the pagan gods have always followed. 5. And in order temporarily to conceal this, on the day of the festival which the Christians celebrate in the month of January and call the Epiphany,[1] he went to their church, and departed after offering a prayer to their deity in the usual manner.

3. *Vadomarius, king of the Alamanni, having broken the treaty, lays waste the frontiers through his emissaries and kills Count Libino and some others.*

1. While these events were taking place, spring being now at hand, Julian was stirred by an unexpected piece of news, which turned him to sadness and grief. For he learned that the Alamanni had sallied forth from Vadomarius' canton, a quarter from which he looked for no danger since the conclusion of the treaty,[2] and were devastating the regions bordering on Raetia, and, ranging widely with bands of plunderers, were leaving nothing untried. 2. Since to ignore this would arouse new causes for war, he sent a certain Libino, a count, with the Celts and Petulantes, who were wintering with him, to set matters in order according as conditions demanded. 3. When Libino had quickly come to the neighbourhood of the town of Sanctio,[3] he was seen from afar by the savages, who, already meditating battle, had hidden themselves in the valleys. Thereupon encouraging his men, who, though fewer in numbers,

[3] Modern Seckingen, on the right bank of the Rhine, opposite the country of the Rauraci.

impares, cupidine tamen pugnandi vehementius irritatos, aggreditur inconsulte Germanos, interque dimicandi exordia, ipse concidit omnium primus, cuius interitu erecta barbarorum fiducia, Romanisque ad ducis vindictam accensis, certamen committitur obstinatum, et urgente magnitudinis mole, disiecti sunt nostri occisis paucis et vulneratis.

4. Cum hoc Vadomario et Gundomado eius fratre itidem rege, Constantius (ut iam relatum est) firmaverat pacem. Post quae mortuo Gundomado, hunc sibi fore existimans fidum, secretorumque taciturnum exsecutorem et [1] efficacem mandabat, si famae solius admittenda est fides, scribebatque, ut tamquam rupto concordiae pacto, subinde collimitia sibi vicina vexaret, quo Iulianus id metuens nusquam a tutela discederet Galliarum. 5. Quibus (si [2] dignum est credere) obtemperans Vadomarius haec et similia perpetrabat, ad perstringendum fallendumque miris modis ab aetatis primitiis callens, ut postea quoque ducatum per Phoenicen regens ostendit. Sed re ipsa convictus abstinuit. Capto enim a stationariis militibus notario, quem miserat ad Constantium, scrutatoque siquid portaret, epistula eius reperta est, in qua praeter alia multa, id

[1] *et* added by Val.; V omits. [2] *si*, C. F. W. M., Novák, Momm.; *ut*, EAG; *et*, V.

were inspired with an ardent longing for battle, he rashly attacked the Germans and at the beginning of the fighting was himself the first of all to fall. Since his death increased the confidence of the savages and fired the Romans with a desire to avenge their leader, an obstinate struggle ensued, in which our men, overcome by vast numbers, were put to flight after a few of them had been killed or wounded.

4. With this Vadomarius and his brother Gundomadus, who was also king, Constantius (as I have already said) had concluded a peace.[1] When, after that event, Gundomadus [2] died, Constantius, thinking that Vadomarius would be loyal to him, made him the secret and efficient executor of his plots (if rumour alone is to be trusted), and wrote to him that he should pretend to break the treaty of peace from time to time and attack the districts bordering on his domain; to the end that Julian, in fear of this, should nowhere abandon the defence of Gaul. 5. These commands Vadomarius obeyed (if it is right to believe the tale) and perpetrated this and similar outrages, wonderfully skilled as he was from the beginning of his life in deception and fraud, as he also showed later when governor of the province of Phoenicia.[3] But when he was actually proved to be acting treacherously, he ceased his activities. For a secretary whom he had sent to Constantius was captured by the soldiers on guard, and when he was searched, to see if he carried anything, a letter from Vadomarius was found, in which besides many other

[1] xviii. 2, 19. [2] xvi. 12, 17. [3] xxvi. 8, 2.

quoque scripserat: "Caesar tuus disciplinam non habet." Iulianum autem assidue per litteras dominum et Augustum appellabat et deum.

4. *Iulianus A., interceptis Vadomarii litteris ad Constantium A., eum in convivio comprehendendum curavit: et Alamannis aliis occisis, aliis in deditionem acceptis, ceteris pacem petentibus dedit.*

1. Haec ut erant periculosa et dubia, Iulianus in exitiale malum eruptura considerans, in unum omni cogitatione intenta, eum vi incautum rapere festinabat, ut securitatem suam provinciarumque locaret in tuto, et iniit consilium tale. 2. Philagrium notarium, Orientis postea comitem, ad eas miserat partes, cuius prudentiae fidebat, olim sibi compertae, eique inter multa, quae pro captu instantium rerum erat acturus, signatam quoque chartulam tradidit, mandavitque, ne aperiret vel recitaret nisi Vadomario viso cis Rhenum. 3. Perrexit Philagrius ut praeceptum est, eoque praesente et negotiis adstricto diversis, transgressus Vadomarius flumen, ut nihil in profunda metuens pace nihilque secus gestorum simulans scire, viso praeposito militum ibi degentium, pauca locutus ex more, ultro semet, ut suspicionis nihil relinqueret abiturus, ad convivium eius venire promisit, ad quod erat etiam

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[1] Implying that it was necessary to keep an eye on him.
[2] Under Theodosius in 382.

things he had written this also: "Your Caesar lacks discipline."[1] But he was constantly addressing Julian in letters as Lord, Augustus and God.

4. *Julianus Augustus, having intercepted a letter of Vadomarius to Constantius Augustus, had him arrested at a banquet; then, after slaying some of the Alamanni and receiving others in surrender, he granted peace to the rest at their request.*

1. Julian, thinking that such actions, dangerous and dubious as they were, would break out into deadly mischief, directed all his thoughts to the one end of forcibly seizing Vadomarius while off his guard, in order to ensure his own safety and that of the provinces. And this was the plan that he formed. 2. He had sent to those regions his secretary, Philagrius, later Count of the Orient,[2] in whose good judgement he had confidence, having already tested it; and, in addition to many other orders which he was to execute according as urgent affairs might require, he also gave him a sea ed note with orders neither to open nor read it unless he saw Vadomarius on our side of the Rhine. 3. Philagrius went his way as ordered, and when he had arrived and was busy with sundry affairs, Vadomarius crossed the river, fearing nothing, as was natural in a time of profound peace, and pretending to know of no irregular doings. And on seeing the commander of the soldiers stationed there, he spoke briefly with him as usual; and in order to leave behind no suspicion on his departure, he even promised to come to a banquet of the commander's,

Philagrius invitatus. 4. Qui statim ingressus, rege conspecto imperatoris recordatus est verba, causatusque rem seriam et urgentem, ad diversorium rediit, scriptisque lectis, doctus quid agi conveniet,[1] confestim reversus discubuit inter ceteros. 5. Finitisque epulis Vadomarium fortiter apprehensum, rectori militum arte custodiendum apud signa commisit, textu lecto iussorum, comitibus eius ad sua redire compulsis, super quibus nihil fuerat imperatum. 6. Exhibitus tamen idem rex ad principis castra, iamque spe veniae omni praeclusa, cum interceptum notarium et quae scripserat ad Constantium, comperisset iam publicata, ne convicio quidem tenus compellatus, missus est ad Hispanias. Id enim studio curabatur ingenti, ne Iuliano discedente a Galliis, immanissimus homo provinciarum statum aegre compositum, licentius conturbaret.

7. Hoc casu elatior Iulianus, regis opinione citius intercepti, quem profecturus ad longinqua formidabat nihil remittentibus curis, barbaros adoriri disposuit, quos peremisse Libinonem comitem in congressu cum militibus docuimus paucis. 8. Et ne rumor adventus sui eos ad remotiora traduceret, superato

[1] *conveniet*, V, Pet.; *conveniret*, EBG.

[1] See 3, 3, above.

to which Philagrius also was invited. 4. The latter immediately upon entering and seeing the king recalled the words of his emperor, and offering as excuse some important and urgent piece of business, returned to his quarters; then, after reading the letter and learning what he was to do, he at once came back and took his place at table with the others. 5. As soon as the feast was ended, he laid a strong hand on Vadomarius and handed him over to the commander of the soldiers, to be closely confined in camp, having read to him the text of his orders; the king's companions he compelled to return to their homes, since no order touching them had been given. 6. The aforesaid king, however, was taken to the camp of the prince, and though now without any hope of pardon, since he had learned that his secretary had been taken and that what he had written to Constantius was now generally known, without even being addressed in reproachful terms he was sent to Spain. For the greatest precaution was taken lest, when Julian should withdraw from Gaul, that most savage king should not lawlessly disturb the condition of the provinces, which had been put in order with difficulty.

7. Although Julian was somewhat elated by this good fortune, in that the king, whom he dreaded when about to leave for far countries, had been apprehended sooner than he had expected, yet he did not at all relax his diligence, but planned an attack upon the savages who (as I have shown[1]) had slain the Count Libino and a few of his followers in battle. 8. And in order that no rumour of his coming might lead them to flee to more distant places, he

Rheno noctis alto silentio, cum auxiliorum expeditissimis globis, nihil metuentes huius modi circumvenit, excitatosque hostilium fragore armorum, dum gladios circumspectant et tela, celeriter involavit et quosdam occidit, orantes alios praedamque [1] offerentes, dediticios cepit, reliquis, qui remansere, pacem precantibus dedit, quietem pollicitis firmam.

5. ***Iulianus A. milites suos alloquitur, et in verba sua universos adigit, Constantio A. bellum illaturus.***

1. Quae dum mentibus aguntur erectis, coniectans quantas intestinae cladis excitaverat moles, nihilque tam convenire conatibus subitis, quam celeritatem sagaci praevidens mente, professa palam defectione, se tutiorem fore existimavit, incertusque de militum fide, placata ritu secretiore Bellona, classico ad contionem exercitu convocato, saxeo suggestu insistens, iamque (ut apparebat) fidentior haec clarius solito disserebat:

2. "Iam dudum tacita deliberatione vos aestimo (magni [2] commilitones) gestorum excitos amplitudine, hoc operiri consilium, ut eventus, qui sperantur, perpendi possint et praecaveri. Plus enim audire quam loqui militem decet actibus coalitum magnis et [3] gloriosis, nec alia spectatae aequitatis sentire rectorem, quam ea, quae laudari digne

[1] *que*, added by Lind.; V omits. [2] *aestimo magni* V; *aestimo magna*, Pet.; *magnanimi*, Erfurdt; *amati*, Corn. [3] *magnis et*, added by Novák.

[1] Here probably the Cappadocian goddess of war; see *T. L. L.* s.v.

[2] *Magni* is an unusual form of address, cf. *amantissimi*, 13, 10, below; Erfurdt conjectured *magnanimi*, see crit. note.

crossed the Rhine in the deep silence of night with the lightest equipped of his auxiliary forces and surrounded them while they feared nothing of the kind. And when they were awakened by the clash of hostile arms and were looking about for their swords and spears, he flew upon them swiftly; some he slew, others, who begged for mercy and offered booty, he received in surrender, to the rest who remained there he granted peace when they sued for it and promised lasting quiet.

5. ***Julianus Augustus addresses his soldiers and has them all swear allegiance to him, being resolved to make war upon Constantius Augustus.***

1. While performing these exploits with resolute courage, Julian, surmising what a mass of civil strife he had aroused, and wisely foreseeing that nothing was so favourable to a sudden enterprise as speedy action, thought that he would be safer if he openly admitted his revolt, and being uncertain of the loyalty of the troops, he first propitiated Bellona [1] with a secret rite, and then, after calling the army to an assembly with the clarion, he took his place on a tribunal of stone, and now feeling more confident (as was evident), spoke these words in a louder voice than common:

2. "Long since, noble [2] fellow-soldiers, I have believed in my secret thoughts that you, fired by your valiant deeds, have been waiting to learn how the events that are expected may be weighed and provided for beforehand. For it becomes the soldier reared amid great and glorious deeds to use his ears rather than his tongue, and for a leader of tried justice to have no other thoughts than those

potuerunt et probari. Ut igitur quae proposui ambagibus[1] abiectis absolvam, advertite oro benivole, quae sermone brevi percurram.

3. "Arbitrio dei caelestis, vobis inter ipsa iuventae rudimenta permixtus, irruptiones Alamannorum assiduas et Francorum, populandique iugem licentiam fregi, et vigore communi, Romanis agminibus quotiens libet Rhenum pervium feci, contra rumorum fremitus gentiumque validarum violentos excursus, stando immobilis, virtutis vestrae nimirum firmamento confisus. 4. Et haec laborum, quos exhausimus, Galliae spectatrices post funera multa, iacturasque recreatae diuturnas et graves, posteritati per aetatum examina commendabunt. 5. At nunc cum auctoritate vestri iudicii, rerumque necessitate compulsus, ad Augustum elatus sum culmen, deo vobisque fautoribus, si fortuna coeptis adfuerit, altius affecto maiora, id prae me ferens quod exercitui cuius aequitas armorumque inclaruit magnitudo, domi moderatus visus sum et tranquillus, et in crebritate bellorum, contra conspiratas gentium copias, consideratus et cautus. 6. Ut igitur adversa praeveniamus mentium societate iunctissima, sequimini viam consilii mei salutarem (ut puto), cum integritas rerum intentioni nostrae voluntatique respondeat,

[1] *ambagibus*, added by Wagner; lac. of 6 letters conjectured by Her.

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[1] For *examina* in this sense, cf. xxx. 4, 18, *dilationum examina*.

[2] The sentence is not clear; it perhaps means "since the present period of quiet is favourable to our intention

which can worthily be praised and approved. Therefore, that I may cast aside vague circumlocution and set forth what I have purposed, kindly attend, I pray you, to what I shall briefly run through.

3. "By Heaven's will united with you from the very beginning of my youth, I checked the constant inroads of the Alamanni and the Franks and their unending lust for plunder, and by our combined courage I made it possible for the Rhine to be crossed by Roman armies as often as they wished; and in standing firm against the clamour of rumours and the forcible invasions of mighty nations I relied, I assure you, on the support of your valour. 4. Gaul, an eye-witness of these labours that we have performed, and now restored after many losses and long and grievous calamities, will hand down these achievements of ours to posterity through countless[1] ages. 5. But now that, forced by the authority of your choice and by stress of circumstances, I have been raised to Augustan dignity, with your support and that of the deity (if fortune favours our enterprises), I am aiming higher at greater deeds, openly declaring that to an army whose justice and greatness in arms are renowned I have seemed in time of peace a mild and self-controlled leader, and in many wars against the united forces of nations, sagacious and prudent. 6. Therefore, that we may with the closest unanimity of purpose forestall adverse events, follow my course of action, which is salutary (I think), since our intention and desire are in harmony with the welfare of the state;[2] and while

and desire"; i.e. since our opponents have as yet taken no action.

et dum maioribus vacant praesidiis regiones Illyricae, impraepedito cursu tendentes, Daciarum interim fines extimos occupemus, exinde quid agi oporteat bonis successibus instruendi. 7. Ad quae[1] vos ex more fidentium ducum, iuramento quaeso concordiam spondete mansuram et fidem,[2] operam mi[3] navaturo sedulam et sollicitam,[4] nequid agatur inconsultum et segne, et producturo, siquis exegerit, incorruptam conscientiam meam, quod nihil voluntate praeter ea, quae in commune conducunt, aggrediar aut temptabo. 8. Illud sane obtestor et rogo: observate, ne impetu gliscentis ardoris, in privatorum damna quisquam vestrum exsiliat, id cogitans quod ita nos illustrarunt hostium innumerae strages, ut indemnitas provinciarum et salus exemplis virtutum pervulgatae."

9. Hoc sermone imperatoris vice alicuius oraculi comprobato, mota est incitatius contio, et rerum cupida novandarum, unanimanti consensu, voces horrendas immani scutorum fragore miscebat, magnum elatumque ducem, et (ut experta est) fortunatum domitorem gentium appellans et regum. 10. Iussique universi in eius nomen iurare, sollemniter, gladiis cervicibus suis admotis, sub exsecrationibus diris, verbis iuravere conceptis, omnes pro

[1] *ad quae vos*, Her.; *at vos*, Wagner; *utque vos . . . ducam*, Pet.; *utque vos . . . ducum*, Pighius; *ut quos*, V. [2] *fidem*, V, def. Pighius; *fidam*, Kiessling, Corn. [3] *mi navaturo*, Pighius; *mihi n.*, Val.; *minabanturo*, V [4] *sollicitam*, C. F. W. M., Pighius; *sollitam*, V, *solitam*, V[2].

[1] Pighius (see crit. note) takes *ut . . . ex more* as tautology, citing Spart. *Hadr.* 15, 2; Livy, iv. 2, 4; etc.

the regions of Illyricum are without greater garrisons, advancing with unobstructed course, let us meanwhile take possession of the utmost parts of Dacia, and from there learn by means of good success what ought to be done. 7. In support of this plan[1] do you, I pray, after the manner of those who trust their leaders,[2] promise under oath your lasting and faithful accord; I for my part will strive diligently and anxiously that nothing be done rashly or with faint heart, and I will show, if any one require it, my conscience clean, in that I will undertake or try nothing willingly except what contributes to the common weal. 8. This one thing I beg and implore: see to it that none of you under the impulse of growing ardour be guilty of injury to private citizens, bearing in mind that not so much the slaughter of countless foemen has made us famous as the prosperity and safety of the provinces, widely known through instances of virtuous conduct."

9. By this speech of the emperor, no less approved than the words of some oracle, the assembly was strongly moved. Eager for revolution, with one accord they mingled fear-inspiring shouts with the violent clash of shields, calling him a great and exalted leader and (as they knew from experience) a fortunate victor over nations and kings. 10. And when all had been bidden to take the usual oath of allegiance, aiming their swords at their throats,[3] they swore in set terms under pain of dire execrations, that they would endure all hazards for him, to the

[2] So Pighius, citing Lucan, ix. 373, and Statius, *Theb.* vi. 678, for *fidens* with a genitive.
[3] See xvii. 12, 16, note.

eo casus, quoad vitam profuderint (si necessitas adegerit)[1] perlaturos; quae secuti rectores, omnesque principis proximi, fidem simili religione firmarunt. 11. Solus omnium licet proposito stabili, audacter tamen praefectus repugnavit Nebridius, iuris iurandi nexu contra Constantium nequaquam se stringi[2] posse commemorans, cuius beneficiis obligatus erat crebris et multis. 12. Quibus auditis, cum stantes[3] propius milites acriter inflammati, eum appeterent trucidandum, ad genua sua prolapsum, imperator paludamento protexit, indeque[4] reversus in regiam cum antegressum eum vidisset supplicemque iacentem orare, ut levandi causa timoris, ei porrigeret dexteram, "Ecquid" ait praecipuum amicis servabitur, si tu manum tetigeris meam? Sed tu[5] quo libet abi securus." Hocque audito, ille innoxius ad larem suum recessit in Tusciam. 13. His Iulianus, ut poscebat negotii magnitudo, praestructis, expertus quid in rebus tumultuosis anteversio valeat et praegressus, per tesseram edicto itinere in Pannonias, castris

[1] *necessitas adegerit*, Her.; *si id necessitas egerit*, V [2] *constringi*, V (*con-* del. V^1). [3] *constantes*, V, *constanter*, V^2. [4] *et indeque*, V, *indeque*, V^2. [5] *tu*, Her.; *hinc*, EBG; *hi*, V, *hinc*, V^2.

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[1] *innoxius* may be either passive or active in meaning; that is, "uninjured" or "making no further opposition to Julian": probably the former.

extent of pouring out their life-blood, if necessity required; their officers and all the emperor's closest advisers followed their example, and pledged loyalty with like ceremony. 11. Alone among all the prefect Nebridius, with a loyalty that was firm rather than prudent, opposed him, declaring that he could by no means be bound by an oath against Constantius, to whom he was indebted for many and repeated acts of kindness. 12. Upon hearing this the soldiers who were standing near, inflamed with anger, rushed upon him to slay him; but the emperor, at whose knees he had fallen, covered him with his general's cloak. Then Julian returned to the palace. And when he saw that Nebridius had preceded him and was lying there as a suppliant, begging that, to relieve his fears, the emperor would offer him his hand, Julian answered: "Will any special honour be reserved for my friends, if *you* shall touch my hand? But depart in safety whithersoever you please." On hearing this, Nebridius withdrew unharmed[1] to his home in Tuscany.[2] 13. After taking these precautions, as the greatness of the enterprise demanded, Julian, knowing by experience the value of anticipating and outstripping an adversary in troublous times,[3] having given written[4] order for a march into Pannonia, advanced his

[2] He was again made praetorian prefect by Valens; see xxvi. 7, 4, 5.

[3] Cf. 5, 1, above; xxvi. 7, 4; Sallust, *Cat.* xliii. 4, *maximum bonum in celeritate putabat.*

[4] Cf. Suet. *Galba*, 6, 2. The *tessera* was a square tablet on which the watchword (see xiv. 2, 15) or an order, was written; in xxiii. 2, 2, *expeditionalis tessera* is used for an order to march.

promotis et signis, temere se fortunae commisit ambiguae.

6. *Constantius A. Faustinam ducit uxorem; auget supplementis exercitum; Armeniae et Hiberiae regis donis sibi conciliat.*

1. Replicare nunc convenit tempora, et narrare summatim, quae dum aguntur in Galliis ante dicta, Constantius hiemans Antiochiae, domi militiaeque perfecit. 2. Inter complures alios honore conspicuos, adoraturi imperatorem peregre venientem, ordinantur etiam ex tribunis insignibus. Cum igitur a Mesopotamia reversus, Constantius hoc exciperetur officio, Amphilochius quidam ex tribuno Paphlago, quem dudum sub Constante militantem discordiarum sevisse causas inter priores,[1] fratres, suspiciones contiguae veritati pulsabant, ausus paulo petulantius stare, ut ipse quoque ad parile obsequium admittendus, agnitus est et prohibitus, strepentibusque multis, et intueri lucem ulterius non debere clamantibus, ut perduellem, et obstinatum, Constantius circa

[1] *priores*, W²BG, Gronov, Wagner; *pii pectoris* Her.; *priorem et fratres*, sugg. by Clark; *prioris*, V.

[1] *temere* usually means "rashly, without consideration," but here the word seems to be used in a good, or at least in a neutral, sense.

[2] Constantinus II and Constans. After the death of Constantine the Great his son Constantinus II received the rule of Gaul, Spain, and Britain. He thought the division of power unfair, and asked Constans for Africa or Italy as well, or for a new division. When he went to Italy with a

camp and his standards, and unhesitatingly[1] committed himself to whatever Fortune might offer.

6. *Constantius Augustus marries Faustina; he increases his army with additional recruits; by gifts he wins the support of the kings of Armenia and Hiberia.*

1. It is now fitting to turn back to the past and give a brief account of what Constantius, who was wintering at Antioch, accomplished in peace and in war, while the events just described were taking place in Gaul. 2. Among many others of conspicuous distinction there were also appointed to greet the emperor when he came from abroad some illustrious tribunes. Therefore when Constantius, on his return from Mesopotamia, was received with this attention, Amphilochius, a former tribune from Paphlagonia, who had served long before under Constans and was under well-founded suspicion of having sown the seeds of discord between the deceased brothers,[2] having dared to appear somewhat arrogantly, as if he also ought to be admitted to this service, was recognised and forbidden. And when many raised an outcry and shouted that he ought not to be allowed longer to look upon the light of day, being a stiff-necked traitor, Constantius,

large following to discuss the matter, Constans was persuaded to send troops against him, who captured Constantine and put him to death. None of the readings or meanings proposed for *priores* (or *prioris*) is wholly satisfactory. Gronov and Wagner took it in the sense of *qui fuerant, demortuos*; the former cites *priore aestate, prioribus comitiis* (= *transactis, quae fuerant*).

haec lenior solito, "Desinite" ait "urgere hominem ut existimo sontem, sed nondum aperte convictum, et mementote quod, siquid admisit huius modi, sub obtutibus meis conscientiae ipsius sententia punietur, quam latere non poterit," et ita discessum est. 3. Postridie ludis Circensibus idem ex adverso imperatoris (ubi consueverat) spectans, repentino clamore sublato, cum certamen opinatum emitteretur, diffractis cancellis, quibus una cum pluribus incumbebat, cunctis cum eo in vanum excussis laesisque leviter paucis, interna compage disrupta, efflasse spiritum repertus est[1] solus, unde Constantius ut[2] futurorum quoque praescius exsultabat.

4. Eodem tempore Faustinam nomine sortitus est coniugem, amissa iam pridem Eusebia, cuius fratres erant Eusebius et Hypatius consulares, corporis morumque pulchritudine pluribus antistante, et in culmine tam celso humana, cuius favore iustissimo exemptum periculis, declaratumque Caesarem rettulimus Iulianum.

5. Habita est eisdem diebus etiam Florentii ratio, e Galliis novitatis metu digressi, et Anatolio recens mortuo praefecto praetorio per Illyricum, ad eius mittitur locum, cumque Tauro itidem praefecto praetorio per Italiam, amplissimi suscepit insignia magistratus.

[1] *est*, added in A. [2] *ut*, added by C. F. W. M.

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[1] xv. 8, 8.
[2] The consulship, in 361, called *amplissimus magistratus* also in xxvi. 9, 1; see Introd., pp. xxx ff.

milder than usual on this occasion, said: "Cease to trouble a man who is, I believe, guilty, but has not yet been openly convicted; and remember that if he has committed anything of that kind, so long as he is in my sight he will be punished by the judgement of his own conscience, from which he will be unable to hide." And that was the end of it. 3. On the next day, at the games in the Circus, the same man was looking on from a place opposite the emperor, where he usually sat. And when the expected contest began and a sudden shout was raised, the railing on which with many others he was leaning broke, and he with all the rest fell to the ground; and while a few were slightly injured, he alone was found to have suffered internal injuries and to have given up the ghost, whereat Constantius rejoiced greatly, as if he had a knowledge of future events also.

4. At that same time Constantius took to wife Faustina, having long since lost Eusebia, sister of the ex-consuls Eusebius and Hypatius, a lady distinguished before many others for beauty of person and of character, and kindly in spite of her lofty station, through whose well-deserved favour (as I have shown)[1] Julian was saved from dangers and declared Caesar.

5. During those same days, attention was paid to Florentius also, who had left Gaul through fear of a change of government, and he was sent to take the place of Anatolius, praetorian prefect in Illyricum, who had recently died; and with Taurus, who was likewise praetorian prefect in Italy, he received the insignia of the highest magistracy.[2]

6. Parabantur nihilo minus externorum atque civilium instrumenta bellorum, et augebatur turmarum equestrium numerus, parique studio supplementa legionibus scripta sunt, indictis per provincias tirociniis, omnisque ordo et professio vexabatur, vestem armaque exhibens et tormenta, aurum quin etiam et argentum, multiplicisque rei cibariae copias, et diversa genera iumentorum. 7. Et quia a[1] Persarum rege ad sua ob[2] difficultatem hiberni temporis aegre contruso, reserata caeli temperie validior impetus timebatur, ad Transtigritanos reges et satrapas legati cum muneribus missi sunt amplis, monituri cunctos et hortaturi, nostra sentire, et nihil fallax temptare vel fraudulentum. 8. Ante omnia tamen Arsaces et Meribanes, Armeniae et Hiberiae reges, cultu ambitioso indumentorum emercabantur, et multiformibus donis, damna Romanis negotiis[3] illaturi, si rebus tum etiam dubiis descivissent ad Persas. 9. Inter tot urgentia, Hermogene defuncto, ad praefecturam promovetur Helpidius, ortus in Paphlagonia, aspectu vilis et lingua, sed simplicioris ingenii, incruentus et mitis, adeo ut cum ei coram innocentem quendam torquere Constantius praecepisset, aequo animo abrogari sibi potestatem oraret,[4] haecque potioribus aliis ex sententia principis agenda permitti.

[1] *a*, W[2], Momm.; V omits. [2] *ad sua ob*, Novák; *ob*, G; *ad*, V (*ad—con*, in *contruso* added by V[2] in margin). [3] *Romanis negotiis*, transposui, c.c. [4] *oraret*, Lind.; *orabat*, V.

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[1] Text and exact meaning are uncertain; Wagner takes it of Roman business affairs in those regions; but cf. 7, 1, etc.

6. Nevertheless, equipment for foreign and civil wars continued to be made, the number of squadrons of cavalry was increased, and with equal zeal levies were ordered throughout the provinces and reinforcements enrolled for the legions; every order and profession was burdened, supplying clothing, arms, and hurling-engines, nay even gold and silver, and an abundance of provisions of all kinds as well as various sorts of beasts of burden. 7. And since from the king of the Persians, who had regretfully been forced back into his own territories by the difficulty of the winter season, now that the mild weather had set in a more powerful attack was feared, envoys were sent to the kings and satraps beyond the Tigris with generous gifts, to admonish and exhort them all to be loyal to us and attempt no deceit or fraud. 8. But above all Arsaces and Meribanes, kings of Armenia and of Hiberia, were bribed with splendidly adorned garments and gifts of many kinds, since they would be likely to cause damage to Roman interests,[1] if when affairs were already dubious they should revolt to the Persians. 9. In the midst of such urgent affairs Hermogenes[2] died and Helpidius was promoted to the prefecture, a man born in Paphlagonia, ordinary in appearance and speech, but of a simple nature, so averse to bloodshed and so mild that once when Constantius had ordered him to torture an innocent man in his presence, he quietly asked that his office might be taken from him and these matters left to more suitable men, to be carried out according to the sovereign's mind.

[2] See xix. 12, 6.

7. Constantius A. Antiochiae tum agens, per Gaudentium notarium Africam in sua potestate retinet, ac Euphrate transito Edessam se exercitumque confert.

1. Rigore itaque instantium negotiorum anceps Constantius, quid capesseret ambigebat, diu multumque anxius, utrum Iulianum peteret et longinqua, an Parthos repelleret, iam transituros (ut minabantur) Euphratem, haerensque tandem cum ducibus communicato saepe consilio, in id flexus est, ut finito propiore bello vel certe mollito, nullo post terga relicto quem formidaret, Illyriis percursis et Italis (ut rebatur), Iulianum inter exordia ipsa coeptorum tamquam praedam venaticiam [1] caperet. Hoc enim ad leniendum suorum metum subinde praedicabat. 2. Tamen ne intepesceret, aut omisisse belli videretur aliud latus, adventus sui terrorem ubique dispergens, veritusque ne Africa absente eo perrumperetur, ad omnes casus principibus opportuna, velut finibus Orientis egressurus,[2] per mare notarium misit Gaudentium, quem exploratorem actuum Iuliani per Gallias aliquamdiu fuisse praestrinximus. 3. Hunc enim obsequio celeri cuncta consideratione gemina efficere posse sperabat, quod adversam partem metueret offensam et properaret,[3] nanctus hanc

[1] *praedam venaticiam*, transposui, c.c. [2] *egressurus*, Pet.; *egressus*, V. [3] *properaret*, Bent.; *properabat*, V.

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[1] As the source of the supply of grain for the western provinces.
[2] Cf. xvii. 9, 7.

7. Constantius Augustus, then living at Antioch, retains Africa in his power through the state-secretary Gaudentius; he crosses the Euphrates and proceeds with his army to Edessa.

1. Therefore, Constantius, wavering amid the difficulty of pressing affairs, was in doubt what course to pursue, considering long and anxiously whether to go to distant lands against Julian, or to repel the Parthians, who (as they threatened) were soon about to cross the Euphrates; and after hesitating and often taking counsel with his generals, he at last inclined to this plan: that after finishing, or at any rate quieting, the nearer war, and leaving no one to fear behind his back, after overrunning Illyricum and Italy (as he thought), he should take Julian (like a hunter's prey) in the very beginning of his enterprises; for so he kept continually declaring, to calm the fear of his men. 2. Nevertheless, that he might not grow lukewarm or seem to have neglected the other side of the war, spreading everywhere the terror of his coming; and fearing lest Africa should be invaded in his absence, a province advantageous to the emperors for all occasions,[1] as if he were on the point of leaving the regions of the East, he sent to Africa by sea the secretary Gaudentius, who (as I have hinted before) had been for some time in Gaul to watch the actions of Julian.[2] 3. For he hoped that Gaudentius would be able to accomplish everything with prompt obedience for two reasons: both because he feared the adverse side, which he had offended, and because he would be eager to take advantage of this opportunity to commend himself

opportunitatem commendari Constantio, quem credebat procul dubio fore victorem: nemo enim omnium tunc ab hac constanti sententia discrepabat. 4. Qui cum eo venisset, mandatorum principis memor, per litteras Cretione comite quid ageretur edocto, reliquisque rectoribus, lecto undique milite fortiore, translatisque ab utraque Mauritania discursatoribus expeditis, Aquitaniae et Italiae[1] obiecta litora tuebatur artissime. 5. Neque id consilium fefellit Constantium. Eo enim superstite nullus adversorum illas tetigit terras, licet oram Siciliensem a Lilybaeo protentam ad Pachynum multitudo servabat armata, si patuisset facultas, ocius transitura.

6. His pro rerum ratione, ut sibi prodesse existimabat Constantius, aliisque minutis et levioribus[2] ordinatis, ducum nuntiis docebatur et litteris, Persarum copias in unum coactas, rege turgido praeeunte, iam prope margines tendere Tigridis, incertum quonam erumpere cogitantes. 7. Quibus percitus, ut propius agens, futuros possit antevenire conatus, quam primum hibernis egressus, accito undique equitatu, peditumque robore, quo fidebat, per Capersanam Euphrate navali ponte transcurso Edessam petit, uberem commeatibus et munitam,

[1] *Italiae*, Val.; *Galliae*, N[2]BG; *Hispaniae*, W[2]; *haliae*, V. [2] *levioribus*, EG; *levibus*, W[2]; *leui*, V.

[1] One would rather expect Sicily (cf. § 5), or perhaps Spain; see crit. note.
[2] Cf. xviii. 8, 1.

to Constantius, who he thought would undoubtedly be the victor; for at that time there was no one at all who did not hold that firm conviction. 4. So when Gaudentius came there, mindful of the emperor's injunctions, he informed Count Cretio and the other commanders by letter what was to be done, assembled the bravest soldiers from every hand, brought over light-armed skirmishers from both the Mauritanian provinces, and closely guarded the shores lying opposite to Aquitania and Italy.[1] 5. And Constantius made no mistake in adopting that plan, for so long as he lived none of his opponents reached those lands, although the coast of Sicily which extends from Lilybaeum to Pachynum was guarded by a strong armed force, which was ready to cross quickly, if an opportunity should offer.

6. When these and other less important and trifling matters had been arranged as Constantius thought would be to his advantage under the circumstances, he was informed by messages and letters of his generals that the Persian forces had united with their haughty king at their head, and were already drawing near to the banks of the Tigris, but that where they were intending to break through was uncertain. 7. Aroused by this news, Constantius left his winter quarters as speedily as possible, in order to act from nearer at hand and so be able to anticipate the coming attempts. He gathered from all sides cavalry and the flower of his infantry, on which he relied, and crossing the Euphrates by Capersana[2] on a bridge of boats, proceeded to Edessa, a city strongly fortified and well supplied with provisions; there he waited for a

ibi parumper operiens, dum exploratores aut perfugae motum castrorum hostilium indicarent.

8. *Iulianus Augustus post ordinatas res Galliarum ripam Danubii petit, et partem militum per Italiam perque Raetias praemittit.*

1. Discedens inter haec Iulianus a Rauracis, peractis quae docuimus dudum, Sallustium praefectum promotum remisit in Gallias, Germaniano iusso vicem tueri Nebridii, itidemque Nevittae magisterium commisit armorum, Gomoarium proditorem antiquum timens, quem cum Scutarios ageret, latenter prodidisse Veteranionem suum principem audiebat; et Iovio quaesturam, cuius in actibus Magnenti meminimus, et Mamertino largitiones curandas, et Dagalaifum praefecit domesticis, aliosque plures ex arbitrio suo militibus regendis apposuit, quorum merita norat et fidem. 2. Profecturus itaque per Marcianas silvas viasque iunctas Histri fluminis ripis, inter subita vehementer incertus, id verebatur, ne contemptus ut comitantibus paucis, multitudinem offenderet repugnantem. 3. Quod ne fieret consilio sollerti praevidit, et agminibus distributis, per itinera Italiae nota quosdam properaturos cum Iovino misit et Iovio, alios per mediterranea

[1] Consul with Julian in 363; see xxiii. 1, 1.

[2] Cf. ch. 5, 11, above.

[3] That this was Nevitta's rank is shown in § 3, below. It is rather a loose use of *magister armorum*.

[4] Cf. xx. 9, 5.

[5] In a lost book.

[6] The Black Forest.

time, until scouts or deserters should give information of the moving of the enemy's camp.

8. *Julianus Augustus, after having set the affairs of Gaul in order, makes for the bank of the Danube, sending a part of his forces on ahead through Italy and Raetia.*

1. Meanwhile Julian, leaving Augst after finishing the business of which we have already spoken, sent Sallustius,[1] who had been advanced to the rank of prefect, back to Gaul, bidding Germanianus take the place of Nebridius;[2] he also made Nevitta commander of the cavalry,[3] fearing Gomoarius[4] as an old-time traitor, who (as he had heard), when leading the targeteers, secretly betrayed his prince, Veteranio. To Jovius, of whom I made mention in connection with the actions of Magnentius,[5] he gave the quaestorship, and to Mamertinus the charge of the sacred largesses; he put Dagalaifus in command of the household troops, and assigned many others, whose services and loyalty he knew, to military commands on his own authority. 2. He intended then to make his way through the Marcian woods[6] and along the roads near the banks of the river Danube, but being exceedingly uncertain amid the sudden changes of events, he feared lest his small retinue might bring him into contempt and lead the populace to oppose him. 3. To prevent this from happening, he devised an ingenious plan: he divided his army and sent one part with Jovinus and Jovius to march rapidly along the familiar roads of Italy; the others were assigned to Nevitta, the commander of the

Raetiarum magistro equitum Nevittae commissos, quo diffusi per varia, opinionem numeri praeberent immensi, formidineque cuncta complerent. Id enim et Alexander Magnus, et deinde alii plures, negotio ita poscente, periti fecere ductores. 4. Mandabat tamen egressis, ut tamquam hoste protinus occursuro, tutius graderentur, stationesque nocturnas agerent et vigilias, ne improviso hostium[1] invaderentur excursu.

9. *Taurus et Florentius, consules ac praefecti praetorio hic per Illyricum, ille per Italiam, fugiunt appropinquante Iuliano A. Lucillianus, magister equitum, qui resistere Iuliano parabat, opprimitur.*

1. Quibus ita (ut videbatur) apte dispositis, more quo tractus perruperat saepe barbaricos, contextis successibus fidens, porrectius ire pergebat. 2. Cumque ad locum venisset, unde navigari posse didicit flumen, lembis escensis,[2] quos opportune fors dederat plurimos, per alveum, quantum fieri potuit, ferebatur occulte, ideo latens, quod toleranter et fortiter, nullius cibi indigens mundioris, sed paucis contentus et vilibus, oppida forinsecus transibat et castra, imitatus egregium illud Cyri veteris dictum, qui cum delatus ad hospitem interrogaretur ab eo, quid ad

[1] *hostium*, E[2], Eyssen.; *suorum*, Bent.; *subsidentium hostium*, cf. xxiv. 4, 29; xxvi. 6, 10, Novák; *suo* (lac. 14 letters) *minuaderentur*, V; *manuum insidiatricum*, Brakman. [2] *escensis*, V, Bent., Eyssen.; *ascensis*, AG.

[1] And before; Leonidas, for example.
[2] Or, possibly, with his men forming a long line.

cavalry, to advance through the middle of Raetia; to the end that, being spread over various parts of the country, they might give the impression of a huge force and fill everything with alarm. For this was what Alexander the Great had done, and many other skilful generals after him,[1] when occasion so required. 4. He also charged them, when they left, to be on their guard as they marched, as if the enemy were to meet them at once, and at night to keep watch and ward, so as not to be surprised by a hostile attack.

9. *Taurus and Florentius, consuls and praetorian prefects, flee on the approach of Julianus Augustus, the one through Illyricum, the other through Italy. Lucillianus, commander of the cavalry, who was preparing to resist Julian, is defeated.*

1. When these arrangements had thus been made (suitably, as it seemed), he proceeded to go farther on[2] by the method through which he had often broken through the country of the savages, relying upon a series of successes. 2. And when he came to the place where he learned that the river was navigable, embarking in boats, of which by a fortunate chance there was a good supply, he was carried down the channel of the river as secretly as possible; and he escaped notice because, being enduring and strong and having no need of choice food, but content with a scanty and simple diet, he passed by the towns and fortresses without entering them, taking as his model that fine saying of Cyrus of old, who on coming to

convivium parari deberet, panem responderat solum: sperare enim aiebat, prope rivum se cenaturum. 3. Fama vero, quae mille, ut aiunt, linguis rerum mire exaggerat[1] fidem, per Illyrios omnes celebrior fundebatur, Iulianum strata per Gallias multitudine regum et gentium numeroso exercitu, et successibus tumidum variis, adventare. 4. Quo rumore perculsus, praefectus praetorio Taurus, ut hostem vitans externum, mature discessit, vectusque mutatione celeri publici cursus,[2] transitis Alpibus Iuliis, eodem ictu Florentium itidem praefectum secum abduxit. 5. Levibus tamen indiciis super Iuliani motu Lucillianus percitus comes, qui per illas regiones rem curabat ea tempestate castrensem, agensque apud Sirmium milites congregans, quos ex stationibus propinquis[3] acciri celeritatis ratio permittebat, venturo resistere cogitabat. 6. Sed ille ut fax vel incensus malleolus, volucriter ad destinata festinans, cum venisset Bononeam, a Sirmio miliario nono disparatam et decimo, senescente luna ideoque obscurante noctis maximam partem, e navi exsiluit improvisus, statimque Dagalaifum misit cum expeditis ad Lucillianum vocandum, trahendumque si resistere niteretur.[4] 7. Qui tum etiam quiescens, cum strepitu excitatus turbulento vidisset ignotorum hominum se circulo circumsaeptum, concepto negotio, et imperatorii nominis metu praestrictus, praeceptis

[1] *mire exaggerat*, Val.; *misere exaggerat*, E²AG; *misere exigerat*, V. [2] *publici cursus*, transposui, c.c., cf. xx. 8, 22. [3] *propinquis*, Bent.; *ex* (lac. 14 letters) *propriis*, V. [4] *resistere niteretur*, Clark, c.c.; *reniteretur*, V.

[1] See xxiii. 4, 14. [2] Perhaps Bonmünster.

an inn and being asked by the host what viands he should prepare, replied: "Nothing but bread, for I hope to dine near a stream." 3. But Rumour, which with a thousand tongues, as men say, strangely exaggerates the truth, spread herself abroad with many reports throughout all Illyricum, saying that Julian, after overthrowing a great number of kings and nations in Gaul, was on the way with a numerous army and puffed up by sundry successes. 4. Alarmed by this news, the pretorian prefect Taurus speedily retreated, as if avoiding a foreign enemy, and using the rapid changes of the public courier-service, he crossed the Julian Alps, at the same stroke taking away with him Florentius, who was also prefect. 5. None the less, Count Lucillianus, who then commanded the troops stationed in those regions, with headquarters at Sirmium, having some slight intelligence of Julian's move, gathered together such forces as regard for speedy action allowed to be summoned from the neighbouring stations and planned to resist him when he should arrive. 6. But Julian, like a meteor or a blazing dart,[1] hastened with winged speed to his goal; and when he had come to Bononea,[2] distant nineteen miles from Sirmium, as the moon was waning and therefore making dark the greater part of the night, he unexpectedly landed, and at once sent Dagalaifus with a light-armed force to summon Lucillianus, and if he tried to resist, to bring him by force. 7. The prefect was still asleep, and when he was awakened by the noise and confusion and saw himself surrounded by a ring of strangers, he understood the situation and, overcome with fear on hearing the emperor's name,

paruit invitissimus, secutusque alienum arbitrium, magister equitum paulo ante superbus et ferox, iumentoque impositus repentino,[1] principi ut captivus offertur ignobilis, oppressam terrore vix colligens mentem. 8. Verum cum primitus visus, adorandae purpurae datam sibi copiam advertisset, recreatus tandem suique securus, "Incaute" inquit "imperator et temere cum paucis alienis partibus te commisisti." Cui amarum Iulianus subridens, "Haec verba prudentia serva" inquit "Constantio. Maiestatis enim insigne non ut consiliario tibi, sed ut desinas pavere porrexi."

10. *Iulianus A. Sirmium, caput Illyrici Occidui, una cum praesidio in fidem recepit; Succos occupat et ad Senatum scribit contra Constantium.*

1. Nihil deinde amoto Lucilliano, differendum nec agendum segnius[2] ratus, ut erat in rebus trepidis audax et confidentior, civitatem (ut praesumebat) dediticiam petens, citis passibus incedebat, eumque suburbanis propinquantem amplis nimiumque protentis, militaris et omnis generis turba, cum lumine multo et floribus, votisque[3] faustis, Augustum appellans et dominum, duxit in regiam. 2. Ubi eventu laetus et omine, firmata spe venturorum,

[1] *impositus, repentino*, Bent. [2] *segnius ratus*, Novák; *segne ratus*, BG; *segem catus*, V. [3] *votisque*, G; *portisque*, EB; *portisque* changed from *uortisque*, V.

obeyed his command, though most unwillingly. So the commander of the cavalry, just now so haughty and self-confident, following another's behest, was set upon the first horse that could be found and brought before the emperor like a base captive, scarcely keeping his wits through terror. 8. But when at first sight of Julian he saw that the opportunity was given him of bowing down to the purple, taking heart at last and no longer in fear for his life, he said: "Incautiously and rashly, my Emperor, you have trusted yourself with a few followers to another's territory." To which Julian replied with a bitter smile: "Reserve these wise words for Constantius, for I have offered you the emblem of imperial majesty, not as to a counsellor, but that you might cease to fear."

10. *Julianus Augustus receives Sirmium, the capital of western Illyricum, into his power along with its garrison; he seizes Succi and writes to the senate, inveighing against Constantius.*

1. Then, after getting rid of Lucillianus, thinking that it was no time for delay or for inaction, bold as he was and confident in times of peril, he marched to the city, which he looked on as surrendered. And advancing with rapid steps, he had no sooner come near the suburbs, which were large and extended to a great distance, than a crowd of soldiers and people of all sorts, with many lights, flowers, and good wishes, escorted him to the palace, hailing him as Augustus and Lord. 2. There, rejoicing in his success and in the good omen, and with increased

quod ad exemplum urbium matris populosae et celebris, per alias quoque civitates ut sidus salutare susciperetur, edito postridie curuli certamine, cum gaudio plebis, ubi lux excanduit tertia, morarum impatiens, percursis aggeribus publicis, Succos nemine auso resistere, praesidiis occupavit, eisdemque tuendis Nevittam praefecit ut fidum. Cuius loci situm excessu brevi [1] conveniet ostendi.

3. Consertae celsorum montium summitates Haemi et Rhodopae, quorum alter ab ipsis Histri marginibus, alter ab Axii fluminis citeriore parte consurgit, in angustias tumulosis collibus desinentes, Illyrios [2] interscindunt et Thracas, hinc vicinae mediterraneis Dacis et Serdicae, inde Thracias despectantes et Philippopolim, civitates amplas et nobiles, et tamquam natura in dicionem Romanam redigendas nationes circumsitas praenoscente, ita figuratae consulte, inter artos colles quondam hiantes obscurius, ad magnitudinem splendoremque postea rebus elatis, patefactae sunt et carpentis, aditibusque aliquotiens clausis, magnorum ducum populorumque reppulere conatus. 4. Et pars, quae Illyricum spectat, mollius edita, velut incauta, subinde superatur. Latus

[1] *excessu brevi*, Her.; *exnunc conueniet et ostendi*, V.
[2] *Illyrios*, Val.; *per Illyrios*, WAG; *partes Illyrici*, suggested by Clark; *desinenter per Illyrio*, V.

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[1] A narrow pass and a town of the same name in the defiles of Mt. Haemus, between the provinces of Thrace and Dacia and about half-way between Sirmium and Constantinople; Illyricum (§§ 3, 4) refers to the prefecture.
[2] In Macedonia.
[3] See xvi. 8, 1, note.

hope of the future, since he believed that following the example of a populous and famous metropolis the other cities also would receive him as a health-giving star, he gave chariot races on the following day, to the joy of the people. But with the dawn of the third day, impatient of delay, he hastened along the public highways, and since no one ventured to oppose him, placed a force in the pass of Succi,[1] and entrusted its defence to Nevitta, as a faithful officer. And it will now be suitable in a brief digression, to describe the situation of this place.

3. The closely united summits of the lofty mountain ranges Haemus and Rhodope, of which the one rises immediately from the banks of the Danube and the other, from those of the Axius,[2] on our side, end with swelling hills in a narrow pass, and separate Illyricum and Thrace. On the one side they are near to the midlands of Dacia and to Serdica,[3] on the other they look down upon Thrace and Philippopolis,[4] great and famous cities; and as if nature had fore-knowledge that the surrounding nations must come under the sway of Rome, the pass was purposely so fashioned that in former times it opened obscurely between hills lying close together, but afterwards, when our power rose to greatness and splendour, it was opened even for the passage of carts; and yet it could sometimes be so closed as to check the attempts of great leaders and mighty peoples. 4. The part of this pass, which faces Illyricum, since it rises more gently, is sometimes easily surmounted, as though it kept no guard. But the

[4] Named from its founder, Philip I. of Macedon; modern Philibe.

vero e [1] regione oppositum Thraciis, prona humilitate deruptum, hincque et inde fragosis tramitibus impeditum difficile scanditur, etiam nullo vetante. Sub hac altitudine aggerum, utrubique spatiosa camporum planities iacet, superior ad usque Iulias Alpes extenta, inferior ita resupina et panda ut nullis habitetur obstaculis ad usque fretum et Propontidem.

5. His ut in re tali tamque urgenti compositis, magistro equitum illic relicto, imperator revertitur Naessum (copiosum oppidum), de quo impraepedite [2] cuncta disponeret, suis utilitatibus profutura. 6. Ubi Victorem apud Sirmium visum, scriptorem historicum, exindeque venire praeceptum, Pannoniae secundae consularem praefecit, et honoravit aenea statua, virum sobrietatis gratia aemulandum, multo post urbi praefectum. 7. Iamque altius semet [3] extollens, et numquam credens ad concordiam provocari posse Constantium, orationem acrem et invectivam, probra quaedam in eum explananten et vitia, scripserat ad senatum. Quae cum Tertullo administrante adhuc praefecturam, recitarentur in curia, eminuit nobilitatis cum speciosa fiducia, benignitas grata. Exclamatum est enim in unum,

[1] *e*, added in BG; V omits. [2] *de quo impraepedite*, Novák; *impraepedite*, Val.; *inde praepedite*, V. [3] *semet extollens*, Novák; *altius est et tollens*, V; *se extollens*, NG.

opposite side, over against Thrace, precipitous and falling sheer downward, is made difficult on both sides by rough paths, and is hard to get over even when there is no opposition. At the foot of these heights on both sides lie spacious plains, the upper one extending as far as the Julian Alps,[1] the other so flat and open that there is no hindrance to its habitation as far as the strait [2] and the Propontis.

5. After these arrangements had been made in a matter so momentous and so urgent, the emperor, leaving the commander of the cavalry there, returned to Naessus [3] (a well-supplied town), from which he might without hindrance attend to everything that would contribute to his advantage. 6. There he made Victor, the writer of history,[4] whom he had seen at Sirmium and had bidden to come from there, consular governor of Pannonia Secunda, and honoured him with a statue in bronze, a man who was a model of temperance, and long afterwards prefect of the City.[5] 7. And now, lifting himself higher and believing that Constantius could never be brought into harmony with him, he wrote to the senate a sharp oration full of invective, in which he specifically charged Constantius with disgraceful acts and faults. When these were read in the House, while Tertullus was still acting as prefect, the striking independence of the nobles was manifest as well as their grateful affection;[6] for with complete agreement

[1] Formerly called Venetia, xxi. 16, 7.
[2] The Hellespont. [3] Nish in Servia (Serbia).
[4] Sextus Aurelius Victor, the author of some extant works.
[5] At Rome, 388-389. [6] For Constantius.

cunctorum sententia congruente, "auctori tuo reverentiam rogamus."

8. Tunc et memoriam Constantini, ut novatoris turbatorisque priscarum legum et moris antiquitus recepti, vexavit, eum aperte incusans, quod barbaros omnium primus ad usque fasces auxerat et trabeas consulares, insulse nimirum et leviter, qui cum vitare deberet id quod infestius obiurgavit, brevi postea Mamertino in consulatu iunxit Nevittam, nec splendore nec usu nec gloria horum similem, quibus magistratum amplissimum detulerat Constantinus: contra inconsummatum et subagrestem et (quod minus erat ferendum) celsa in potestate crudelem.

11. *Duae legiones Constantianae, quae apud Sirmium ad Iulianum A. transierant, ab eo missae in Gallias, Aquileiam occupant consentientibus oppidanis, ac Iuliani militi portas claudunt.*

1. Haec et talia cogitanti, sollicitoque super maximis rebus et seriis, nuntius metuendus intimatur et insperatus, ausa indicans quorundam immania, impeditura cursus eius ardentes, ni vigilanter haec quoque antequam adulescerent hebetasset. Quae breviter exponentur.

2. Duas legiones Constantiacas addita una sagittariorum cohorte, quas invenerat apud Sirmium, ut

[1] Cf. xvi. 7, 3. I.e. "the bestower of your high position," since Constantius had raised him to the rank of Caesar.

[2] In 362. Nevitta was a Frank by birth.

they one and all shouted: "We demand reverence for your own creator." [1]

8. Then he passed on to abuse the memory of Constantine as an innovator and a disturber of the ancient laws and of customs received of old, openly charging that he was the very first to advance barbarians even to the rods and robes of consuls. In so doing he showed neither good taste nor consideration; for instead of avoiding a fault which he so bitterly censured, he himself soon afterwards joined to Mamertinus as colleague in the consulship Nevitta,[2] a man neither in high birth, experience, nor renown comparable with those on whom Constantine had conferred the highest magistracy, but on the contrary uncultivated, somewhat boorish, and (what was more intolerable) cruel in his high office.

11. *Two of Constantius' legions, which at Sirmium had gone over to Julian and been sent by him to Gaul, take possession of Aquileia with the consent of the inhabitants, and close the gates to Julian's army.*

1. While Julian was thinking of these and like matters and troubled by important and grave affairs, terrifying and unexpected news came to him of the monstrous and daring acts of certain men, which would check his eager advance, unless he could by watchful care repress these also before they came to a head. These shall be set forth briefly.

2. Two of Constantius' legions, which with one cohort of bowmen he had found at Sirmium, being

suspectae adhuc fidei, per speciem necessitatum urgentium misit in Gallias. Quae pigrius motae, spatiaque itinerum longa, et Germanos hostes truces et assiduos formidantes, novare quaedam moliebantur, auctore et incitatore Nigrino, equitum turmae tribuno, in Mesopotamia genito: reque digesta per secreta colloquia, et alto roborata silentio, cum Aquileiam pervenissent, uberem [1] situ et opibus, murisque circumdatam validis, eam hostiliter repente clausere, iuvante indigena plebe tumultum horrore,[2] cui Constanti nomen erat tum etiam iunctum.[3] 3. Et obseratis aditibus, turribusque armatis ac propugnaculis, futurae concertationi praeparabant utilia, interim soluti et liberi, hocque facinore ita audaci, ad favendum Constanti partibus ut superstitis Italicos incolas excitabant.

12. ***Aquileia, favens Constantii A. partibus, oppugnatur; quae postea comperto eius obitu Iuliano se dedidit.***

1. Quibus Iulianus acceptis, agens tunc apud Naessum, nihil a tergo timens adversum, legensque et audiens hanc civitatem circumsessam quidem aliquotiens, numquam tamen excisam aut deditam,

[1] *uberem*, Gardt.; *urbem*, EBG; *uberi* (*urbem*, V[2]), V.
[2] *plebem* (*plebe*, EBG) *tumultum horrare* (*horrore*, V[2]), V; *tumultus horrorem*, G; *tumultus initium*, Val. [3] *iunctum*, Pighius; *sanctum*, Momm.; *amicum*, G; *initium*, V.

not yet sure of their loyalty he had sent to Gaul under colour of urgent necessity. These were slow to move, through dread of the long march and of the Germans, our fierce and persistent foes, and were planning a rebellion, aided and abetted by Nigrinus, a native of Mesopotamia and commander of a troop of horsemen. Having arranged the plot by secret conferences and added to its strength by profound silence, on arriving at Aquileia, a well-situated and prosperous city, surrounded by strong walls, with hostile intent they suddenly closed its gates, supported in this revolt by the native population, because of the dread which was even then connected with the name of Constantius.[1] 3. And having closed the entrances and posted armed men on the towers and bulwarks, they made ready whatever would be helpful in the coming contest, meanwhile living free from care or restraint; and by so daring an act they roused the neighbouring Italians to side with Constantius, whom they thought to be still living.

12. ***Aquileia, favouring the cause of Constantius Augustus, is besieged, but after learning of his death surrenders to Julian.***

1. When Julian learned of this, being still at Naessus, and fearing no trouble from behind him, he recalled reading and hearing that this city had indeed oftentimes been besieged, but yet had never been razed nor had ever surrendered. Therefore

[1] As Pighi shows (pp. xxxii f.), the people of Aquileia were hostile to Constantius, but feared him in case he should be victorious, as every one expected; see xxi. 7, 3.

impensiore studio sibi sociare vel fraude, vel diversis adulationum generibus, antequam maius oriretur aliquid, properabat. 2. Ideoque Iovinum magistrum equitum venientem per Alpes, Noricosque ingressum, ad id quod exarserat, quoquo modo corrigendum, redire citius imperavit. Et nequid deesset, milites omnes, qui comitatum sequebantur aut signa, retineri iussit per idem oppidum transeuntes, pro viribus laturos auxilium.

3. Hisque dispositis, ipse haut diu postea cognita morte Constanti, discursis Thraciis Constantinopolim introiit: ac saepe doctus lentius [1] fore id obsidium quam verendum, Immone cum comitibus aliis ad hoc destinato, ire monuit [2] exinde Iovinum, alia quae potiores flagitabant necessitates, acturum.

4. Ordine itaque scutorum gemino Aquileia circumsaepta, concinentibus sententiis ducum, conveniens visum est ad deditionem allicere defensores, minacium blandorumque varietate sermonum: et multis ultro citroque dictitatis, in immensum obstinatione gliscente, ex colloquio re infecta disceditur. 5. Et quia nihil praeter pugnam exspectabatur,[3] curatis utrubique cibo somnoque corporibus, aurora iam surgente,[4] concrepante sonitu bucinarum,[5] partes accensae in clades mutuas, ferocientes magis quam

[1] *lentius*, Val.; *centius*, V. [2] *ire monuit*, Her.; *removit*, NBG; *remonuit*, V. [3] *expectabatur* (*ex* from *sugenteex*, V, see note 4; *am* del. as dittography, *i* explained as belonging to *quia*), Her.; *iam spectabantur*, V. [4] *sugenteex*, V (*ex* del. and *r* added by V²). [5] *bucinarum*, Ihm in T.L.L.; *bucinorum*, V.

[1] That is, household troops or legions serving in the field.

he hastened with the greater earnestness to win it to his side either by craft or by sundry kinds of flattery before any greater mischief should arise. 2. Hence he ordered Jovinus, a commander of the horse, who was coming over the Alps and had entered Noricum, to return with speed, in order to quench in any way he could the fire that had broken out. Also, that nothing might be wanting, he gave orders that all soldiers who followed the court or the standards [1] should be detained as they passed through that same town,[2] in order to give help according to their powers.

3. These arrangements made, he himself, learning not long afterwards of the death of Constantius, hastily traversed Thrace and entered Constantinople. And being often advised that the said siege would be long rather than formidable, he assigned Immo with his other officers to that task and then ordered Jovinus to go and attend to other matters of greater urgency.

4. And so when Aquileia was surrounded with a double line of shields,[3] it was thought best in the unanimous opinion of the generals to try, partly by threats and partly by fair words, to induce the defenders to surrender; but when after much debate to and fro their obstinacy became immensely greater, the conference ended without result. 5. And since now nothing was looked for except battle, both sides refreshed themselves with food and sleep; at daybreak the sound of the trumpets roused them to slay one another, and raising a shout they rushed

[2] Namely, Naessus. [3] Cf. xix. 2, 2.

consultius, elatis clamoribus ferebantur. 6. Pluteos igitur prae se ferentes[1] oppugnatores, cratesque densius textas, sensim incedentes et caute, murorum ima suffodere ferramentorum multitudine conabantur, aptas[2] plerique vehentes ad mensuram moenium scalas, iamque parietibus paene contigui pars lapidibus volutis in pronum collisi, pars confixi stridentibus iaculis, retroque gradientes, averterunt secum omnes alios metu similium a proposito pugnandi detortos. 7. Hoc primo congressu erecti in audaciam clausi, assumpta fiducia meliorum, parvi ducebant restantia, mentibusque fundatis et compositis per opportuna tormentis, indefesso labore, vigilias et cetera subsidia securitatis implebant. 8. Contra munitores licet pavore discriminum anxii, pudore tamen ne secordes viderentur et segnes, ubi parum vis procedebat, Marte aperto temptata, ad instrumenta obsidionalium artium transtulerunt.[3] Et quia nec arietibus admovendis, nec ad intemptandas machinas vel ut possint forari cuniculi, inveniebatur locus[4] usquam habilis, disparatione brevi civitatem Natesione[5] amni praeterlabente, commentum excogitatum est cum veteribus admirandum. 9. Constructas veloci studio ligneas turres, propugnaculis hostium celsiores, imposuere

[1] *prae se ferentes*, Novák; *praeferentes*, G; *ē* (= est) *se ferentes*, V. [2] *aptas*, Clark; *natas*, V. [3] *se transtulerunt*, Bent.; *operam transtulerunt*, Novák; *transtulerunt*, V (def. Heilmann, Damsté); no lac. in V; so also Damsté. [4] *locus*, after *habilis*, ed. Bipont., Eyssen., Gardt.; before *usquam*, Clark. [5] *Natesione*, Her.; *tesi oni*, V.

to battle with more boldness than discretion. 6. Then the besiegers, pushing before them mantlets and closely-woven hurdles, advanced slowly and cautiously, and with a great number of iron tools tried to undermine the walls. Many carried scaling-ladders made to match the height of the walls, but when they could all but touch the ramparts, some were crushed by stones that were hurled down upon them, others were pierced with whizzing darts; and as the survivors gave way, they carried with them all the rest, whom fear of a like fate turned from their purpose of fighting. 7. This first encounter raised the courage of the besieged, who felt confident of still greater success, and made light of what remained to do; with settled and resolute minds they placed artillery in suitable places and with unwearied labour kept guard and attended to other measures of safety. 8. On the other side the assailants, though anxious and fearful of danger, yet from shame of seeming spiritless and slack, seeing that assault by open force effected little, turned to the devices of the besiegers' art. And since a suitable place could nowhere be found for moving up rams, for bringing engines to bear, or for digging mines, the fact[1] that the river Natesio flows by the city only a short distance off suggested a device as worthy of admiration as those of old. 9. With eager speed they built wooden towers higher than the enemy's ramparts and placed each upon

[1] The clause may perhaps refer to what precedes, or possibly it may be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with what precedes and what follows. The river hampered the use of the artillery and at the same time suggested the plan adopted.

trigeminis navibus, valide[1] sibi conexis, quibus insistentes armati, uno parique ardore prohibitores dispellere, collatis ex propinquo viribus, nitebantur: subterque expediti velites a turrium cavernis egressi, iniectis ponticulis, quos ante compaginarant, transgredi festinarunt indiviso negotio ut, dum vicissim missilibus se petunt et saxis utrimquesecus alte locati, hi qui transiere per pontes, nullo interpellante, aedificii parte convulsa, aditus in penetralia oppidi reserarent.[2] 10. Verum[3] summa coepti prudentis aliorsum evasit. Cum enim adventarent iam turres, contortis malleolis madentibus pice, harundine quin etiam, sarmentis ac vario fomite flammarum incessebantur. Quae quoniam, incendio celeri, ponderibusque trepide superstantium inclinatae, prociderunt in flumen, armatorum aliqui per earum fastigia interibant, eminus[4] confixi tormentis. 11. Inter quae destituti pedites post navalium sociorum occasum, obtriti sunt saxis immanibus, praeter paucos quos morte scilicet per impedita suffugia, velocitas exemerat pedum. Ad ultimum certamine protracto in vesperam, datoque signo in receptum ex more, ambo digressi, diei residuum animis egere disparibus. 12. Munitorum enim maerores, funera lugentium propria,

[1] *valide*, Bent.; *valde*, EBG; *valda*, V. [2] *penetralia reserarent, iterum*, G; *oppidi*, addidi; *penetrali* (lac. 12 letters) *serarent* (lac. 3 letters) *iterum*, V. [3] *verum*, Haupt; *iterum*, V. (see crit. note 2). [4] *aliqui eminus*, Momm.; *alii e*, suggested by Clark.

[1] The exact meaning is uncertain; see crit. note.

three ships strongly fastened together. On these stood armed men, who, with forces gathered from near at hand strove with combined and equal courage to dislodge the defenders; and below, light-armed skirmishers issued forth from the lower rooms of the towers and threw out little bridges, which they had made beforehand, and hastened to cross on them. Thus they worked in unison, in order that while those stationed above on both sides assailed each other in turn with missiles and stones, those who had crossed by the bridges might without interference tear down a part of the wall and open an approach into the heart of the city.[1] 10. But the result of this well-laid plan was unsuccessful.[1] For when the towers were already drawing near, fire-darts steeped in pitch were hurled at them and they were assailed as well with reeds, faggots, and all kinds of kindling material. When by the rapidly spreading fire and the weight of the men who stood precariously upon them the towers toppled and fell into the river, some of the soldiers were killed on their very tops, pierced by missiles from the distant engines. 11. Meanwhile the foot-soldiers, left alone after the death of their companions on the ships, were crushed by huge stones, except a few whom speed of foot through the encumbered passageways saved from death. Finally, after the conflict had lasted until evening, the usual signal for retreat was given; whereupon both sides withdrew and spent what remained of the day with different feelings. 12. For the laments of the besiegers, as they grieved for the death of their comrades, encouraged the defenders to hope that

prohibitores spe iam superandi firmabant, licet ipsi quoque paucos gemebant amissos. Properabatur tamen nihilo minus, et quantum recreandis viribus quiete et cibo satis fuit tributo, per noctis integrae spatium, reparatur lucis exordio proelium, incitamento tubarum. 13. Et quidam elatis super capita scutis (ut pugnaturi levius), alii vehentes umeris ut antea scalas, ferventique impetu procurrentes, pectora multiformium telorum ictibus exponebant. Alii ferratas portarum obices effringendas adorti, ultro ignibus petebantur, vel elisi saxis [1] muralibus oppetebant. Quidam fossam fidentius transire conati, repentinis eorum assultibus, qui erumpebant clanculo per posticas, ruebant incaute, aut [2] saucii discedebant. Recursus enim ad moenia tutior, vallumque antemuranum caespitibus fultum, insidiantes ab omni discrimine defendebant. 14. Et quamquam prohibitores duritia bellorumque artibus antistabant,[3] quibus nihil praeter moenium supererat adiumentum, collectus tamen ex potioribus numeris miles, diuturnas ferre nequiens moras, suburbana omnia circumibat, diligenter inquirens, qua vi vel machinis posset patefactam irrumpere civitatem. 15. Quod ubi patrare non poterat, magnitudine vetante difficultatum, obsideri remissius coepta est, et excubiis stationibusque relictis, praesidiarii milites vastantes agros propinquos,

[1] *elisi saxis*, Her.; *saxis*, N[2]BG; *diffracti saxis*, Novák; *vaeldis traxis*, V, *uel distraxis*, V[2]. [2] *aut*, added by Clark; *uel*, by G; V omits (def. Heilmann). [3] *antistabant*, Pet.; *antistarent*, BG; *antis* (lac. 11 letters) *iant*, V.

[1] For those who rushed out through the postern gates.

they were now getting the upper hand, although they, too, had a few losses to mourn. Yet, in spite of this, no time was lost, and after a whole night, during which enough food and rest to recover their strength was allowed, the battle was renewed at daybreak at the sound of the trumpet. 13. Then some with their shields raised over their heads, to be less hampered in fighting, others carrying ladders on their shoulders as before, rushed forward in fiery haste, exposing their breasts to wounds from many kinds of weapons. Still others tried to break the iron bars of the gates, but were assailed in their turn with fire or slain by great stones hurled from the walls. Some, who boldly tried to cross the moat, taken unawares by the sudden onslaughts of those that secretly rushed forth through the postern gates, either fell, if overbold, or withdrew wounded. For the return to the walls was safe [1] and a rampart before the walls covered with turf protected from all danger those who lay in wait.[2] 14. But although the besieged, who had no help other than that of the walls, excelled in endurance and the arts of war, yet our soldiers, selected from the better companies, unable to bear the long delay, went about all the suburbs, diligently seeking for places where they could force an entrance into the city by main strength or by their artillery. 15. But when this proved impossible, prevented by the greatness of the difficulties, they began to conduct the siege with less energy, and the garrison troops, leaving behind only the sentinels and pickets, ransacked the neighbouring fields, got

[2] Waiting for the time for rushing out.

omnibus congruentibus abundabant, raptorumque concorporalibus suis impertientes. Unde largiore admodum potu, saginisque distenti marcebant.

16. His relatione Immonis consortiumque cognitis, Iulianus Constantinopoli etiam tum hibernans, sollerti remedio turbatis consuluit rebus, moxque Agilonem magistrum peditum ea tempestate probe cognitum miserat, ut viso honoratissimo viro, compertaque per eum morte Constanti, solveretur obsidium.

17. Inter quae ne cessaret Aquileiae oppugnatio[1] cum in reliquis opera consumeretur in cassum, placuit resistentes acriter ad deditionem siti compelli, et ubi aquarum ductibus intersectis, nihilo minus celsiore fiducia repugnarent, flumen laboribus avertitur magnis. Quod itidem frustra est factum. Attenuatis enim avidioribus bibendi subsidiis, hic quos temeritas clauserat, contenti putealibus aquis, parce vixerunt.

18. Quae dum agitantur casibus ante dictis, supervenit[2] (ut praeceptum est) Agilo, scutorumque densitate contectus, prope fidenter accessit, multaque locutus et vera, quibus Constanti obitum, firmatumque Iuliani docebat imperium, sine fine[3] conviciis confutabatur[4] ut fallax. Nec ei quisquam credidit

[1] *oppugnatio*, G; *circumvallatio*, Brakman; *aquilei* (lac. 15 letters) *cum*, V. [2] *supervenit*, G; *dictis* (lac. 19 letters) *nit ut*, V. [3] *sine fine*, Her.; *non sine*, G; *sine*, V. [4] *confutabatur*, Lind.; *conputabatur*, V.

an abundance of all suitable things, and gave their comrades a large share of their plunder; and in consequence, by drinking immoderately and stuffing themselves with rich food, they lost their vigour.

16. When Julian, who was still wintering in Constantinople, heard from the report of Immo and his colleagues what had happened, he devised a shrewd remedy for the troubles; he at once sent Agilo, commander of the infantry, who was well known at that time, to Aquileia, hoping that the sight of so distinguished a man, and the announcement through him of Constantius' death, might put an end to the blockade.

17. Meanwhile, that the siege of Aquileia might not be interrupted, it was decided, since all the rest of their toil had come to nothing, to force a surrender of the vigorous defenders by thirst. And when the aqueducts had been cut off, but in spite of that they resisted with still greater confidence, with a mighty effort the river was turned from its course; but that also was done in vain. For when the means of drinking more greedily were diminished, men whom their own rashness had beleaguered lived frugally, and contented themselves with water from wells.

18. While these events were taking place with the results already told, Agilo (as he was ordered) came to them, and covered by a close array of shields drew near confidently; but after giving a detailed and true account of the death of Constantius and the establishment of Julian's rule, he was overwhelmed with endless abuse as a liar. And no one believed his account of what had happened until he

gesta narranti, antequam pacta salute, susceptus ad pugnaculum solus, fide religiosius reddita, ea quae docuerat, replicaret. 19. His auditis ex diuturno angore portis reclusis omnes effusi, suscepere laeti pacificum ducem, seque purgantes, Nigrinum totius furoris auctorem, paucosque alios obtulerunt, eorum supplicio laesae crimina maiestatis et urbis aerumnas expiari poscentes. 20. Paucis denique post diebus, exploratius spectato negotio, Mamertino tum iudicante, praefecto praetorio, Nigrinus ut acerrimus belli instinctor, exustus est vivus. Romulus vero post eum et Sabostius [1] curiales, convicti, sine respectu periculi studia sevisse discordiarum, poenali consumpti sunt ferro. Residui omnes abierunt [2] innoxii, quos ad certaminum rabiem necessitas egerat, non voluntas. Id enim aequitate pensata, statuerat placabilis imperator et clemens.

21. Et haec quidem postea gesta sunt. Iulianus vero agens etiam tum apud Naessum, curis altioribus stringebatur, multa utrimque pertimescens. Formidabat enim ne clausorum militum apud Aquileiam repentino assultu, obseratis angustiis Alpium Iuliarum, provincias et adminicula perderet, quae exinde sperabat in dies. 22. Itidemque opes Orientis magnopere verebatur audiens dispersum per Thracias militem,

[1] Perhaps *Sallustius*, Clark. [2] *residuo omnes abierunt*, G; *resdu* (lac. 12 letters) *nes alterunt*, V.

was admitted alone within the walls under a pledge of safe conduct and repeated what he had said, adding a solemn oath that it was true. 19. When this was heard, the gates were opened, and after their long torment all poured forth and gladly met the peace-making general. Trying to excuse themselves, they presented Nigrinus as the author of the whole outrage, along with a few others, asking that by the execution of these men the crime of treason and the woes of their city might be expiated. 20. Finally, a few days later, after the affair had been more thoroughly investigated before Mamertinus, the praetorian prefect, then sitting in judgement, Nigrinus as the chief instigator of the war was burned alive. But after him Romulus and Sabostius, senators of Aquileia, being convicted of having sown the seeds of discord without regard to its dangerous consequences, died by the executioner's sword. All the rest, whom compulsion, rather than inclination, had driven to this mad strife, escaped unpunished. For so the emperor, naturally mild and merciful, had decided on grounds of justice.

21. Now these things happened later. But Julian was still at Naessus, beset by deep cares, since he feared many dangers from two quarters. For he stood in dread lest the soldiers besieged at Aquileia should by a sudden onset block the passes of the Julian Alps, and he should thus lose the provinces and the support which he daily expected from them. 22. Also he greatly feared the forces of the Orient, hearing that the soldiers dispersed over Thrace had been quickly concentrated to meet sudden

contra vim subitam cito coactum, adventare Succorum confinia, comite Martiano ducente. Sed tamen congrua instantium sollicitudinum moli, ipse quoque agitans efficaciter,[1] Illyricum contrahebat exercitum, pulvere coalitum Martio, promptumque in certaminibus bellicoso iungi rectori. 23. Nec privatorum utilitates in tempore ita flagranti[2] despiciens, litesque audiens controversas maxime municipalium ordinum, ad quorum favorem propensior, iniuste plures muneribus publicis annectebat. 24. Ibi Symmachum repertum et Maximum, senatores conspicuos, a nobilitate legatos ad Constantium missos, exinde reversos honorifice vidit, et potiore posthabito, in locum Tertulli Maximum urbi praefecit aeternae, ad Rufini Vulcatii gratiam, cuius sororis eum filium norat. Hoc administrante alimentaria res abundavit et querellae plebis excitari crebro solitae cessaverunt. 25. Tunc ut et[3] securitatem trepidis rebus afferret, et obedientium nutriret fiduciam, Mamertinum promotum[4] praefectum praetorio per Illyricum designavit consulem et Nevittam, qui nuper ut primum augendae barbaricae vilitatis auctorem, immoderate notaverat Constantinum.

[1] *agitans efficaciter*, Bent.; *agitans, e.* others. [2] *ita flagranti*, Her.; *afflagranti*, BG; *aflagranti*, V. [3] *ut et*, Clark; *ut*, bG; *et*, V. [4] *Mamertinum promotum*, Her.; *M.*, NG; *M. pro meritis*, E; *Mamertinum promer tinum*, V.

violence and were approaching the frontiers of Succi under the lead of the count Martianus. But in spite of this he himself also, acting with an energy commensurate with the pressing mass of dangers, assembled the Illyrian army, reared in the toil of Mars and ready in times of strife to join with a warlike commander. 23. Nor did he at so critical a time disregard the interests of private persons, but he gave ear to their suits and disputes, especially those of the senators of the free towns, whom he was much inclined to favour, and unjustly invested many of them with high public office. 24. There[1] it was that he found Symmachus[2] and Maximus, two distinguished senators, who had been sent by the nobles as envoys to Constantius. On their return he received them with honour, and passing over the better man,[3] in place of Tertullus made Maximus prefect of the eternal city, to please Rufinus Vulcatius,[4] whose nephew he knew him to be. Under this man's administration, however, there were supplies in abundance, and the complaints of the populace, which were often wont to arise, ceased altogether. 25. Then, to bring about a feeling of security in the crisis and to encourage those who were submissive, he promoted Mamertinus, the pretorian prefect in Illyricum, to the consulship, as well as Nevitta; and that too although he had lately beyond measure blamed Constantine as the first to raise the rank of base foreigners.[5]

[1] At Naessus.
[2] Father of the Symmachus from whom we have eleven books of letters, a pillar of the pagan religion. The son was later prefect of the city of Rome; cf. xxvii. 3, 3.
[3] Symmachus. [4] Cf. xxvii. 7, 2. [5] See xxi. 10, 8.

13. *Sapor domum reducit copias, inhibentibus bellum auspiciis; Constantius A. in Iulianum arma moturus, Hierapoli milites alloquitur.*

1. His ac talibus eo[1] inter spem metumque nova negotia commovente, Constantius apud Edessam exploratorum relationibus variis anxius, in rationes diducebatur ancipites, nunc ad concursatorias pugnas militem struens, nunc si copia patuisset, obsidione gemina Bezabden aggressurus, consultans prudenter, ne mox partes petiturus arctoas, improtectum Mesopotamiae relinqueret latus. 2. Verum consiliorum ambiguum retinebant multiplices morae, tardante trans Tigridem rege, dum moveri permitterent sacra. Nam si permeato flumine nullum qui resisteret invenisset, absque difficultate penetrarat Euphratem; alioqui ad civilia bella custodiens militem, timebat eum periculis obiectare circummuranis, firmitatem moenium munimenti, defensorumque alacritatem expertus.

3. Ne quiesceret tamen, neve condemnaretur[2] inertiae, Arbitionem et Agilonem, equestris pedestrisque[3] militiae magistros, cum agminibus maximis properare coegit, non ut lacesserent Persas in proelia, sed praetenturis iuncturos citeriores Tigridis ripas, et speculaturos quonam rex erumperet violentus.

[1] *eo*, Pet.; *et*, V. [2] *condemnaretur*, Lind.; *contemneretur*, HBG; *contemptaretur*, V, *contempnaretur*, V[2]. [3] *pedestris*, added by Val. before *equestris*; after *eq.*, Momm., Clark.

13. *Sapor, since the auspices forbade war, leads home his forces. Constantius Augustus addresses his troops at Hierapolis, preparatory to making war upon Julian.*

1. While by these and similar means Julian, wavering between hope and fear, was planning new measures, Constantius at Edessa, troubled by the varying reports of his scouts, was hesitating between two different courses, now preparing his soldiers for battle in the field, now, if opportunity should offer, planning a second siege of Bezabde, with the prudent design of not leaving the flank of Mesopotamia unprotected when he was presently about to march to the north. 2. But in this state of indecision he was kept back by many delays, since the Persian king was waiting on the other side of the Tigris until the signs from heaven should warrant a move; for if Sapor had crossed the river and found no one to oppose him, he could easily have penetrated to the Euphrates; besides this, since he was keeping his soldiers in condition for civil war, he feared to expose them to the dangers of an attack upon a walled city, knowing by experience the strength of its fortifications and the energy of its defenders.

3. However, in order not to be wholly inactive, nor be criticised for slackness, he ordered Arbitio and Agilo, commanders of the cavalry and of the infantry, to sally forth promptly with strong forces, not with a view of provoking the Persians to battle, but to draw a cordon on our bank of the Tigris and be on the watch to see where the impetuous king might break through. Moreover, he often warned

Addebatque monendo saepius et scribendo, ut si multitudo transire coepisset hostilis, referrent citius pedem. 4. Dumque collimitia iussa custodiunt duces, et occulta fallacissimae gentis observantur, agens ipse cum parte validiori exercitus, curabat urgentia (velut pugnaturus) oppidaque tuebatur excursu. Speculatores vero et transfugae subinde venientes, repugnantia prodebant, ideo futurorum incerti, quod apud Persas nemo consiliorum est conscius, praeter optimates taciturnos et fidos, apud quos Silentii quoque colitur numen. 5. Accersebatur autem a memoratis ducibus imperator assidue, orantibus ferri sibi suppetias. Testabantur enim se non nisi coactis in unum viribus cunctis, posse impetum regis ardentissimi sustinere.

6. Quae dum aguntur ita sollicite, nuntii percrebuere certissimi, quorum clara fide compertum est, Iulianum Italiam et Illyricum cursu celeri praetergressum, claustra interim occupasse Succorum, accita undique praestolantem auxilia, ut multitudine stipatus armorum pervaderet Thracias. 7. Quo cognito, maerore offusus Constantius, solacio uno sustentabatur, quod intestinos semper superaverit motus; re tamen magnam ei difficultatem ad capessendum consilium afferente, id elegit potissimum, ut vehiculis publicis impositum paulatim praemitteret

[1] That is, the towns in the neighbourhood of Edessa. He made a move only when these towns were threatened.

[2] Cf. Curtius, iv. 6, 5 f.

them by word of mouth and in writing that if the enemy's horde should begin to cross, they were to retreat quickly. 4. Now, while these generals were guarding the frontiers assigned them, and the hidden purposes of that most deceitful nation were being observed, he himself with the stronger part of his army was attending to urgent affairs (getting ready for battle) and now and then sallying forth to protect the towns.[1] But the scouts and deserters who appeared from time to time brought conflicting accounts, being uncertain what would happen, because among the Persians plans are communicated to none save the grandees, who are reticent and loyal, and with whom among their other gods Silence is honoured.[2] 5. Moreover, the aforesaid generals kept sending for the emperor and begging that reinforcements be sent to them. For they declared that the attack of a most energetic king could not be met, unless all the forces were united at one point.

6. During these anxious proceedings frequent and trusty messengers arrived, from whose clear and faithful reports it was learned that Julian, having in swift course passed through Italy and Illyricum, had meanwhile seized the pass of Succi, where he was awaiting auxiliaries summoned from every quarter, in order to invade Thrace attended by a great force of soldiers. 7. When this was known, Constantius, though overwhelmed with sorrow, was sustained by the one comforting thought, that in civil strife he had always come off victor; but while the present situation made it most difficult to decide upon a plan, he resolved, as the best course, gradually to send his soldiers on in advance in the

militem, imminentis[1] casus atrocitati velocius occursurum. 8. Omniumque consensu hac probata[2] sententia, pergebant (ut praeceptum est), expediti. Eique haec disponenti, luce postera nuntiatur, regem cum omni manu quam duxerat, ad propria revertisse, auspiciis dirimentibus, lenitoque metu, revocatis omnibus praeter eos quos consuetudo praesidio Mesopotamiae destinarat, confestim reversus est Nicopolim urbem.[3]

9. Summa itaque coeptorum quorsum evaderet ambigens, cum in unum exercitus convenisset, omnes centurias et manipulos et cohortes in contionem vocavit, concinentibus tubis, oppletoque multitudinis campo, ut eam ad firmanda promptius adigeret imperanda, tribunali celso insistens,[4] stipatusque[5] solito densius, haec prosecutus est, ad serenitatis speciem et fiduciae vultu formato:

10. "Sollicitus semper nequid re levi vel verbo committam, inculpatae parum congruens honestati, utque cautus navigandi magister, clavos pro fluctuum motibus erigens vel inclinans, compellor nunc apud vos, amantissimi viri, confiteri meos errores, quin potius (si dici liceat verum) humanitatem, quam credidi negotiis communibus profuturam. Proinde ut sciri facilius possit, quae sit huius concilii convocandi materia, accipite quaeso aequis auribus et secundis.

[1] *imminentis*, Bent.; *inminenti*, V. [2] *hac probata*, Her.; *approbata*, EBG; *ac probata*, V. [3] *Nicopolim*, B, Pighius (adding *confestim* and *urbem*); *Hierapolim*, G; *est* (lac. 8 letters) *capolim* (lac. 4 letters), V. [4] *insistens*, Bent.; *sistens*, V. [5] *stipatusque*, Bent. Novák, Momm.; *stipatoque*, V.

public conveyances, in order the sooner to meet the dread and imminent peril. 8. This plan met with general approval and the troops set out lightly equipped, as was ordered. But as he was carrying out this arrangement, word came next morning that the king with the entire force under his command had returned home, since the auspices put an end to his enterprise; relieved therefore of fear, Constantius recalled all the troops, except those that formed the usual defence of Mesopotamia, and quickly returned to the city of Nicopolis.

9. There, being still uncertain as to the outcome of his main enterprise, as soon as the army had come together he summoned all the centuries, maniples, and cohorts to an assembly; and when the trumpets sounded and the plain was filled with the multitude, in order to make them the more inclined to carry out his orders, he took his place upon a high tribunal with a larger retinue than common, and assuming an expression of calm confidence, addressed them as follows:

10. "Being always careful by no act or word, however slight, to allow myself to do anything inconsistent with faultless honour, and like a cautious steersman putting my helm up or down according to the movements of the waves, I am now constrained, dearly beloved soldiers, to confess to you my mistake, or rather (if I may be allowed to use the right word) my kindheartedness, which I believed would be profitable to the interests of all. Therefore, that you may the more readily know the ground for convoking this assembly, hear me, I pray you, with unprejudiced and favourable ears.

11. Gallum patruelem meum tempore quo confundendis rebus pertinaciter Magnentius inhaerebat, quem obruere vestrae virtutes, potestate Çaesaris sublimatum, ad Orientis praesidium misi. Qui cum a iustitia per multa visu relatuque nefaria defecisset, arbitrio punitus est legum. 12. Atque utinam hoc contenta fuisset [1] Invidia, turbarum acerrima concitatrix, ut angat [2] nos una sed secura doloris praeteriti recordatio. At nunc aliud accidit, ausim dicere praeteritis maestius, quod per fortitudinem vobis ingenitam, adiumenta caelestia coercebunt. 13. Iulianus, quem dum circumfrementes Illyricum nationes exteras oppugnatis, tuendis praefecimus Galliis, levium confidentia proeliorum, quae cum Germanis gessit semermibus, ut vecors elatus, adscitis in societatem superbam auxiliaribus paucis, feritate speque postrema, ad perniciosam audaciam promptis, in noxam publicam conspiravit, aequitate calcata, parente nutriceque orbis Romani, quam tumentes spiritus tamquam favillas reflaturam vindicaturamque, deinde [3] ut sceleste factorum [4] ultricem, et ipse expertus, et docente antiquitate facile credo.

14. "Quid igitur superest, nisi ut turbinibus excitis occurramus, subcrescentis rabiem belli, antequam pubescat validius, celeritatis remediis oppressuri?

[1] *fuisset*, Eyssen.; *extitisset*, EW[2]A; *contemptatisset*, V; *contempta extitisset*, V[2]. [2] *ut angat*, Pet.; *et angebat*, V. [3] *reflaturam . . . deinde*, Novák; *tamquam favillas flaturam fracturamque deo iubente, et*, Pighius; *favillas se facturamque dei inde*, V. [4] *factorum*, Bent., Eyssen.; *laetorum*, VG.

11. "At the time when Magnentius, whom your valorous deeds overthrew, was obstinately bent upon making general confusion in the state, I raised my cousin Gallus to the high rank of Caesar and sent him to defend the Orient. When he by many deeds abominable to witness and to rehearse had forsaken the path of justice, he was punished by the laws' decree. 12. And would to Heaven that Envy, that busiest inciter of trouble, had been content with that, in order that only this one recollection of grief now past, but unaccompanied by dangers, might disquiet me. But now another blow has fallen, more to be lamented, I might venture to say, than those that went before, which the aid of Heaven through your native valour will make harmless. 13. Julian, to whom we entrusted the defence of Gaul while you were fighting the foreign nations that raged around Illyricum, presuming upon some trivial battles which he fought with the half-armed Germans, exulting like a madman, has involved in his ambitious cabal a few auxiliaries, whom their savagery and hopeless condition made ready for a destructive act of recklessness; and he has conspired for the hurt of the state, treading under foot Justice, the mother and nurse of the Roman world, who, as I readily believe from experience and from the lessons of the past, will in the end, as the punisher of evil deeds, take vengeance on them, and will blow away their proud spirits like ashes.

14. "What, then, remains but to meet the storms that have been raised, with the purpose of crushing by the remedies of speed the madness of the growing war before it attains greater strength? For there is

Nec enim dubium, favore numinis summi praesente, cuius perenni suffragio damnantur ingrati, ferrum impie praeparatum ad eorum interitum esse vertendum, qui non lacessiti, sed aucti beneficiis pluribus, ad insontium pericula surrexerunt. 15. Ut enim mea mens augurat[1] Iustitiaque rectis consiliis adfutura promittit, spondeo quod, si ventum fuerit comminus, ita pavore torpescent, ut nec oculorum vestrorum vibratae lucis ardorem, nec barritus sonum perferant primum."

16. Omnes post haec dicta in sententiam ducti[2] suam hastasque vibrantes irati, post multa quae benivole responderant, petebant duci se protinus in rebellem. Qua gratia in laetitiam imperator versus ex metu, contione mox absoluta, Arbitionem ante alios faustum ad intestina bella sedanda, ex ante actis iam sciens, iter suum praeire cum Lanceariis et Mattiariis, et catervis expeditorum praecepit, et cum Laetis itidem Gomoarium, venturis in Succorum angustiis[3] opponendum, ea re aliis antelatum, quod ut contemptus in Galliis erat Iuliano infestus.

[1] *inaugurat*, Eyssen.; *iam augurat*, Günther, Pet.; *mensam auguratio stitia que* (*quae*, V[2]), V. [2] *ducti*, Clark; *tracti*, Bent.; *ibant*, Haupt; *flexerat*, Novák; no lac. in V. [3] *angustiis*, EB; *angustias*, G; *angustus*, V.

no doubt that through the present help of the most high Deity, by whose eternal verdict the ungrateful are condemned, the sword that has impiously been whetted must inevitably be turned to the destruction of those who, not provoked, but made greater by many favours, have risen to endanger the guiltless. 15. For, as my mind presages, and as Justice promises, who will aid right purposes, I give you my word that, when we come hand to hand, they will be so benumbed with terror as to be able to endure neither the flashing light of your eyes nor the first sound of your battle-cry."

16. After these words all were led to his opinion, and brandishing their spears in anger they first replied with many expressions of good will, and then asked to be led at once against the rebel. This mark of favour turned the emperor's fear into joy; he at once dissolved the assembly and ordered Arbitio, whom he already knew from former experiences to be successful before all others in quelling civil wars, to go before him on his march with the lancers, the mattiarii,[1] and the companies of light armed troops; also Gomoarius with the Laeti,[2] to oppose the coming advance of the enemy in the pass of Succi, a man chosen before others because he was a bitter enemy of Julian, who had treated him with contempt in Gaul.

[1] They seem to have got their name from the *mattium*, a kind of weapon which they used, of which nothing is known. They are mentioned in connection with the lancers also in xxxi. 13, 8.
[2] Cf. xvi. 11, 4; xx. 8, 13.

14. *Praesagia mortis Constantii A.*

1. In hoc rerum adversarum tumultu, haerens eius fortuna iam et subsistens, adventare casum vitae difficilem, modo non loquentibus signis aperte monstrabat. Namque et nocturnis imaginibus terrebatur, et nondum penitus mersus in somnum, umbram viderat patris obtulisse pulchrum infantem, eumque susceptum et locatum in gremio suo, excussam sibi proiecisse longius sphaeram, quam ipse dextera manu gestabat. Id autem permutationem temporum indicabat, licet interpretantes placentia responderent. 2. Post haec confessus est iunctioribus proximis, quod tamquam desolatus, secretum aliquid videre desierit, quod interdum adfuisse sibi squalidius aestimabat, et putabatur genius esse quidam, tutelae salutis appositus, eum reliquisse mundo citius digressurum. 3. Ferunt enim theologi in lucem editis hominibus cunctis, salva firmitate fatali, huius modi quaedam velut actus rectura numina sociari, admodum tamen paucissimis visa, quos multiplices auxere virtutes. 4. Idque et oracula et auctores docuere praeclari. Inter quos est etiam Menander comicus, apud quem hi senarii duo leguntur:

[1] This emblem of power is found in the statues and on the coins of the later emperors. See Frontispiece Vol. III.

14. ***Omens of the death of Constantius Augustus.***

1. In this welter of adverse events Constantius' fortune, already wavering and at a standstill, showed clearly by signs almost as plain as words, that a crisis in his life was at hand. For at night he was alarmed by apparitions, and when he was not yet wholly sunk in sleep, the ghost of his father seemed to hold out to him a fair child; and when he took it and set it in his lap, it shook from him the ball[1] which he held in his right hand and threw it to a great distance. And this foretold a change in the state, although the seers gave reassuring answers. 2. After that he admitted to his more intimate attendants that, as though forsaken, he ceased to see a kind of secret something[2] which he used to think occasionally appeared to him, though somewhat dimly; and it was supposed that a sort of guardian spirit, assigned to protect his life, had deserted him, since he was destined quickly to leave this world. 3. For the theologians maintain that there are associated with all men at their birth, but without interference with the established course of destiny, certain divinities of that sort, as directors of their conduct; but they have been seen by only a very few, whom their manifold merits have raised to eminence. 4. And this oracles and writers of distinction have shown; among the latter is also the comic poet Menander, in whom we read these two senarii:

[2] *aliquid* suggests *quidam eximia magnitudine et forma* in Suet., *Jul.* 22, but is much more vague—hardly more than a feeling of the presence of some supernatural power.

ἅπαντι δαίμων ἀνδρὶ συμπαρίσταται
εὐθὺς γενομένῳ, μυσταγωγὸς τοῦ βίου.

5. Itidem ex[1] sempiternis Homeri carminibus intellegi datur, non deos caelestes cum viris fortibus collocutos, nec adfuisse pugnantibus vel iuvisse, sed familiaris genios cum eisdem versatos, quorum adminiculis freti praecipuis, Pythagoras enituisse dicitur et Socrates, Numaque Pompilius, et superior Scipio et (ut quidam existimant) Marius et Octavianus, cui Augusti vocabulum delatum est primo, Hermesque Termaximus, et Tyaneus Apollonius atque Plotinus, ausus quaedam super hac re disserere mystica, alteque monstrare, quibus primordiis hi genii animis conexi mortalium eas tamquam gremiis suis susceptas tuentur (quoad licitum est) docentique maiora, si senserint puras et a colluvione peccandi, immaculata corporis societate discretas.

15. *Moritur Constantius A. apud Mobsucrenas Ciliciae.*

1. Ingressus itaque Antiochiam festinando Constantius, ad motum certaminum civilium (ut solebat),

[1] *itidem ex*, G; *inde* with lac., UB; *τοῦ βίου* (lac. 4 letters) *itide* (lac. 14 letters) *sempiternis*, V.

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[1] *μυσταγωγός* is the name applied to the priest who gave the initiated instruction in the mysteries. Later it was used of the guide who showed strangers the noteworthy objects in a place. The quotation is frag. 550 in Kock's *Comicorum Att. Frag.* III.

[2] Perhaps *Iliad*, i. 503 ff.

[3] Referring to the nymph Egeria; cf. Livy, i. 19, 5.

[4] Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal.

[5] A surname of the Egyptian Hermes. Here the reference is apparently to a writer of the second century,

A daemon is assigned to every man
At birth, to be the leader[1] of his life.

5. Likewise from the immortal poems of Homer[2] we are given to understand that it was not the gods of heaven that spoke with brave men, and stood by them or aided them as they fought, but that guardian spirits attended them; and through reliance upon their special support, it is said, that Pythagoras, Socrates, and Numa Pompilius[3] became famous; also the earlier Scipio,[4] and (as some believe) Marius and Octavianus, who first had the title of Augustus conferred upon him, and Hermes Trismegistus,[5] Apollonius of Tyana,[6] and Plotinus,[7] who ventured to discourse on this mystic theme, and to present a profound discussion of the question by what elements these spirits are linked with men's souls, and taking them to their bosoms, as it were, protect them (as long as possible) and give them higher instruction, if they perceive that they are pure and kept from the pollution of sin through association with an immaculate body.

15. *Constantius Augustus dies at Mobsucrenae in Cilicia.*

1. Constantius, therefore, having reached Antiochia by forced marches, intending (as was his custom)

who under that name tried to revive the old Egyptian, Pythagorean, and Platonic ideas.

[6] The famous magician of the first century B.C., whose biography was written by Philostratus.

[7] An eclectic philosopher of the third century, whose views entitled *περὶ τοῦ εἰληχότος ἡμᾶς δαίμονος* have come down to us (Plot. *Enn.*, iii, 4).

avide surrecturus, paratis omnibus exire properabat immodice, renitentibus plurimis murmure tenus. Nec enim dissuadere palam audebat quisquam vel vetare. 2. Autumno iam senescente profectus, cum ad suburbanum venisset, disiunctum exinde tertio lapide, Hippocephalum nomine, lucente iam die, cadaver hominis interfecti, dextra iacens capite avulso conspexit, contra occiduum latus extensum: territusque omine, finem parantibus fatis, destinatius ipse tendebat, venitque Tarsum, ubi leviore febri contactus, ratusque itinerario motu imminutae valetudinis excuti posse discrimen, petit per vias difficiles Mobsucrenas, Ciliciae ultimam hinc pergentibus stationem, sub Tauri montis radicibus positam, egredique secuto die conatus, illabente morbi gravitate detentus est: paulatimque urente calore nimio venas, ut ne tangi quidem corpus eius posset, in modum foculi fervens, cum usus deficeret medelarum, ultimum spirans, deflebat exitium, mentisque sensu tum etiam integro, successorem suae potestatis statuisse dicitur Iulianum. 3. Deinde anhelitu iam pulsante letali, conticuit, diuque cum anima colluctatus iam discessura, abiit e vita tertium nonarum Octobrium,[1] imperii tricesimo octavo[2]

[1] *Novembrium*, Seeck. [2] *tricesimo octavo*, added by Val.; V omits.

[1] The omen seems to consist, in part at least, in the position of the body, stretched out towards the setting

eagerly to encounter civil disturbances at their outset, and having made all his preparations, was in immoderate haste to set out, although many opposed it, but only by murmurs; for no one dared openly to dissuade or to forbid him. 2. When autumn was already waning he began his march, and on coming to a suburban estate called Hippocephalus, distant three miles from the city, he saw in broad daylight on the right side of the road the corpse of a man with head torn off, lying stretched out towards the west.[1] Terrified by the omen, although the fates were preparing his end, he kept on with the greater determination and arrived at Tarsus. There he was taken with a slight fever, but in the expectation of being able to throw off the danger of his illness by the motion of the journey he kept on over difficult roads to Mobsucrenae, the last station of Cilicia as you go from here, situated at the foot of Mount Taurus; but when he tried to start again on the following day, he was detained by the increasing severity of the disease. Gradually the extreme heat of the fever so inflamed his veins that his body could not even be touched, since it burned like a furnace; and when the application of remedies proved useless, as he breathed his last he lamented his end. However, while his mind was still unimpaired he is said to have designated Julian as the successor to the throne. 3. Then the death-rattle began and he was silent, and after a long struggle with life now about to leave him, he died on the fifth of October, in the

sun. *occiduum* thus suggests death; one may compare "going west," which perhaps had the same origin.

vitaeque anno quadragesimo quarto[1] et mensibus paucis.

4. Post quae, supremis cum gemitu conclamatis, excitisque lamentis et luctu, deliberabant locum obtinentes in aula regia primum, quid agerent quidve moliri deberent: paucisque occulte super eligendo imperatore temptatis, incitante (ut ferebatur) Eusebio, quem noxarum conscientia stimulabat, cum novandis rebus imminens obsisteret Iulianus, mittuntur ad eum Theolaifus et Aligildus tunc comites, mortem indicantes propinqui, et oraturi, ut mora omni depulsa, ad obtinendum obtemperare sibi paratum, tenderet Orientem. 5. Fama tamen rumorque loquebatur incertus, Constantium voluntatem ordinasse postremam, in qua Iulianum (ut praediximus) scripsit heredem, et his quos diligebat, fidei commissa detulit et legata. 6. Uxorem autem praegnantem reliquit, unde edita postuma eiusque nomine appellata, cum adolevisset, matrimonii iure copulata est Gratiano.

16. *Constantii A. virtutes, et vitia.*

1. Bonorum igitur vitiorumque eius differentia vere servata, praecipua prima conveniet expediri.

[1] *quarto* added by Val.; V omits.

[1] October 5, 361. He was forty-five years old and had reigned twenty-five years, since the death of his father; thirty-eight years includes his term of office as Caesar.

[2] The *conclamatio* was a regular custom, for the purpose of seeing whether any life was left; cf. xxx. **10**, 1.

[3] Cf. xxii. **2**, 1.

thirty-eighth year of his reign at the age of forty-four years and a few months.[1]

4. After this followed the last mournful call to the deceased,[2] and grief and wailing broke out; then those who held the first rank in the royal court considered what they should do, or what they ought to attempt. And after a few had been sounded secretly as to the choice of an emperor, at the suggestion of Eusebius (as was reported), whom the consciousness of his guilt pricked, since Julian's nearness made an attempt at revolution inadvisable, Theolaifus and Aligildus,[3] at that time counts, were sent to him, to report the death of his kinsman, and beg him to lay aside all delay and come to take over the Orient, which was ready to obey him. 5. However, rumour and an uncertain report had it that Constantius had made a last will, in which (as I have said) he wrote down Julian as his heir and gave commissions and legacies to those who were dear to him. 6. Now he left his wife with child, and the posthumous daughter to whom she afterwards gave birth was called by his name, and when she grew up was united in marriage with Gratianus.[4]

16. *The virtues of Constantius Augustus, and his faults.*

1. Observing, therefore, a true distinction between his good qualities and his defects, it will be fitting to set forth his good points first.[5] He always

[4] Cf. xxix. **6**, 7. Her name was Flavia Maxima Faustina.

[5] With this chapter, cf. xiv. **5**, 1-4.

Imperatoriae auctoritatis cothurnum ubique custodiens, popularitatem elato animo contemnebat et magno, erga tribuendas celsiores dignitates impendio parcus, nihil circa administrationum augmenta praeter pauca novari perpessus, numquam erigens cornua militarium. 2. Nec sub eo dux quisquam cum clarissimatu provectus est. Erant enim (ut nos quoque meminimus), perfectissimi: nec occurrebat magistro equitum provinciae rector nec contingi ab eo civile negotium permittebat. Sed cunctae castrenses et ordinariae potestates, ut honorum omnium apicem, priscae reverentiae more, praefectos semper suspexere praetorio. 3. In conservando milite nimium cautus, examinator meritorum non numquam subscruposus,[1] palatinas dignitates velut ex quodam tribuens perpendiculo, et sub eo nemo celsum aliquid acturus, in regia repentinus adhibitus est vel incognitus, sed qui post decennium officiorum magisterium vel largitiones vel simile quicquam esset recturus, apertissime noscebatur. Valdeque raro contigerat, ut militarium aliquis ad civilia regenda transiret, contraque non nisi pulvere bellico indurati,

[1] *subscruposus*, Loiselle from cod. Valent.; *suscruposus*, V (*su*- added by V[2]).

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[1] With *erigens cornua*, cf. *supercilia . . . cornua*, xx. 1, 2. The horn is a symbol of courage and confidence both in Latin and in Hebrew literature, e.g. Horace, *Odes*, iii. 21, 18, *addis cornua pauperi*; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* i. 239, *pauper sumit cornua*; *Psalms*, cxlviii. 14, "He exalteth the horn of his people."

[2] See Introd., p. xxviii. *clarissimi* were members of the senatorial order who, as the sons of senators, inherited their

maintained the dignity of imperial majesty, and his great and lofty spirit disdained the favour of the populace. He was exceedingly sparing in conferring the higher dignities, with few exceptions allowing no innovations in the way of additions to the administrative offices; and he never let the military lift their heads too high.[1] 2. Under him no leader of an army was advanced to the rank of *clarissimus*. For they were (according to my personal recollection) all *perfectissimi*.[2] The governor of a province never officially met a commander[3] of the cavalry, nor was the latter official allowed to take part in civil affairs. But all the military and civil officials always looked up to the praetorian prefects with the old-time respect, as the peak of all authority. 3. In the maintenance of the soldiers he was exceedingly careful; somewhat critical at times in evaluating services, he bestowed appointments at court by the plumb-line,[4] as it were. Under him no one who was to hold a high position was appointed to a post in the palace suddenly or untried, but a man who after ten years was to be marshal of the court, or head treasurer, or to fill any similar post, was thoroughly known. It very rarely happened that any military officer passed to a civil magistracy, and on the other hand, none were put in command of soldiers who had not grown hardy in the dust of

rank; but the title included also those who were made senators by *adlectio*.

[3] On his arrival in the province.

[4] The metaphorical use of this expression does not seem to be common; it occurs also in Ausonius, *Parentalia*, v. 8, *ad perpendiculum se suosque habuit*.

praeficiebantur armatis. 4. Doctrinarum diligens affectator, sed cum a rhetorice per ingenium desereretur obtunsum, ad versificandum transgressus, nihil operae pretium fecit. 5. In vita parca et sobria, edendi potandique moderatione, valetudinem ita retinuit firmam, ut raros colligeret morbos, sed eos non[1] procul a vitae periculis: id enim evenire corporibus a lascivia dimotis et luxu, diuturna experimenta et professiones[2] medendi monstrarunt. 6. Somno contentus exiguo, cum id posceret tempus et ratio, perque spatia vitae[3] longissima impendio castus, ut nec malivolo citerioris vitae[4] ministro saltem suspicione tenus posset redargui, quod crimen etiam si non invenit, malignitas fingit, in summarum licentia potestatum. 7. Equitandi et iaculandi, maximeque perite dirigendi sagittas, artiumque armaturae pedestris[5] perquam scientissimus. Quod autem nec os tersisse umquam vel[6] nares in publico, nec spuisse, nec transtulisse in partem alterutram vultum aliquando est visus, nec pomorum quoad vixerat gustaverit (ut dicta saepius) praetermitto.

8. Dinumeratis carptim bonis, quae scire potuimus, nunc ad explanada eius vitia veniamus. Cum esset in negotiis aliis principibus mediis comparandus,

[1] *non*, added by V[2]. [2] *professiones*, Bent.; *probationes*, W[2]BG; *propassiones*, V. [3] *vitae*, vulgo, deleted by Novák, see note 4. [4] *malevolo . . . vitae*, Novák; *mare ministro*, V; *a citeriore ministro*, Bent. [5] *pedestrios*, V, see note 6. [6] *nec os tersisse umquam vel*, cf. xvi. **10**, 10 (*o* from *pedestrios*, see note 5), Her.; *autem stersisse cum quam nares* (from *mares*), V.

[1] Cf. Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, iv. 51, *Constantinus M. filios omnino probe erudiendos magistris tradiderat peritissimis.* Wagner adds *e quorum disciplina si quid haesisset, iactare quavis data occasione solebat Constantius*; cf. Julian, *Orat.* i, pp. 28 ff. L.C.L.

battle. 4. He made great pretensions to learning,[1] but after failing in rhetoric because of dullness of mind, he turned to making verses, but accomplished nothing worth while. 5. By a prudent and temperate manner of life and by moderation in eating and drinking he maintained such sound health that he rarely suffered from illnesses, but such as he had were of a dangerous character. For that abstinence from dissipation and luxury have this effect on the body is shown by repeated experience, as well as by the statements of physicians. 6. He was content with little sleep when time and circumstances so required. Throughout the entire span of his life he was so extraordinarily chaste, that not even a suspicion could be raised against him even by an ill-disposed attendant on his private life, a charge which malice, even if it fails to discover it, still trumps up, having regard to the unrestrained liberty of supreme power. 7. In riding, in hurling the javelin, and especially in the skilful use of the bow, and in all the exercises of the foot-soldiers, he was an adept. That no one ever saw him wipe his mouth or nose in public, or spit, or turn his face in either direction,[2] or that so long as he lived he never tasted fruit, I leave unmentioned, since it has often been related.

8. Having given a succinct account of his merits, so far as I could know them, let us now come to an enumeration of his defects. While in administrative affairs he was comparable to other emperors of

[2] Cf. xvi. **10**, 10.

si affectatae dominationis amplam quandam falsam repperisset aut levem, hanc sine fine scrutando, fasque eodem loco ducens et nefas, Caligulae et Domitiani et Commodi immanitatem facile superabat, quorum aemulatus saevitiam inter imperandi exordia, cunctos sanguine et genere se contingentes, stirpitus interemit. 9. Addebatur miserorum aerumnis, qui rei maiestatis imminutae vel laesae deferebantur, acerbitas eius et iracundia suspicionesque[1] in huius modi cuncta distentae. Et siquid tale increpuisset, in quaestiones acrius exsurgens quam civiliter, spectatores apponebat his litibus truces, mortemque longius in puniendis quibusdam, si natura permitteret, conabatur extendi, in eius modi controversiarum partibus etiam Gallieno ferocior. 10. Ille enim perduellionum crebris verisque appetitus insidiis, Aureoli et Postumi et Ingenui et Valentis, cognomento Thessalonici, aliorumque plurium, mortem factura crimina aliquotiens lenius vindicabat: hic etiam ficta[2] vel dubia, adigebat videri certissima, vi nimia[3] tormentorum. 11. Iustumque[4] in eius modi titulis capitali odio[5] oderat, cum maxime id ageret ut iustus aestimaretur et clemens. Et tamquam ex arida silva volantes scintillae, flatu leni ventorum, ad usque discrimina vicorum agrestium incohibili cursu perveniunt, ita ille quoque ex

[1] *suspicionesque*, Her.; *suspitiones*, V. [2] *ficta*, Bent., Hermann; *facta*, V. [3] *nimia*, Lind.; *vi*, W²BG; *ignea*, Pet.; *nea*, V. [4] *iustumque*, Val. from cod. Fauchetii; *iusque*, Her.; *tumque*, V. [5] *capitali odio*, Momm.; *capitaliter*, G; *capitali operat com* (*o* to *u*, V²), V.

medium quality, if he found any indication, however slight or groundless, of an aspiration to the supreme power, by endless investigations, in which he made no distinction between right and wrong, he easily surpassed the savagery of Caligula, Domitian, and Commodus. For it was in rivalry of the cruelty of those emperors that at the beginning of his reign he destroyed root and branch all who were related to him by blood and race. 9. To add to the sufferings of the wretches who were reported to him for impairment of, or insult to, his majesty, his bitterness and angry suspicions were stretched to the uttermost in all such cases. If anything of the kind was bruited abroad, he gave himself up to inquisitions with more eagerness than humanity, and appointed for such trials merciless judges; and in the punishment of some he tried to make their death lingering, if nature allowed, in some particulars being even more ruthless than Gallienus in such inquisitions. 10. As a matter of fact, he was the object of many genuine plots of traitors, such as Aureolus, Postumus, Ingenuus, Valens[1] surnamed Thessalonicus, and several others, yet he often showed leniency in punishing crimes which would bring death to the victim; but he also tried to make false or doubtful cases appear well-founded by excessively violent tortures. 11. And in such affairs he showed deadly enmity to justice, although he made a special effort to be considered just and merciful. And as sparks flying from a dry forest even with a light breeze of wind come with irresistible course and bring danger to rural villages, so he also from trivial causes roused

[1] In Illyricum, Gaul, Pannonia and Achaia respectively.

minimis causis, malorum congeries excitabat, Marci illius dissimilis principis verecundi, qui cum ad imperiale culmen in Syria Cassius surrexisset, epistularum fascem ab eo ad conscios missum, perlatore capto sibi oblatum, ilico signatum exuri praecepit, agens adhuc in Illyrico, ne insidiatoribus cognitis, invitus quosdam habere posset offensos. 12. Utque recte sentientes quidam arbitrabantur, virtutis erat potius indicium magnum,[1] imperio eundem Constantium sine cruore cessisse, quam vindicasse tam inclementer. 13. Ut Tullius quoque docet, crudelitatis increpans Caesarem, in quadam ad Nepotem epistula: "Neque enim quicquam aliud est felicitas" inquit "nisi honestarum rerum prosperitas. Vel ut alio modo definiam: felicitas est fortuna adiutrix consiliorum bonorum, quibus qui non utitur, felix esse nullo pacto potest. Ergo in perditis impiisque consiliis, quibus Caesar usus est, nulla potuit esse felicitas. Feliciorque meo iudicio Camillus exsulans quam temporibus eisdem Manlius, etiam si (id quod cupierat) regnare potuisset." 14. Id Ephesius quoque Heraclitus asserens monet, ab inertibus et ignavis, eventus variante fortuna, superatos aliquotiens viros fuisse praestantes; illud

[1] *magnum*, Clark; *magnae*, BG; *Magnenti*, Momm.; *magni*, V.

up a mass of evils, unlike that revered prince Marcus,[1] who, when Cassius had mounted to imperial heights in Syria, and a packet of letters sent by him to his accomplices had fallen into the emperor's hands through the capture of their bearer, at once ordered it to be burned unopened, in order that, being at the time still in Illyricum, he might not know who were plotting against him, and hence be forced to hate some men against his will.[2] 12. And, as some right-thinking men believed, it would have been a striking indication of true worth in Constantius, if he had renounced his power without bloodshed, rather than defended it so mercilessly. 13. And this Tully also shows in a letter to Nepos, in which he taxes Caesar with cruelty, saying: "For happiness is nothing else than success in noble actions. Or, to express it differently, happiness is the good fortune that aids worthy designs, and one who does not aim at these can in no wise be happy. Therefore, in lawless and impious plans, such as Caesar followed, there could be no happiness. Happier, in my judgement, was Camillus in exile than was Manlius[3] at that same time, even if (as he had desired) he had succeeded in making himself king."[4] 14. Heraclitus the Ephesian[5] also agrees with this, when he reminds us that the weak and cowardly have sometimes, through the mutability of fortune, been victorious over eminent men; but that the most conspicuous praise is won,

[1] Marcus Aurelius.
[2] Cf. Dio, lxii. 26, 38.
[3] M. Manlius saved the Roman citadel when the Gauls took the city in 387 B.C. Later, because he defended the commons, he was accused of aspiring to regal power and hurled from the Tarpeian Rock.

[4] A fragment preserved by Ammianus alone, not found in Cicero's extant works.
[5] "The weeping philosopher," as Democritus was "the laughing philosopher"; cf. *Juvenal*, x. 33 ff. He flourished about 535-475 B.C.

vero eminere inter praecipuas laudes, cum potestas, in gradu,[1] velut sub iugum missa nocendi saeviendi cupiditate et irascendi, in arce victoris animi tropaeum erexerit gloriosum.

15. Ut autem in externis bellis hic princeps fuit saucius et afflictus, ita prospere succedentibus pugnis civilibus tumidus, et intestinis ulceribus rei publicae sanie perfusus horrenda : quo pravo proposito magis quam recto vel usitato, triumphalis arcus ex clade provinciarum sumptibus magnis erexit in Galliis et Pannoniis, titulis gestorum affixis, se (quoad stare poterunt monumenta) lecturis. 16. Uxoribus et spadonum gracilentis vocibus et palatinis quibusdam nimium quantum addictus, ad singula eius verba plaudentibus, et quid ille aiat aut neget (ut assentiri possint) observantibus.

17. Augebat etiam amaritudinem temporum, flagitatorum rapacitas inexpleta, plus odiorum ei quam pecuniae conferentium. Hocque multis intolerantius videbatur, quod nec causam aliquando audivit, nec provinciarum indemnitati prospexit, cum multiplicatis tributis et vectigalibus vexarentur. Eratque super his adimere facilis quae donabat.

18. Christianam religionem absolutam et simplicem anili superstitione confundens, in qua scrutanda

[1] *iracunda*, Bent. ; *invicto gradu*, Momm. ; lac. indicated by Novák ; *leni gradu incedens*, E. Meurig Davies ; *in gradu*, V.

[1] It was usual to celebrate a triumph only over foreign enemies, and the same rule applied to triumphal arches.

[2] Although this term is so common in English, this is the first and only occurrence in Latin literature, and it is found besides only in four late inscriptions from northern Africa.

when high-placed power sending, as it were, under the yoke the inclination to harm, to be angry, and to show cruelty, on the citadel of a spirit victorious over itself has raised a glorious trophy.

15. Now, although this emperor in foreign wars met with loss and disaster, yet he was elated by his success in civil conflicts and drenched with awful gore from the internal wounds of the state. It was on this unworthy rather than just or usual ground[1] that in Gaul and Pannonia he erected triumphal arches[2] at great expense commemorating the ruin of the provinces,[3] and added records of his deeds, that men might read of him so long as those monuments could last. 16. He was to an excessive degree under the influence of his wives, and the shrill-voiced eunuchs, and certain of the court officials, who applauded his every word, and listened for his "yes" or "no," in order to be able to agree with him.

17. The bitterness of the times was increased by the insatiate extortion of the tax-collectors, who brought him more hatred than money ; and to many this seemed the more intolerable, for the reason that he never investigated a dispute, nor had regard for the welfare of the provinces, although they were oppressed by a multiplicity of taxes and tributes. And besides this, he found it easy to take away exemptions which he had once given.

18. The plain[4] and simple religion of the Christians he obscured by a dotard's superstition, and by subtle

[3] That is, his victories over his rivals, and the bloodshed and ruin attending them.

[4] Cf. *absolutio*, xiv. 10, 13 ; *responsum absolutum*, xxx. 1, 4 ; *planis absolutisque decretis*, xxii. 5, 2.

perplexius quam componenda gravius excitavit discidia plurima, quae progressa fusius aluit concertatione verborum, ut catervis antistitum iumentis publicis ultro citroque discurrentibus per synodos (quas appellant), dum ritum omnem ad suum trahere conatur arbitrium, rei vehiculariae succideret nervos.

19. Figura tali situque membrorum: subniger, luce oculorum edita, cernensque acutum, molli capillo, rasis assidue genis lucentibus ad decorem, usque ad pubem ab ipsis colli confiniis longior, brevissimis cruribus et incurvis, unde saltu valebat et cursu.[1]

20. Pollinctum igitur corpus defuncti, conditumque in loculis, Iovianus etiam tum protector domesticus, cum regia prosequi pompa, Constantinopolim usque iussus est, prope necessitudines eius humandum. 21. Eique vehiculo insidenti, quod portabat reliquias, ut principibus solet, annonae militaris offerebantur indicia (ut ipsi nominant "probae") et animalia publica monstrabantur, et ex usu crebrescebant occursus, quae et alia horum similia eidem Ioviano imperium quidem sed et cassum[2] et umbratile (ut ministro rerum funebrium) portendebant.

[1] *unde . . . cursu*, enclosed in brackets by Gardt., cf. xxv. 4, 22. [2] *sed etcassum*, A; *sed vicarium*, Harman; sede et assum, V.

[1] The emperors took pains to see that the soldiers were well fed. Cf. Spartianus, *Hadr.* 11, 1; Lampridius, *Alex. Sev.* xv. 5.

and involved discussions about dogma, rather than by seriously trying to make them agree, he aroused many controversies; and as these spread more and more, he fed them with contentious words. And since throngs of bishops hastened hither and thither on the public post-horses to the various synods, as they call them, while he sought to make the whole ritual conform to his own will, he cut the sinews of the courier-service.

19. His bodily appearance and form were as follows: he was rather dark, with bulging eyes and sharp-sighted; his hair was soft and his regularly shaven cheeks were neat and shining; from the meeting of neck and shoulders to the groin he was unusually long, and his legs were very short and bowed, for which reason he was good at running and leaping.

20. When the corpse of the deceased emperor had been washed and placed in a coffin, Jovianus, who was at that time still an officer in the bodyguard, was ordered to escort it with regal pomp to Constantinople, to be interred beside his kinsfolk. 21. And as he sat in the carriage that bore the remains, samples of the soldiers' rations ("probae," as they themselves call them) were presented to him, as they commonly are to emperors,[1] and the public courier-horses were shown to him, and the people thronged about him in the customary manner. These and similar things foretold imperial power for the said Jovianus, but of an empty and shadowy kind, since he was merely the director of a funeral procession.

LIBER XXII

1. *Iulianus A. metu Constantii A. subsistit in Dacia, et clam haruspices et augures consulit.*

1. Dum haec in diversa parte terrarum, Fortunae struunt volubiles casus, Iulianus inter multa, quae per Illyricum agitabat, exta rimabatur assidue, avesque suspiciens, praescire festinabat accidentium finem, sed responsis ambiguis et obscuris haerebat, futurorum incertus. 2. Eique tandem aruspicinae peritus, Aprunculus Gallus orator, promotus rector postea Narbonensis, nuntiavit eventus, inspectu iecoris (ut aiebat ipse) praedoctus, quod operimento duplici viderat tectum. Cumque ille timeret, ne cupiditati suae congruentia fingerentur, eratque [1] ideo maestus, omen multo praesentius ipse conspexit, quod excessum Constantii clare monstrabat. Eodem enim puncto quo idem obierat in Cilicia, lapso milite qui se insessurum equo dextra manu erexit, humique prostrato, exclamavit ilico audientibus multis, cecidisse qui eum ad culmen extulerat celsum. 3. Et quamquam haec laetifica sciret,[2] velut fixa tamen firmitate consistens, intra terminos Daciae se continebat, sic quoque plurima pertimescens. Nec

[1] *eratque,* Haupt; *atque,* V. [2] *tulerat . . . sciret,* added in G; *culmen ex uelut,* V (*euexit,* V²).

[1] Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* xi. 190; Suet. *Aug.* 96.

BOOK XXII

1. *Julianus Augustus, through fear of Constantius Augustus, halts in Dacia and secretly consults soothsayers and augurs.*

1. While Fortune's mutable phases were causing these occurrences in a different part of the world, Julian in the midst of his many occupations in Illyricum was constantly prying into the entrails of victims and watching the flight of birds, in his eagerness to foreknow the result of events; but he was perplexed by ambiguous and obscure predictions and continued to be uncertain of the future. 2. At length, however, Aprunculus, a Gallic orator skilled in soothsaying, afterwards advanced to be governor of Gallia Narbonensis, told him what would happen, having learned it (as he himself declared) from the inspection of a liver which he had seen covered with a double lobe.[1] And although Julian feared that it might be a fiction conformable to his own desire, and was therefore troubled, he himself saw a much more evident sign which clearly foretold the death of Constantius. For at the very moment when that emperor died in Cilicia, a soldier who lifted Julian with his right hand to mount his horse slipped and fell to the ground; and Julian at once cried in the hearing of many: "The man has fallen who raised me to my high estate." 3. But although he knew that these were favourable signs, yet as if standing fast upon his guard he remained within the confines of Dacia, and even so was troubled with many fears. For he

enim cautum ducebat, coniecturis credere forsitan in contrarium erupturis.

2. *Iulianus cognita morte Constantii transcurrit Thracias, et Constantinopolim pacatam intrat, totumque imperium Rom. citra pugnam recipit.*

1. Inter quae tam suspensa advenere subito missi ad eum legati Theolaifus atque Aligildus, defunctum Constantium nuntiantes, addentesque quod eum voce suprema successorem suae fecerit potestatis. 2. Qua re cognita post exemptos periculorum aestus et bellicarum sollicitudinum turbas, in immensum elatus, iamque vaticiniis credens, et celeritatem negotiis suis aliquotiens profuisse expertus, edixit iter in Thracias, motisque propere signis, emensa declivitate Succorum Philippopolim petit, Eumolpiada veterem, alacri gradu sequentibus quos duxerat cunctis. 3. Advertebant enim imperium, quod ereptum ibant cum ultimorum metu discriminum, praeter spem ordinario iure concessum. Utque solet fama novitates augere, properabat exinde sublimior, uti[1] quodam Triptolemi curru, quem ob rapidos circumgressus, aeriis serpentibus et pinnigeris fabulosa

[1] *uti*, Clark; *ut*, G; *vel ut quo*, Novák; *um quondam*, V.

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[1] Cf. xxi. 15, 4. [2] Cf. xxi. 10, 2.
[3] See xxi. 10, 3, note.

did not deem it prudent to trust the predictions which might perhaps be fulfilled by contraries.

2. *Julian, on learning of the death of Constantius, traverses Thrace and enters Constantinople without opposition, thus assuming the rule of the entire Roman empire without a struggle.*

1. Amid this state of suspense the envoys Theolaifus and Aligildus, who had been sent to him,[1] suddenly appeared and reported the death of Constantius, adding that with his last words he had made Julian the successor to his power. 2. On learning this, and being now saved from the fret of dangers and the throes of war's anxieties, he was hugely elated. And now believing in the prophecies, and knowing by experience that speed had often been helpful to his enterprises, he ordered a march into Thrace, quickly broke camp, and passing the slope of Succi,[2] made for Philippopolis,[3] the ancient Eumolpias, followed with eager step by all who were under his command. 3. For they perceived that the throne, which they were on their way to usurp in the face of the greatest dangers, had beyond their hope been granted to him by the ordinary course of law. And as rumour is wont to exaggerate all novelties, he hastened on from there, now raised still higher, as though in some chariot of Triptolemus,[4] which the poets of old, because of its swift turnings, represented as drawn through the air by winged

[4] It was drawn by winged dragons and given to him by Ceres, to carry a knowledge of agriculture through the world. See Hygin. *Fab.* 147; Ovid, *Metam.* v. 641 ff.

vetustas imponit: perque terras et maria formidatus, nullis obstantibus moris,[1] Heracleam ingressus est Perinthum. 4. Quo apud Constantinopolim mox comperto, effundebatur aetas omnis et sexus, tamquam demissum aliquem visura de caelo. Exceptus igitur tertium Iduum Decembrium verecundis senatus officiis, et popularium consonis plausibus, stipatusque armatorum et togatorum agminibus, velut acie ducebatur instructa, omnium oculis in eum non modo contuitu destinato, sed cum admiratione magna defixis. 5. Somnio[2] enim propius videbatur adultum adhuc iuvenem, exiguo corpore, factis praestantem ingentibus, post cruentos exitus regum et gentium, ab urbe in urbem inopina velocitate transgressum, quaqua incederet accessione opum et virium, famae instar cuncta facilius occupasse, principatum denique deferente nutu caelesti, absque ulla publicae rei suscepisse iactura.

3. *Constantiani quidem, pars iure, pars inuria damnantur.*

1. Brevi deinde Secundo Salutio,[3] promoto praefecto praetorio, summam quaestionum agitandarum ut fido commisit: Mamertino et Arbitione et Agilone atque Nevitta adiunctis, itidemque Iovino magistro equitum per Illyricum recens provecto. 2. Qui

[1] *moris*, Bent.; *muris*, V. [2] *somnio*, Lind.; *omini*, G; *omnia*, V. [3] *Salutio*, V, restored by Pet., Momm.; *Salustio*, H[2]G.

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[1] He was 31 years old. [2] Of the Orient.
[3] xxi. 10, 8. [4] xvi. 6, 1; xx. 2, 2.

dragons; and dreaded by land and sea and opposed by no delays, he entered Heraclea, also called Perinthus. 4. When this was presently known at Constantinople, all ages and sexes poured forth, as if to look upon someone sent down from heaven. And so he was met on the eleventh of December with the respectful attendance of the senate and the unanimous applause of the people, and surrounded by troups of soldiers and citizens he was escorted as if by an army in line of battle, while all eyes were turned upon him, not only with a fixed gaze, but also with great admiration. 5. For it seemed almost like a dream that this young man, just come to his growth,[1] of small stature but conspicuous for great deeds, after the bloodstained destruction of kings and nations had passed from city to city with unlooked-for speed; that increasing in power and strength wherever he went, he had easily seized upon all places as swiftly as rumour flies, and finally had received the imperial power, bestowed upon him by Heaven's nod without any loss to the state.

3. *Some adherents of Constantius are condemned to death, a part justly, others unjustly.*

1. Shortly after this Salutius Secundus was raised to the rank of praetorian prefect,[2] and given, as a trustworthy official, the chief oversight of the inquisitions that were to be set on foot; and with him were associated Mamertinus,[3] Arbitio,[4] Agilo,[5] and Nevitta,[6] and also Jovinus,[7] lately advanced to be commander of the cavalry in Illyricum. 2. These

[5] xx. 2, 5. [6] xxi. 10, 8. [7] xxi. 8, 3; 12, 2.

omnes transgressi Chalcedona, praesentibus Iovianorum Herculianorumque principiis et tribunis, causas vehementius aequo bonoque spectaverunt, praeter paucas ubi[1] veritas reos nocentissimos offerebat. 3. Et Palladium primum ex magistro officiorum in Brittannos exterminarunt, suspicione tenus insimulatum, quaedam in Gallum composuisse apud Constantium, dum sub eodem Caesare officiorum esset magister. 4. Dein Taurum ex praefecto praetorio in exilium egere Vercellum, cuius factum apud iudices iustorum iniustorumque distinctores, videri potuit veniae dignum.[2] Quid enim deliquit, si ortum turbinem veritus, ad tutelam principis sui confugit? Et acta super eo gesta non sine magno legebantur horrore, cum id voluminis publici contineret exordium: "Consulatu Tauri et Florenti, inducto sub praeconibus Tauro." 5. Ad exitium itidem tale Pentadius trahebatur, cui id obiectum est, quod a Constantio missus, notis excepit, quae propinquante pernicie, super multis interrogatus, responderat Gallus. Sed cum se iuste defenderet, tandem abiit innoxius. 6. Iniquitate simili Florentius tunc magister officiorum (Nigriniani filius) contrusus est in insulam Delmatiae Boas.

[1] *ubi*, Clark; *in*, V (*quibus* added in G); *ni*, B.
[2] *dignum*, Her.; *plenum*, V.

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[1] See Index II., vol. i.
[2] Julian excuses himself in a *Letter to Hermogenes*, p. 390, vol. iii., p. 33, L.C.L., *τούτους δὲ ἀδίκως τι παθεῖν οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοιμι ἴστω Ζεύς. ἐπειδὰν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπανίστανται πολλοὶ κατήγοροι, δικαστήριον ἀποκεκλήρωται*: "nor would I wish, Zeus be my witness, that these others should be punished

crossed all to Chalcedon, and in the presence of the generals and tribunes of the Joviani and the Herculiani[1] examined the cases with more passion than was just and right,[2] with the exception of a few, in which the evidence showed that the accused were most guilty. 3. At first they banished to Britain Palladius, formerly chief marshal of the court, who was brought before them merely on the suspicion of having made certain charges to Constantius against Gallus, when he held the same office under the said Gallus, who was at the time Caesar. 4. Then Taurus,[3] who had been praetorian prefect, was exiled to Vercellum,[4] although before judges who could distinguish justice from injustice his action might have appeared deserving of pardon. For what sin did he commit, if in fear of a storm that had arisen he fled to the protection of his emperor? And the decisions that were passed upon him were read not without great horror in the public protocol, which contained this beginning: "In the consulate of Taurus and Florentius, when Taurus was summoned to court by the criers." 5. Pentadius also was threatened with the same fate, against whom the charge was made, that, being sent by Constantius he took down in shorthand the answers that Gallus had made to the many questions put to him when his ruin was approaching. But since he justified himself, he finally got off unpunished. 6. With like injustice Florentius (son of Nigrinianus), then chief marshal of the court, was imprisoned in[5] the

unjustly; but since many accusers are rising up against them, I have appointed a court to judge them."
[3] xxi. 6, 5. [4] Perhaps for Vercellae.
[5] Lit. "thrust off to."

Alter enim Florentius, ex praefecto praetorio consul etiamtum, rerum mutatione subita territus, cum coniuge periculis exemptus, diu delituit, nec redire ante mortem potuit Iuliani,[1] capitis crimine tamen damnatus est absens. 7. Pari sorte Euagrius comes rei privatae, et Saturninus ex cura palatii, et Cyrinus ex notario, portati sunt in exilium. Ursuli vero necem largitionum comitis ipsa mihi videtur flesse Iustitia, imperatorem arguens ut ingratum. Cum enim Caesar in partes mitteretur occiduas, omni tenacitate stringendus, nullaque potestate militi quicquam donandi delata, ut pateret ad motus asperiores [2] exercitus, hic idem Ursulus datis litteris ad eum qui Gallicanos tuebatur thesauros, quicquid posceret Caesar, procul dubio iusserat dari. 8. Quo exstincto cum maledictis execrationibusque multorum se Iulianus sentiret expositum, impurgabile crimen excusari posse existimans, absque conscientia sua hominem affirmabat occisum, praetendens quod eum militaris ira delevit, memor quae dixerat (ut ante rettulimus), cum Amidam vidisset excisam.

9. Ideoque timidus videbatur, vel parum intellegens quid conveniret, cum Arbitionem semper ambiguum et praetumidum his quaestionibus praefecisset, aliis

[1] *Iuliani*, added in G; V omits. [2] *asperiores*, Pet.; *aptior*, Bent.; *asperior*, V.

[1] Modern Bua. [2] Cf. xx. 8, 20. [3] xx. 11, 5.

Dalmatian island of Boae.[1] For a second Florentius,[2] a former praetorian prefect and consul at the time, being alarmed by the sudden change in the state, saved himself from danger with his wife, lay hid for a long time, and could not return until after the death of Julian; yet he was condemned to death in his absence. 7. In like manner Euagrius, count of the privy purse, and Saturninus, former steward of the Household, and Cyrinus, a former secretary, were all exiled. But for the death of Ursulus, count of the sacred largesses, Justice herself seems to me to have wept, and to have accused the emperor of ingratitude. For when Julian was sent as Caesar to the western regions, to be treated with extreme niggardliness, being granted no power of making any donative to the soldiers to the end that he might be exposed to more serious mutinies of the army, this very Ursulus wrote to the man in charge of the Gallic treasury, ordering that whatever the Caesar asked for should be given him without hesitation. 8. After Ursulus' death Julian found himself the object of the reproaches and curses of many men, and thinking that he could excuse himself for the unpardonable crime, he declared that the man had been put to death without his knowledge, alleging that his taking off was due to the anger of the soldiers, who remembered his words (which we have reported before [3]) when he saw the ruins of Amida.

9. From this it was clear that Julian was timorous, or that he did not know what was fitting, when he put Arbitio, who was always untrustworthy and excessively haughty, in charge of these inquisitions, while the others, including the officers of the legions, were

specie tenus cum principiis legionum praesentibus, quem primum omnium saluti suae norat obiectum, ut decuit victoriarum civilium participem fortem.

10. Et quamquam haec quae retulimus, eius displicuere fautoribus, sequentia tamen severitatis recto vigore sunt gesta. 11. Apodemium enim ex agente in rebus, quem in Silvani necem et Galli, effrenatius arsisse docuimus, Paulumque notarium cognomento Catenam, cum multorum gemitu nominandum, vivos exustos, qui sperari debuit oppressit eventus. 12. Eusebium super his, cui erat Constantiani thalami cura commissa, alte spirantem et dirum, addixere iudices[1] poenae letali, quem ab ima sorte ad usque iubendum imperatoria paene elatum, ideoque intolerabilem, humanorum spectatrix Adrastia aurem (quod dicitur) vellens, monensque ut castigatius viveret, reluctantem, praecipitem tamquam e rupe quadam egit excelsa.

4. *Eunuchos omnes, et tonsores ac coquos palatio expellit Iulianus Aug. Et de palatinorum spadonum vitiis et de corrupta disciplina militum.*

1. Conversus post haec princeps ad palatinos, omnes omnino qui sunt quique esse possunt removit[2]

[1] *iudices*, added by Novák. [2] *removit*, added by Pithoeus.

[1] Cf. xv. 2, 4. [2] Cf. xv. 5, 8; xiv. 11, 19.
[3] The Chain, or Fetter; cf. xiv. 5, 6.
[4] See xviii. 4, 3, and Introd., p. xxxvi.
[5] Cf. xiv. 11, 25.

present merely for show; for Arbitio was a man whom he knew above all others to be a threat to his own safety,[1] as was to be expected of one who had taken a valiant part in the victories of the civil wars.

10. But, although these acts which I have mentioned displeased even Julian's supporters, yet those which follow were executed with proper vigour and severity. 11. For Apodemius, of the imperial secret service, who, as we have said,[2] showed unbridled eagerness for the death of Silvanus and Gallus, was burned alive, as well as Paulus the notary, surnamed Catena,[3] a man to be mentioned by many with groans, who thus met the fate which was to have been hoped for. 12. Eusebius besides, who had been made Constantius' grand chamberlain, a man full of pride and cruelty, was condemned to death by the judges. This man, who had been raised from the lowest station to a position which enabled him almost to give orders like those of the emperor himself,[4] and in consequence had become intolerable, Adrastia, the judge of human acts,[5] had plucked by the ear (as the saying is) and warned him to live with more restraint; and when he demurred, she threw him headlong, as if from a lofty cliff.

4. *Julianus Augustus drives all the eunuchs, barbers, and cooks from the palace. On the vices of the eunuchs of the court and the corruption of military discipline.*

1. After this the emperor turned his attention to the palace attendants, and dismissed all who belonged to that class or could be included in it, but not

non ut philosophus veritatis indagandae professor. 2. Laudari enim poterat, si saltem moderatos quosdam licet paucos retinuisset, morumque probitate compertos. Namque fatendum est, pleramque eorum partem vitiorum omnium seminarium effusius aluisse, ita ut rem publicam infecerint cupiditatibus pravis, plusque exemplis, quam peccandi licentia, laederent multos. 3. Pasti enim ex his quidam templorum spoliis et lucra ex omni odorantes occasione, ab egestate infima ad saltum [1] sublati divitiarum ingentium nec largiendi nec rapiendi nec absumendi tenuere aliquem modum, aliena invadere semper assuefacti. 4. Unde fluxioris vitae initia pullularunt, et periuria, et nullus existimationis respectus, demensque superbia fidem suam probrosis quaestibus polluebat. 5. Inter quae ingluvies [2] et gurgites crevere praerupti conviviorum, et pro victorialibus epulares triumphi, ususque abundantes [3] serici et textiles auctae sunt artes, et culinarum sollicitior cura, et ambitiosa ornatarum domorum exquisita sunt spatia, quorum mensuram si in agris consul Quinctius possedisset, amiserat etiam post dictaturam gloriam paupertatis.

6. Quibus tam maculosis accessere flagitia disciplinae castrensis, cum miles cantilenas meditaretur, pro iubilo molliores : et non saxa (ut erant [4] antehac)

[1] *culmen altum*, suggested by Her.; *altum*, Haupt; *fastum*, Corn. [2] *ingluvies*, E, Lind.; *glubies*, V (corr. by V[3]). [3] *abundantes*, Lind.; *abundantis*, V. [4] *saxa (ut erant antehac)*, Pighius; *saxa merant uthac*, V (*c* add. V[2], *ut hac*, del. V[3]).

like a philosopher claiming to research into truth. 2. For he might have been commended if he had at least retained some, few though they were, who were of modest behaviour or known to be of virtuous character. But it must be admitted that the major part of those creatures maintained a vast nursery of all the vices, to such a degree that they infected the state with evil passions, and rather by their example than by their license in wrong-doing injured many. 3. For some of them, fattened on the robbery of temples and scenting out gain from every source, on being raised from abject poverty at one bound to enormous wealth, knew no limit to bribery, robbery, and extravagance, always accustomed as they were to seize the property of others. 4. Hence sprang the seeds of a dissolute life, perjury, and disregard for good name, and their mad pride stained their honour by shameful gains. 5. Meanwhile, gluttony and deep abysses of banquets [1] grew apace, and the place of triumphs won in battle was taken by those gained at the table. The lavish use of silk and of the textile arts increased, and more anxious attention to the kitchen. Showy sites for richly adorned houses were eagerly sought, of such dimensions that if the consul Quinctius [2] had owned as much in farmland, he would have lost the glory of his poverty even after his dictatorship.

6. To these conditions, shameful as they were, were added serious defects in military discipline. In place of the war-song the soldiers practised effeminate ditties ; the warriors' bed was not a stone

[1] Cf. *mensarum voragines*, xiv. 6, 16.
[2] Cincinnatus : cf. Val. Max. iv. 4, 7.

armato cubile, sed pluma et flexiles lectuli, et graviora gladiis pocula (testa enim bibere iam pudebat), quaerebantur et [1] aedes marmoreae, cum scriptum sit antiquitatibus, Spartanum militem coercitum acriter, quod procinctus tempore ausus sit videri sub tecto. 7. Adeo autem ferox erat in suos illis temporibus miles et rapax, ignavus vero in hostes et fractus, ut per ambitiones otiumque opibus partis, auri et lapillorum varietates discerneret scientissime, contra quam recens memoria tradidit. 8. Notum est enim sub Maximiano Caesare vallo regis Persarum direpto, gregarium quendam post [2] sacculum Parthicum (in quo erant margaritae) repertum, proiectis imperitia gemmis, abisse, pellis nitore solo contentum.

9. Evenerat eisdem diebus, ut ad demendum imperatoris capillum, tonsor venire praeceptus, introiret quidam ambitiose vestitus. Quo viso Iulianus obstipuit, et [3] " Ego " inquit " non rationalem iussi, sed tonsorem acciri." Interrogatus tamen ille quid haberet ex arte compendii, vicenas diurnas respondit annonas, totidemque pabula iumentorum, quae vulgo dictitant capita, et annuum stipendium grave, absque fructuosis petitionibus multis. 10. Unde motus omnes huius modi, cum cocis similibusque

[1] *quaerebantur et*, tr. by Gardt. [2] *post*, added in G; *scuto Parthico . . . reperto*, Val., Bent.; *saccutum* (*sacculum*, V[2]) . . . *repertum*, V. [3] *obstupuit et*, Her.; V omits *et*; *obstupuit*, WBG.

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[1] Emperor A.D. 286-305, a little over a half-century earlier.

[2] I.e. of the box; Parthian leather was famous; cf. Pollio, *Claud.* 17, 2. This story is perhaps referred to by Shakespeare, *Othello*, v. ii. 346: " Like the base Indian threw a pearl away, richer than all his tribe."

(as in days of yore), but feathers and folding couches; their cups were now heavier than their swords (for they were ashamed to drink from earthenware); they even procured houses of marble, although it is written in the records of old that a Spartan soldier was severely punished because during a campaign he dared to be seen under a roof. 7. Moreover, the soldiers of those times were so insolent and rapacious towards their countrymen, and so cowardly and weak in the presence of the enemy, that having acquired riches by patronage and idleness, they were adepts in distinguishing the varieties of gold and gems, contrary to the usage even of recent times. 8. For it is well known that under Caesar Maximianus,[1] when a fortified camp of the Persian king was pillaged, a common soldier after finding a Parthian jewel-box containing pearls, threw away the gems in ignorance of their value, and went his way, quite satisfied with the beauty of the leather alone.[2]

9. It happened at that same time that a barber, who had been summoned to trim the emperor's hair, appeared in splendid attire. On seeing him, Julian was amazed, and said: " I sent for a barber, not a fiscal agent." However, he asked the man what his trade brought him in; to which the barber replied twenty daily allowances [3] of bread, and the same amount of fodder for pack-animals (these they commonly call *capita*), as well as a heavy annual salary, not to mention many rich perquisites. 10. Incensed by this, Julian discharged all attendants of that kind (as being not at all necessary to him),

[3] I.e. loaves.

aliis, eadem paene accipere consuetos (ut parum sibi necessarios) data quo velint eundi potestate, proiecit.

5. *Iulianus A. cultum deorum, antea dissimulatum, palam et libere profitetur, et Christianorum episcopos inter se committit.*

1. Et quamquam a rudimentis pueritiae primis, inclinatior erat erga numinum cultum, paulatimque adulescens, desiderio rei flagrabat, multa metuens tamen agitabat quaedam ad id pertinentia, quantum fieri poterat, occultissime. 2. Ubi vero abolitis quae verebatur, adesse sibi liberum tempus faciendi quae vellet advertit, pectoris patefecit arcana, et planis absolutisque decretis, aperire [1] templa arisque hostias admovere, et restituere [2] deorum statuit cultum. 3. Utque dispositorum roboraret effectum, dissidentes Christianorum antistites cum plebe discissa in palatium intromissos, monebat civilius, ut discordiis consopitis, quisque nullo vetante, religioni suae serviret intrepidus. 4. Quod agebat ideo obstinate, ut dissensiones augente licentia, non timeret unanimantem postea plebem, nullas infestas hominibus bestias, ut sunt sibi ferales plerique [3] Christianorum expertus. Saepeque dictitabat:

[1] *aperire*, Clark; *aperiri*, V. [2] *et restituere*, add. Her.; *admovere deorum*, V. [3] *bestias ut sibi feralibus plerisque*, Momm.; *bestias sunt sibi feralibus plerique*, V (*ut sunt*, G; *ferales*, W²HTN², Lind.).

as well as cooks and other similar servants, who were in the habit of receiving almost the same amount, giving them permission to go wherever they wished.

5. *Julianus Augustus openly and freely professes the worship of the gods, which he had previously practised secretly, and sets the bishops of the Christians at odds.*

1. Although Julian from the earliest days of his childhood had been more inclined towards the worship of the pagan gods, and as he gradually grew up burned with longing to practise it, yet because of his many reasons for anxiety he observed certain of its rites with the greatest possible secrecy. 2. But when his fears were ended, and he saw that the time had come when he could do as he wished, he revealed the secrets of his heart and by plain and formal decrees ordered the temples to be opened, victims brought to the altars, and the worship of the gods restored. 3. And in order to add to the effectiveness of these ordinances, he summoned to the palace the bishops of the Christians, who were of conflicting opinions, and the people, who were also at variance, and politely advised them to lay aside their differences, and each fearlessly and without opposition to observe his own beliefs. 4. On this he took a firm stand, to the end that, as this freedom increased their dissension, he might afterwards have no fear of a united populace, knowing as he did from experience that no wild beasts are such enemies to mankind as are most of the Christians in their deadly hatred of one another. And he often used to say:

"Audite me quem Alamanni audierunt et Franci," imitari putans Marci principis veteris dictum. Sed parum advertit, hoc ab eo nimium discrepare. 5. Ille enim cum Palaestinam transiret, Aegyptum petens, Iudaeorum faetentium et tumultuantium saepe taedio percitus, dolenter dicitur exclamasse: "O Marcomanni, o Quadi, o Sarmatae, tandem alios vobis inquietiores inveni."

6. *Qua arte complures litigatores Aegyptios, a quibus moleste interpellabatur, domum redire coegit.*

1. Per hoc idem tempus, rumoribus exciti variis, Aegyptii venere complures, genus hominum controversum et assuetudine perplexius litigandi semper laetissimum, maximeque avidum multiplicatum reposcere, si compulsori quicquam dederit, ut levari debito possit, vel certe commodius per dilationem inferre quae flagitantur, aut criminis vitandi formidine, divites pecuniarum repetundarum interrogare. 2. Hi omnes denseti in unum,[1] principem ipsum, et praefectos praetorio, graculorum more strepentes, interpellabant incondite, modo non ante septuagensimum annum extorquentes, quae dedisse se iure vel secus plurimis affirmabant. 3. Cumque nihil aliud agi permitterent, edicto proposito, universos iussit transire Chalcedona, pollicitus quod ipse quoque protinus veniet,[2] cuncta eorum negotia finiturus.

[1] *denseti in,* Kiessling; *densati in,* G; *densi coactique in,* Brakman; *densi* (*i* add. V[2]) (lac. 10 letters) *unum,* V.
[2] *veniet,* V; *veniret,* G.

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[1] To Constantinople. [2] I.e. pay.

"Hear me, to whom the Alamanni and the Franks have given ear," thinking that in this he was imitating a saying of the earlier emperor Marcus. But he did not observe that the two cases were very different. 5. For Marcus, as he was passing through Palestine on his way to Egypt, being often disgusted with the malodorous and rebellious Jews, is reported to have cried: "O Marcomanni, O Quadi, O Sarmatians, at last I have found a people more unruly than you."

6. *The cleverness with which Julian forced several Egyptian petitioners, by whom he was annoyed and interrupted, to return to their homes.*

1. At this same time, induced by sundry rumours, there came [1] a number of Egyptians, a contentious race of men, by custom always delighting in intricate litigation, and especially eager for excessive indemnification if they had paid anything to a collector of debts, either for the purpose of being relieved of the debt, or at any rate, to bring in [2] what was demanded of them more conveniently by postponing it; or eager to charge wealthy men with extortion and threaten them with court proceedings. 2. All these, crowding together and chattering like jays, unseasonably interrupted the emperor himself, as well as the praetorian prefects, demanding after almost seventy years moneys that they declared that they had paid, justly or otherwise, to many individuals. 3. And, since they prevented any other business from receiving attention, the emperor issued an edict, in which he bade them all go to Chalcedon; and he promised that he would himself also shortly come there, to settle all

4. Quibus transgressis, mandatum est navigiorum magistris, ultro citroque discurrentium, nequis transfretare auderet Aegyptium, hocque observato cura perpensiore,[1] evanuit pertinax calumniandi propositum, et omnes spe praesumpta frustrati, redierunt ad lares. 5. Unde velut aequitate ipsa dictante lex est promulgata, qua cavetur nullum interpellari suffragatorem, super his quae eum recte constiterit accepisse.

7. *Iulianus Constantinopoli saepe ius dicit in curia, et dum ibi Thraciarum res ordinat, variis exterarum gentium legationibus aditur.*

1. Allapso itaque Calendarum Ianuariarum die cum Mamertini et Nevittae nomina suscepissent paginae consulares, humilior princeps visus est, in officio pedibus gradiendo cum honoratis, quod laudabant alii quidam ut affectatum et vile carpebant. 2. Dein Mamertino ludos edente circenses, manu mittendis ex more inductis per admissionum proximum, ipse

[1] *perpensiore*, V; *inpensiore*, Her.

[1] For his services; these advocates were influential men at court, who appeared for men of humble rank when they brought petitions before the emperor. Evidently they were sometimes paid for their services. Julian's law is to be found in *Cod. Theod.* ii. tit. 29.

their claims. 4. After they had crossed, orders were given to the captains of ships going to or coming from that port not to dare to give an Egyptian passage; and since that order was strictly observed, this obstinate attempt at blackmail vanished, and they all returned to their homes, disappointed in the hopes that they had entertained. 5. Thereupon a law was passed, as if at the proposal of Justice herself, which provided that no advocate at court should be troubled about payments which it was recognised that he had justly received.[1]

7. *Julian often holds court in the senate-house at Constantinople, and there, while he is setting in order the affairs of Thrace, he is approached by several deputations from foreign nations.*

1. And so the first of January came, when the consular annals took on the names of Mamertinus and Nevitta; and the emperor showed himself especially condescending by going on foot to their inauguration in company with other high officials, an action which some commended but others criticised as affected and cheap.[2] 2. Then, when Mamertinus gave games in the Circus and the slaves that were to be manumitted were led in by the assistant master of ceremonies,[3] the emperor himself,

[2] It was, however, usual; cf. Spart., *Hadr.* ix. 7, *praetorum et consulum officia frequentavit*; Claud. *in Eutrop.* i. 308; Ausonius, *Prec. Consulis* (*Edyll.* viii.), 34.

[3] The consuls on entering office gave games lasting three days, and usually freed some slaves in the presence of the people.

lege agi ocius [1] dixerat, ut solebat, statimque admonitus iuris dictionem eo die ad alterum pertinere, ut errato obnoxium, decem libris auri semet ipse multavit.[2]

3. Frequentabat inter haec curiam agendo diversa, quae divisiones multiplices ingerebant. Et cum die quodam ei causas ibi spectanti, venisse nuntiatus esset ex Asia philosophus Maximus, exsiluit indecore: et qui esset oblitus, effuso cursu a vestibulo longe progressus, exosculatum susceptumque reverenter, secum induxit per ostentationem intempestivam, nimius captator inanis gloriae visus, praeclarique illius dicti immemor Tulliani, quo tales notando ita relatum: 4. "Ipsi illi philosophi etiam in his libris, quos de contemnenda gloria scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt, ut in eo ipso, quo praedicationem nobilitatemque despiciunt, praedicari de se ac se nominari velint."

5. Haud multo deinceps, duo agentes in rebus, ex his qui proiecti sunt, eum adiere fidentius, promittentes latebras monstrare Florentii, si eis gradus militiae redderetur, quos incessens delatoresque appellans addebat non esse imperatorium, obliquis flecti

[1] *ocius*, Novák; *ductus*, V. [2] *decem . . . multavit*, Val. in 2nd ed.; *decem bris aurorem et ipse mutavit*, V.

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[1] Manumitting slaves was a legal process, and the enactment was introduced by a formula; cf. Vopiscus, *Aurel.* 14 (of the adoption of Aurelian), *iube lege agatur, fitque Aurelianus heres*, etc.

[2] Probably to Mamertinus, as the consul giving the games.

[3] Letters of a familiar nature from Julian to Maximus have come down to us.

with too great haste, pronounced the usual formula, that it be done according to law;[1] and on being reminded that the jurisdiction that day belonged to another,[2] he fined himself ten pounds of gold, as guilty of an oversight.

3. Meanwhile, he came frequently into the senate house to give attention to various matters with which the many changes in the state burdened him. And when one day, as he was sitting in judgement there, and it was announced that the philosopher Maximus [3] had come from Asia, he started up in an undignified manner, so far forgetting himself that he ran at full speed to a distance from the vestibule, and after having kissed the philosopher and received him with reverence, brought him back with him. This unseemly ostentation made him appear to be an excessive seeker for empty fame, and to have forgotten that splendid saying of Cicero's,[4] which narrates the following in criticising such folk: 4. "Those very same philosophers inscribe their names on the very books which they write on despising glory, so that even when they express scorn of honour and fame, they wish to be praised and known by name."

5. Not long after this, two former members of the secret service who were among those who had been discharged approached the emperor confidently and promised to point out the hiding-place of Florentius [5] on condition that their military rank be restored to them.[6] But he rebuked them and called them informers, adding that it was not worthy of an

[4] *Pro Archia*, 11, 26. [5] Cf. 3, 6, above.

[6] They belonged to the so-called *scholae Palatinae*; see xiv. 7, 9, note 3.

indiciis ad retrahendum hominem mortis metu absconditum, qui forte non diu latitare citra spem veniae permitteretur.

6. Aderat his omnibus Praetextatus, praeclarae indolis gravitatisque priscae senator, ex negotio proprio forte repertus apud Constantinopolim, quem arbitrio suo Achaiae proconsulari praefecerat potestate.

7. Nec tamen, cum corrigendis civilibus ita diligenter instaret, omisit castrensia, rectores militibus diu exploratos apponens, urbes quin etiam per Thracias omnes, cum munimentis reparans extimis, curansque sollicite, ne arma vel indumenta, aut stipendium vel alimenta deessent his quos per supercilia Histri dispersos, excursibusque barbarorum oppositos agere vigilanter audiebat et fortiter. 8. Quae cum ita divideret, nihil segnius agi permittens, suadentibus proximis, ut aggrederetur propinquos Gothos, saepe fallaces et perfidos, hostes quaerere se meliores aiebat: illis enim sufficere mercatores Galatas, per quos ubique sine condicionis discrimine venundantur.

9. Haec eum curantem et talia, commendabat externis nationibus fama, ut fortitudine, sobrietate, militaris rei scientia, virtutumque omnium incrementis excelsum, paulatimque progrediens, ambitum

[1] His full name was Vettius Agorius Praetextatus. He appears as prefect of the city in xxvii. 9, 8, and xxviii. 1, 24.

[2] Cf. Claudian, *In Eutr.* i. 59, *hinc fora venalis Galata ductore frequentat permutatque domos varias* (*Eutropius*), "next in the train of a Galatian slave-merchant he stands for sale in many a market and knows many diverse houses" (*L.C.L.*, i. p. 143).

emperor to be led by indirect information to bring back a man who had concealed himself through fear of death, and who perhaps would not be allowed to remain long in hiding without hope of pardon.

6. Present at all these events was Praetextatus,[1] a senator of noble character and old-time dignity, whom Julian had chanced to find engaged in private business at Constantinople and on his own initiative had appointed governor of Achaia with proconsular authority.

7. But, although he was so diligently engaged in reforming civil abuses, he did not on that account neglect military affairs, but put in command of the soldiers men approved by long trial; nay more, he repaired all the cities throughout Thrace as well as the fortifications on the borders, and took particular pains that the troops posted along the banks of the Danube, who, as he heard, were meeting inroads of the savages with watchfulness and valour, should lack neither arms and clothing nor pay and supplies. 8. While he was so arranging these matters, tolerating no slackness in action, his intimates tried to persuade him to attack the neighbouring Goths, who were often deceitful and treacherous; but he replied that he was looking for a better enemy; that for the Goths the Galatian traders were enough, by whom they were offered for sale everywhere without distinction of rank.[2]

9. While he was attending to these and similar affairs he gained a reputation among foreign nations for eminence in bravery, sobriety, and knowledge of military affairs, as well as of all noble qualities; and his fame gradually spread

oppleverat mundi. 10. Proinde timore eius adventus per finitimos longeque distantes latius explicato, legationes undique solito ocius [1] concurrebant: hinc Transtigritanis pacem obsecrantibus et Armeniis, inde nationibus Indicis certatim cum donis optimates mittentibus ante tempus ab usque Divis et Serendivis, ab australi plaga ad famulandum rei Romanae semet offerentibus Mauris, ab aquilone et regionibus solis, per quas in mare Phasis accipitur, Bosporanis aliisque antehac ignotis legationes vehentibus supplices, ut annua complentes sollemnia, intra terrarum genitalium terminos otiose vivere sinerentur.

8. *Descriptio Thraciarum, et sinus Pontici, regionumque ac nationum Ponto adiacentium.*

1. Appositum est (ut existimo) tempus, ad has partes nos occasione magni principis devolutos, super Thraciarum extimis situque Pontici sinus, visa vel lecta quaedam perspicua fide monstrare.

2. Athos in Macedonia mons ille praecelsus navibus quondam Medicis pervius, et Caphereus Euboicus

[1] *solito ocius*, vulgo; *solito eius* (*magis*, V[2]), V.

[1] The Divi, or Diveni, lived on some island off the west coast of India, the Serendivi probably on the island of Ceylon, called Serandib by the Arabs. Gibbon says that these embassies were not due to Julian's widespread fame, since they must have thought that Constantius was still ruling. So also Zonaras, xiii. 12.

[2] See xx. 8, 4, note.

[3] Ammianus' account is confused and in places inaccurate.

and filled the entire world. 10. Then, since the fear of his coming extended widely over neighbouring and far distant nations, deputations hastened to him from all sides more speedily than usual: on one side, the peoples beyond the Tigris and the Armenians begged for peace; on another, the Indian nations as far as the Divi [1] and the Serendivi vied with one another in sending their leading men with gifts ahead of time; on the south, the Moors offered their services to the Roman state; from the north and the desert regions, through which the Phasis flows to the sea, came embassies from the Bosporani and other hitherto unknown peoples, humbly asking that on payment of their annual tribute [2] they might be allowed to live in peace within the bounds of their native lands.

8. *A description of Thrace, of the Pontic sea, and of the regions and peoples adjacent to the latter.*

1. Now is a fitting time (I think), since the history of a great prince has opportunely brought us to these places, to give some account of the remote parts of Thrace, and of the topography of the Pontic sea, with clearness and accuracy, partly from my own observation and partly from reading.[3]

2. Athos,[4] that lofty mountain in Macedonia through which the Medic ships once passed,[5] and Caphereus, the headland of Euboea [6] where Nauplius,

[4] Modern Ἱερὸν Ὄρος, Monte Santo.

[5] Under Xerxes; see Hdt. vii. 122.

[6] Its mediæval name was Negroponte and the headland's Cappo d'Oro.

scopulus, ubi Nauplius Palamedis pater classem collisit Argivam, licet longo spatio controversi a Thessalo mari distinguunt Aegaeum, quod paulatim fusius adulescens, dextra (qua late protenditur) per Sporadas est insulosum atque Cycladas, ideo sic appellatas quod omnes ambiunt Delon partu deorum insignem, laeva Imbrum et Tenedum circumluens et Lemnum et Thasum, quando perflatur, Lesbo illiditur violentius. 3. Unde gurgitibus refluis Apollinis Sminthii templum et Troada perstringit et Ilium heroicis casibus claram, efficitque Melana sinum oppositum Zephyro, cuius apud principium Abdera visitur Protagorae domicilium et Democriti, cruentaeque Diomedis Thracii sedes et convalles, per quas Hebrus sibi miscetur, et Maronea et Aenus, qua diris auspiciis coepta moxque relicta ad Ausoniam veterem ductu numinum properavit Aeneas.

4. Hinc gracilescens paulatim et velut naturali quodam commercio ruens in Pontum eiusque partem

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[1] In order to avenge the death of his son, Nauplius kindled a beacon-fire on the cliff, which misled the Greek fleet and caused its almost utter destruction.

[2] This is not accurate, but makes the Aegean too small and the Thessalian sea, more commonly called *Mare Thracicum*, too large; see Strabo, Mela, and Pliny.

[3] Looking eastward.

[4] Apollo and Diana.

[5] Cf. Hor., *Odes*, i. 2, 13, *retortis violenter undis*.

[6] On Tenedos; *Iliad*. i. 38; Strabo, xiii. 1, 46. The god had this epithet from *σμίνθος*, a kind of field-mouse destructive to the crops, destroyed by Apollo.

father of Palamedes, wrecked the Argive fleet,[1] although they face each other at a long distance apart, separate the Aegean and the Thessalian seas.[2] The Aegean gradually grows larger, and on the right, where it is of wide extent, is rich in islands through the Sporades and Cyclades, so-called because they are all grouped about Delos, famous as the cradle of the gods.[4] On the left, it washes Imbros and Tenedos, Lemnos and Thasos, and when the wind is strong, dashes violently upon Lesbos. 3. From there, with back-flowing current,[5] it laves the temple of Apollo Sminthius,[6] the Troad, and Ilium, famed for the death of heroes, and forms the bay of Melas,[7] facing the west wind, at the entrance of which is seen Abdera, the home of Protagoras and Democritus, and the bloodstained dwelling of the Thracian Diomedes,[8] and the vales through which the Hebrus[9] flows into it, and Maronea and Aenos,[10] a city which Aeneas began under unfavourable auspices, but presently abandoned it and hastened on to ancient Ausonia under the guidance of the gods.

4. After this, the Aegean gradually grows narrower and flows as if by a kind of natural union into the Pontus; and joining with a part of this it takes the

[7] The Bay of Saros, west of the Thracian Chersonese and the Hellespont.

[8] According to the myth, he fed his horses on human flesh, and was slain by Hercules.

[9] To-day the Maritza.

[10] Modern Marogna. The identification of this town with the city founded by Aeneas in Thrace is doubtful, since Homer says that auxiliaries came from there to Ilium, and Apollodorus represents Heracles as landing there on his return from Troy; see Heyne, *Excursus* to *Aen*. iii. p. 416; and xxviii. 4, 13, below.

ad se iungens, in speciem Φ litterae Graecae[1] formatur, exin Hellespontum a Rhodopa scindens, Cynossema (ubi sepulta creditur Hecuba) et Coelan praeterlabitur et Seston et Callipolin. Contra per Achillis Aiacisque sepulchra, Dardanum contingit et Abydon, unde iunctis pontibus Xerxes maria pedibus peragravit, dein Lampsacum Themistocli dono datam a rege Persarum, et Parion quam condidit Iasionis filius Paris. 5. Unde semiorbe curvescens altrinsecus, lataque aperiens terrarum divortia, circumfluis spatiis Propontidos respergit ex eoo latere Cyzicum, et Dindyma (religiosa Matris Magnae delubra), et Apamiam Ciumque, ubi Hylam et Astacum[2] secuto tempore Nicomediam a rege cognominatam, qua in occasum procedit Cherronesum pulsat et Aegospotamus, in quo loco lapides casuros ex caelo praedixit Anaxagoras, et Lysimachiam et civitatem, quam Hercules conditam Perinthi comitis sui memoriae dedicavit. 6. Et ut effecte pleneque Φ

[1] *litterae Graecae*, Eyssen.; *litterae caeli terrae*, V.
[2] *Hyla*, Gronov; *Hilam*, BA; lac. after *Hylam*, N, Pithoeus, Hadr. Val.; *et Olbiam*, Gronov, Pet.; *et Astacum*, G; see also note 9 of translation.

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[1] This seems to refer to the Propontis; see § 6, below. This part of the description looks hopelessly confused; Ammianus returns to Aenos or farther westward; see note 2, p. 218.
[2] *Κυνὸς σῆμα*, "the dog's monument," since Hecuba, after the capture of Troy, was said to have been changed into a dog; cf. Ovid, *Metam.* xiii. 399 ff.
[3] Gallipoli. [4] See Nepos, *Them.* 10, 3.

form of the Greek letter Φ.[1] Then it separates Hellespontus from the province of Rhodopa and flows past Cynossema,[2] where Hecuba is supposed to be buried, and Coela, Sestos and Callipolis.[3] On the opposite side it washes the tombs of Achilles and Ajax, and Dardanus and Abydus, from which Xerxes built a bridge and crossed the sea on foot; then Lampsacus, which the Persian king gave to Themistocles as a gift,[4] and Parion, founded by Paris, the son of Iasion. 5. Then swelling on both sides into the form of a half-circle and giving a view of widely separated lands, it laves with the spreading waters of the Propontis,[5] on the eastern side Cyzicus[6] and Dindyma,[7] where there is a sacred shrine of the Great Mother,[8] and Apamia and Cius, where Hylas was pursued and carried off by the nymph,[9] and Astacus, in a later age called after King Nicomedes.[10] Where it turns to the westward it beats upon the Cherronesus and Aegospotami, where Anaxagoras predicted a rain of stones from heaven,[11] and Lysimachia and the city which Hercules founded and dedicated to the name of his comrade Perinthus; 6. and in order to keep the form of the letter Φ full and complete, in the

[5] The Sea of Marmora.
[6] On the southern side of the Propontis.
[7] Named from Mt. Dindymus, in Phrygia, near Pessinus. There is another Mt. Dindymus, five miles north of Cyzicus, and, apparently, a town or village called Dindyma.
[8] Cybele.
[9] There is evidently a lacuna here. Lindenbrog suggested *ubi Hylam insecuta rapuit nympha*. Others refer Hyla to the river near Cius. [10] Nicomedia.
[11] Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* ii. 149; Strabo, vii. 55 (iii. 377, *L.C.L.*). It was also famous as the scene of the last battle of the Peloponnesian war.

litterae figura servetur, in meditullio ipso rotunditatis Proconesus insula est oblonga et Besbicus.

7. Post cuius summitatem in angustias rursus extenuatum Europam et Bithyniam intercurrens, per Chalcedona et Chrysopolim et stationes transit obscuras. 8. Nam supercilia eius sinistra Athyras portus despectat et Selymbria et Constantinopolis, vetus Byzantium, Atticorum colonia, et promuntorium Ceras praelucentem navibus vehens constructam celsius turrim, quapropter Ceratas appellatur ventus inde suetus oriri praegelidus.

9. Hoc modo fractum et participatione maris utriusque finitum, iamque mitescens in aequoream panditur faciem, quantum potest cadere sub aspectum, late diffusum et longe. 10. Omnis autem eius velut insularis circuitus litorea navigatio viginti tribus dimensa milibus stadiorum, ut Eratosthenes affirmat et Hecataeus et Ptolomaeus aliique huius modi cognitionum minutissimi scitatores, in speciem Scythici arcus nervo coagmentati geographiae totius

[1] See § 4, above, and the note.

[2] This island is a long way to the westward of the middle of the Propontis, and since the length of the two islands is from west to east, they would form a theta, Θ, rather than a Φ.

[3] Here the reference clearly is to the whole of the Propontis.

[4] Modern Scutari, opposite Constantinople.

[5] According to the Eusebian Chronicle, Byzantium was founded by the Megarians in Olymp. 30, 2 (600 B.C.); so also Herodotus (iv. 144), who, however, gives the date as Olym. 26, 2 (616 B.C.). Justin (ix. 1, 2 f.) names the Spartans; Velleius (ii. 7, 7) the Milesians, who were descended from the Athenians. The founding was probably attributed to the Athenians from the time of Constantine from motives of pride.

very middle of the circle lies the oblong island of Proconesos, [1] and Besbicus.[2]

7. After reaching the extreme end of this part,[3] it again contracts into a narrow strait, and flowing between Europe and Bithynia, passes by Chalcedon, Chrysopolis,[4] and some obscure stations. 8. Its left bank, however, is looked down upon by the port of Athyras and Selymbria, and Constantinople, the ancient Byzantium, a colony of the Athenians,[5] and the promontory Ceras, which bears a tower built high and giving light to ships [6]; therefore a very cold wind which often blows from that quarter is called Ceratas.

9. After being broken in this fashion and coming to an end through the mingling of the two seas, it now grows quieter and spreads out into the form of a flat of water extending in width and length as far as the eye can reach.[7] 10. The complete voyage around its shores, as one would encircle an island, is a distance of 23,000 [8] stadia, as is asserted by Eratosthenes, Hecataeus, Ptolemy, and other very accurate investigators of such problems; and according to the testimony of all geographers it has the

[6] A pharos, or lighthouse.

[7] The Pontus, or Euxine Sea.

[8] Polyb. iv. 39, 1, gives 20,000; Strabo, ii. 5, 22, 25,000; Pliny, *N.H.* iv. 77, says that Varro made it 21,000, and Nepos, 21,350.

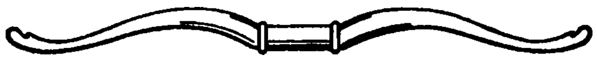
assensione formatur. 11. Et qua sol oceano exsurgit eoo, paludibus clauditur Maeotidos: qua declinat in vesperum, Romanis provinciis terminatur: unde suspicit sidus arctoum, homines alit linguis et moribus dispares: latus eius austrinum molli devexitate subductum. 12. Per haec amplissima spatia oppida sunt dispersa Graecorum, quae cuncta aetatibus variis praeter pauca Atheniensium coloni condidere Milesii, inter Ionas alios in Asia per Nileum multo[1] ante locati, Codri illius filium, qui se pro patria bello fertur Dorico devovisse. 13. Extremitatis[2] autem arcus utrumque tenus[3] duo exprimunt Bospori, e regione sibi oppositi, Thracius et Cimmericus: hac causa Bospori vocitati, quod per eos quondam Inachi filia, mutata (ut poetae loquuntur) in bovem,[4] ad mare Ionium permeavit.

14. Dextram igitur inflexionem Bospori Thracii excipit Bithyniae litus,[5] quam veteres dixere Mygdo-

[1] *multo*, added by b, Bent. [2] *extremitatis*, Pighius; *extremitates*, V. [3] *utrumque tenus*, Pighius, cf. Serv., *Aen.* vi. 62; *utrumque tenues*, V. [4] *in bovem*, W²BG; *inde usque*, Bent.; *in bovem usque*, Novák; *imbus quem admaxionem* (*adma* deleted by V², which adds *ad mare—infle*** in margin). [5] *litus*, Bent., Gardt.; *latus*, VEAG.

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[1] The descriptions of the Scythian bow in the handbooks on antiquities vary, and are sometimes misleading, in particular the comparison with different forms of the Greek sigma. As represented in vases and other works of art, it has, as a general rule, the form of the following cut:



from Smith's *Dict. of Ant.*[1], p. 126. It is well defined in the note on Strabo, ii. 5, 22, in *L.C.L.* i. 479, n. 4. When

form of a drawn Scythian bow.[1] 11. And where the sun rises from the eastern ocean it comes to an end in the marshes of the Maeotis[2]; where it inclines towards the west it is bounded by Roman provinces; where it looks up to the Bears it breeds men of varying languages and habits; on the southern side it slopes downward[3] in a gentle curve. 12. Over this vast space are scattered cities of the Greeks, all of which, with a few exceptions, were founded at varying periods by the Milesians, who were themselves colonists of the Athenians. The Milesians in much earlier times were established among other Ionians in Asia by Nileus, the son of that Codrus who (they say) sacrificed himself for his country in the Dorian war.[4] 13. Now the tips of the bow on both sides are represented by the two Bospori lying opposite to each other, the Thracian[5] and the Cimmerian; and they are called Bospori, as the poets say, because the daughter of Inachus,[6] when she was changed into a heifer, once crossed through them to the Ionian sea.

14. The right-hand curve of the Thracian Bosporus begins with the shore of Bithynia, which the men

it was drawn, which is commonly taken to be the meaning of *nervo coagmentati*, the arms were bent down and the handle remained immovable; see also note on § 37, below.

[2] The Palus Maeotis is on the northern side of the Euxine.

[3] The directions are so uncertain that the meaning is not clear.

[4] Cf. Hdt. v. 76; Val. Max. ii. 6, ext. 1.

[5] At Constantinople.

[6] Io; cf. Ovid, *Metam.* i, 586 ff. A more probable reason is that they were so narrow that an ox could swim across them. Amm. is wrong about the second curve, which extends to the Colchi, while the Cimmerian Bosporus (between the Euxine and the Palus Maeotis) is in the middle of the curve; cf. Mela, i. 112, 114; Procop. viii. 6, 14 f.

niam, in qua Thynia et Mariandena sunt regiones et Amyci saevitia Bebryces exempti virtute Pollucis, remotaque statio, in qua volitantes minaciter harpyias Phineus vates horrebat; per quae litora in sinus oblongos curvatus Sangarius et Phyllis et Lycus [1] et Rheba fluvii funduntur in maria, quibus controversae cyaneae sunt Symplegades, gemini scopuli in vertices undique porrecti deruptos,[2] assueti priscis saeculis obviam sibi cum horrendo fragore collisis molibus ferri, cedentesque retrorsus acri assultu, ad ea reverti quae pulsarant. Per has saxorum dehiscentium concursantiumque crebritates si etiam ales intervolasset, nulla celeritate pinnarum eripi poterat quin interiret oppressa. 15. Hi scopuli cum eos Argo prima omnium navis Colchos as direptionem aurei properans velleris praeterisset innoxia, immobiles turbine circumfracto stetere concorporati, ut eos aliquando fuisse diremptos nulli nunc conspicantium credant, nisi super hoc congruerent omnes priscorum carminum cantus.

16. Post Bithyniae partem provinciae Pontus et Paphlagonia protenduntur, in quibus Heraclea et Sinope et Polemonion, et Amisos amplae sunt civitates, et Tios et Amastris, omnes ab auspicio diligentia fundatae Graecorum, et Cerasus, unde

[1] *Lycus*, Lind.; *bycus*, V. [2] *deruptos*, Her.; *diruptos*, T²AG; *diruptis*, V² (from *dirubtis*, V).

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[1] Amycus mistreated his subjects and compelled strangers to box with him, until Pollux came with the Argonauts and slew him in fight.

[2] Cf. Virg., *Aen*. iii. 212 ff.; Apollod. i. 9, 20; Val. Flacc., iv. 464 ff.; Hygin. *Fab*. 17.

f old called Mygdonia, containing the provinces of 'hynia and Mariandena, and also the Bebrycians, 'ho were delivered from the cruelty of Amycus hrough the valour of Pollux; [1] and a remote :ation, a place where the menacing harpies fluttered bout the seer Phineus and filled him with fear.[2] long these shores, which curve into extensive bays, ıe rivers Sangarius and Phyllis, Lycus and Rheba our into the sea; opposite them are the dark ymplegades, twin rocks rising on all sides into prepitous cliffs, which were wont in ages past to rush ıgether and dash their huge mass upon each other ith awful crash, and then to recoil with a swift ring and return to what they had struck.[3] If even bird should fly between these swiftly separating and ıshing rocks, no speed of wing could save it from ing crushed to death. 15. But these cliffs, ever ıce the *Argo*, first of all ships, hastening to Colchis carry off the golden fleece, had passed between em unharmed, have stood motionless with their rce assuaged and so united that no one of those ıo now look upon them would believe that they d ever been separated, were it not that all the ıgs of the poets of old agree about the story.[4]

16. Beyond one part of Bithynia extend the proıces of Pontus and Paphlagonia, in which are the at cities of Heraclea, Sinope, Polemonion and ıisos, as well as Tios and Amastris, all owing their gin to the activity of the Greeks; also Cerasus,

Like the lightning, it was hardly necessary for them to ke the same object twice; the recoil was rather to be ly for the next thing that passed between them.

See Apollodorus, i. 9, p. 480, *L.C.L.*

advexit huius nominis[1] poma Lucullus, insulaeque duae,[2] et Trapezunta et[3] Pityunta continentis oppida non obscura. 17. Ultra haec loca Acherusium specus est, quod accolae *Μυχοπόντιον* appellant, et portus Acone, fluviique[4] Acheron, idemque Arcadius, et Iris et Thybris et iuxta Parthenius, omnes in mare ictu rapido decurrentes. Thermodon his amnis[5] est proximus ab Armonio defluens monte, et Themiscyraeos interlabens lucos ad quos Amazonas quondam migrare necessitas subegerat talis.

18. Attritis damnorum assiduitate finitimis, Amazones veteres, quae eos cruentis populabantur incursibus, altiora spirabant, viresque suas circumspectantes his, quae propinqua saepius appetebant, validiores, raptae praecipiti cupiditatis ardore, perruptis nationibus plurimis, manus Atheniensibus intulerunt, acrique concertatione effuse disiectae, omnes nudatis equitatus sui lateribus, corruere. 19. Harum interitu cognito, residuae ut imbelles domi relictae, extrema perpessae, et[6] vicinitatis repensantis similia, funestos impetus declinantes, ad pacatiorem sedem transiere Thermodontis, quarum progenies longe deinde propagata, per numerosam subolem manu firmissima ad loca reverterat genitalia,

[1] *huius nominis*, Haupt, Corn.; *huius modi*, V. [2] *duae*, Bent.; *arduae*, V. [3] *et*, added by Gardt. [4] *fluviique Acheron*, Clark; *f. diversi Acheron idemque*, G; *f. diversae cherontidem quae*, V. [5] *amnis*, added by Novák, c.c. [6] *et*, BG (*eis*, *vulgo*), put before *vicinitatis* by Clark.

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[1] That is cherries; cf. Pliny, *N.H.* xv. 102.
[2] *μυχοπόντιον* = "a nook of the sea."
[3] From which aconite is said to get its name.

from which Lucullus brought the fruits so-named.[1] There are also two islands, on which are situated the celebrated cities of Trapezus and Pityus. 17. Beyond these places is the Acherusian cave, which the natives call Mychopontion,[2] and the port of Acone,[3] besides the rivers Acheron (also called the Arcadius), Iris, Thybris, and hard by, the Parthenius, all of which flow with swift course into the sea. The next river to these is the Thermodon, flowing from Mount Armonius and gliding through the Themiscyraean groves, to which the Amazons were forced to migrate in days of yore for the following reason.

18. The Amazons of old, after having by constant losses worn out their neighbours, and devastated them by bloody raids, had higher aspirations; and considering their strength and feeling that it was too great merely for frequent attacks upon their neighbours, being carried away besides by the headstrong heat of covetousness, they broke through many nations and made war upon the Athenians.[4] But after a bitter contest they were scattered in all directions, and since the flanks of their cavalry were left unprotected, they all perished. 19. Upon the news of their destruction the remainder, who had been left at home as unfit for war, suffered extreme hardship; and in order to avoid the deadly attacks of their neighbours, who paid them like for like, they moved to a quieter abode on the Thermodon. Thereafter their descendants, who had greatly increased, returned, thanks to their numerous offspring, with a

[4] In the days of Theseus. The war of the Greeks and the Amazons is a frequent subject in works of Greek art.

secuto tempore populis diversarum originum formidabilis.

20. Haut procul inde attolitur Carambis, placide collis contra septentrionem [1] Helicen exsurgens, cuius e regione est Criumetopon, Taurices [2] promuntorium, duobus milibus et quingentis stadiis disparatum. Hocque ex loco omnis ora maritima, cuius initium Halys est amnis, velut longitudine lineali directa nervi efficit speciem, duabus arcus summitatibus complicati.[3] 21. His regionibus Dahae confines sunt, acerrimi omnium bellatores, et Chalybes, per quos erutum et domitum est primitus ferrum. Post quos terras patentes Byzares obtinent et Sapires et Tibareni et Mossynoeci et Macrones et Philyres, populi nulla nobis assuetudine cogniti. 22. A quibus brevi spatio distant virorum monumenta nobilium, in quibus Sthenelus est humatus et Idmon et Tiphys, primus Herculis socius, Amazonico bello letaliter vulneratus, alter augur Argonautarum, tertius eiusdem navis cautissimus rector. 23. Praetercursis partibus memoratis, Aulion antron est, et fluenta Callichori, ex facto cognominati, quod superatis post triennium Indicis nationibus, ad eos tractus Liber reversus, circa huius ripas viridis et opacas orgia pristina reparavit et choros: trieterica huius modi sacra quidam existimant appellari.[4] 24. Post

[1] *septentrionen*, regarded as a gloss by Wagner. [2] *Taurices*, restored by Clark; *Tauricaes*, V (*e*, V[2]). [3] *complicati*, EBG; *conligati*, Gardt.; *compligati*, V. [4] Lac. after *appellari* indicated by Gardt.

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[1] Cf. Justin, ii. 4.
[2] *Κριοῦ μέτωπον*, "The Ram's head."

very powerful force, and in later times were a cause of terror to peoples of divers nationalities.[1]

20. Not far from there the hill called Carambis lifts itself with gentle slope, rising towards the Great Bear of the north, and opposite this, at a distance of 2500 stadia, is Criumetopon,[2] a promontory of Taurica. From this point the whole seacoast, beginning at the river Halys, as if drawn in a straight line, has the form of the string joined to the two tips of the bow. 21. Bordering on these regions are the Dahae, the fiercest of all warriors, and the Chalybes, by whom iron was first mined and worked. Beyond these are open plains, inhabited by the Byzares, Sapires, Tibareni, Mossynoeci, Macrones and Philyres, peoples not known to us through any intercourse. 22. A short distance from these are the tombs of famous men, in which are buried Sthenelus,[3] Idmon,[4] and Tiphys;[5] the first of these was a companion of Hercules, mortally wounded in the war with the Amazons, the second the augur of the Argonauts, the third the careful steersman of that same craft. 23. After passing the places mentioned, one comes to the grotto of Aulion and the river Callichorus,[6] which owes its name to the fact that Bacchus, when he had after three years vanquished the peoples of India, returned to those regions, and on the green and shady banks of that river renewed the former orgies and dances;[7] some think that this kind of festival was also called *trieterica*.[8] 24. Beyond these

[3] Val. Flacc. v. 89 f.
[4] Id. v. 2 ff.
[5] Id. v. 15 ff.
[6] "Of beautiful dances."
[7] Val. Flacc. v. 75.
[8] As celebrated every third year; cf. Virg., *Aen.* iv. 302.

haec confinia, Camaritarum pagi sunt celebres, et Phasis fremebundis cursibus Colchos attingit, Aegyptiorum antiquam subolem, ubi inter civitates alias Phasis est nomine fluvii dictitata, et Dioscurias nunc usque nota, cuius auctores Amphitus et Cercius Spartani traduntur, aurigae Castoris et Pollucis, quibus Heniochorum natio est instituta. 25. Paulum ab his secernuntur Achaei, qui bello anteriore quodam apud Troiam consummato, non cum super Helena certaretur (ut auctores prodidere non nulli), usque in Pontum reflantibus ventis errore delati, cunctisque hostilibus, stabilem domicilii sedem[1] nusquam reperientes, verticibus montium insedere semper nivalium, et horrore caeli districti, victum sibi[2] cum periculis raptu[3] parare assuefacti sunt, atque eo ultra omnem deinde ferociam saevierunt. Super Cercetis, qui eisdem annexi sunt, nihil memoratu traditur dignum.

26. Quorum post terga Cimmerici agitant incolae Bospori, ubi Milesiae sunt civitates, harumque velut mater omnium Panticapaeum, quam perstringit Hypanis fluvius, genuinis intumescens aquis et externis. 27. Itineribus hinc extensis, Amazones ad usque Caspium mare porrectae, circumcolunt Tanain, qui inter Caucasias oriens rupes per sinuosos labitur

[1] *domicilii sedem*, Corn.; *domiciliis sedem*, NBG; *domiciliis idem*, V. [2] *victum sibi*, EG, Val.; *victum etiam sibi*, Lind.; *virium etum sibi*, V. [3] *raptu*, Corn.; *rapto*, V.

[1] Bands of pirates, using small ships called *camarae*.
[2] Cf. Hdt. ii. 103-4; Val. Flacc. v. 418 ff.
[3] From ἡνίοχος, "charioteer"; Dioscurias is derived

territories are the populous districts of the Camaritae,[1] and the Phasis in impetuous course borders on the Colchians, an ancient race of Egyptian origin. There,[2] among other cities, is Phasis, which gets its name from the river, and Dioscurias, well known even to this day, said to have been founded by Amphitus and Cercius of Sparta, the charioteers of Castor and Pollux, and founders of the nation of the Heniochi.[3] 25. A short distance from these are the Achaei, who, after the end of an earlier war at Troy (not the one which was fought about Helen, as some writers have asserted), being carried out of their course by contrary winds to Pontus, and meeting enemies everywhere, were unable to find a place for a permanent home; and so they settled on the tops of mountains covered with perpetual snow, where, compelled by the rigorous climate, they became accustomed to make a dangerous living by robbery, and hence became later beyond all measure savage. About the Cercetae, who adjoin them, we have no information worth mentioning.

26. Behind these dwell the inhabitants of the Cimmercian Bosporus, where Milesian cities are, and Panticapaeum, the mother, so to speak, of all; this the river Hypanis washes, swollen with its own and tributary waters. 27. Next, at a considerable distance, are the Amazons, who extend to the Caspian Sea and live about the Tanais,[4] which rises among the crags of Caucasus, flows in a course

from Dioscuri, i.e. (Διόσκουροι), "the sons of Zeus," Castor and Polydeuces (Pollux).
[4] To-day the Don.

circumflexus, Asiamque disterminans ab Europa, in stagnis Maeoticis delitescit. 28. Huic Ra [1] vicinus est amnis, in cuius superciliis quaedam vegetabilis eiusdem nominis gignitur radix, proficiens ad usus multiplicis medelarum.

29. Ultra Tanain panduntur in latitudinem Sauromatae, per quos amnes fluunt perpetui Maraccus [2] et Rombites et Theophanes et Totordanes. Licet alia quoque distans immanibus intervallis, Sauromatarum praetenditur natio, litori iuncta, quod Coracem suscipiens fluvium in aequor eiectat Euxinum.[3]

30. Prope palus est Maeotis amplissimi circumgressus, ex cuius uberrimis venis per Panticapes [4] angustias undarum magnitudo prorumpit in Pontum, cuius in dextro latere insulae sunt Phanagorus et Hermonassa studio constructae Graecorum. 31. Circa haec stagna ultima extimaque plures habitant gentes, sermonum institutorumque varietate dispariles, Ixomatae et Maeotae et Iazyges, Roxolanique et Halani et Melanchlaenae et cum Gelonis Agathyrsi, apud quos adamantis est copia lapidis: aliique ultra latentes, quod sunt omnium penitissimi. 32. Sed Maeotidos lateri laevo Cherronesus est propinqua, coloniarum plena Graecarum. Unde

[1] *Ra*, V; *Rha*, BG. [2] *Maraccus*, V; *Marabius*, Gardt. [3] *Euxinum*, Bent.; *extremum*, V. [4] *Panticapes*, Voss; *patares*, V.

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[1] Now the Volga.

[2] Rhubarb (*Rheum rhaponticum*, Linnaeus), the vegetable *radix Pontica* (Celsus, v. 23, 3); the drug is made from Chinese rhubarbs.

with many windings, and after separating Europe from Asia vanishes in the standing pools of the Maeotis. 28. Near this is the river Ra,[1] on whose banks grows a plant of the same name, the root of which is used for many medicinal purposes.[2]

29. Beyond the Tanaïs the Sauromatae have a territory of wide extent, through which flow the never-failing rivers Maraccus, Rombites, Theophanes and Totordanes. However, there is also another nation of the Sauromatae, an enormous distance away, extending along the shore which receives the river Corax and pours it far out into the Euxine Sea.

30. Nearby is the Maeotic Gulf [3] of wide circuit, from whose abundant springs a great body of water bursts through the narrows of Panticapes into the Pontus. On its right side are the islands Phanagorus and Hermonassa, founded by the industry of the Greeks. 31. Around these farthest and most distant marshes live numerous nations, differing in the variety of their languages and customs: the Ixomatae, Maeotae, Iazyges, Roxolani, Halani, Melanchlaenae, and with the Geloni, the Agathyrsi, in whose country an abundance of the stone called adamant [4] is found; and farther beyond are other peoples, who are wholly unknown, since they are the remotest of all men. 32. But near the left side of the Maeotis is the Cherronesus,[5] full of Greek colonies. Hence the inhabitants are quiet and

[3] The Sea of Azov.

[4] *adamas*, "untamable," "unbreakable" is variously applied to a kind of steel, and to diamonds and like stones.

[5] The Crimea. The colonies were from Miletus.

quieti sunt homines et sedati, adhibentes vomeri curam, et proventibus fructuariis victitantes.

33. A quibus per varia regna diducti itineribus modicis Tauri dissociantur, inter quos immani diritate terribiles Arichi [1] et Sinchi et Napaei, intendente saevitiam licentia diuturna, indidere mari nomen inhospitali, et a contrario per cavillationem Pontus *Εὔξεινος* appellatur, ut *εὐήθη* Graeci dicimus stultum et noctem *εὐφρόνην*, et furias *εὐμενίδας*. 34. Deos [2] enim hostiis litantes humanis et immolantes advenas Dianae, quae apud eos dicitur Orsiloche, caesorum capita fani parietibus praefigebant, velut fortium perpetua monumenta facinorum.

35. In hac Taurica insula Leuce sine habitatoribus ullis Achilli est dedicata. In quam si fuerint quidam forte delati, visis antiquitatis vestigiis temploque et donariis eidem heroi consecratis, vesperi repetunt naves: aiunt enim non sine discrimine vitae illic quemquam pernoctare. Ibi et aquae sunt, et candidae aves nascuntur, alcyonibus similes, super quarum origine et Hellespontiacis proeliis tempore

[1] *Arichi*, Wagner, Kellerbauer; *Arinchi*, V. [2] *deos*, V; *diis*, G; *deus*, b.

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[1] The principle is probably irony in some cases, but in the case of the Furies it appears to be euphemism. Sometimes we have neither; cf. Plutarch, *De Curios.* 12, who says that some of the Greeks call night *εὐφρόνη* ("kindly"), because it brings good and salutary resolves; others, because it invites gaiety or refreshes the body.

[2] "Hospitable." Cf. Ovid, *Tristia*, iv. 4, 55 f., *frigida me cohibent Euxini litora Ponti, dictus ab antiquis Axenus* (inhospitable) *ille fuit.*

[3] *Εὐήθης*, "Good-natured," *εὐφρόνη*, "the well-wisher,"

peaceful, plying the plough and living on the products of the soil.

33. At no great distance from these are the Tauri, divided into various kingdoms, among whom the Arichi, the Sinchi, and the Napaei are terrible for their ruthless cruelty, and since long continued license has increased their savageness, they have given the sea the name of Inhospitable; but in irony [1] it is called by the contrary name of Pontus *Εὔξεινος*,[2] just as we Greeks call a fool *εὐήθης*, and night *εὐφρόνη*, and the Furies *Εὐμενίδες*.[3] 34. For these peoples offer human victims to the gods and sacrifice strangers to Diana, whom they call Orsiloche, and affix the skulls of the slain to the walls of her temple, as a lasting memorial of their valorous deeds.[4]

35. In this Tauric country is the island of Leuce,[5] entirely uninhabited and dedicated to Achilles. And if any happen to be carried to that island, after looking at the ancient remains, the temple, and the gifts consecrated to that hero, they return at evening to their ships; for it is said that no one can pass the night there except at the risk of his life. At that place there are also springs and white birds live there resembling halcyons, of whose origin and battles in the Hellespont I shall speak [6] at the appropriate

and *Εὐμενίδες*, "kindly goddesses." There seem to be varying motives here; see note 1.

[4] See Strabo, vii. 3, 6; Mela, ii. 1, 13; Ovid, *Ex Pont*, iii. 2, 45 ff. The story of Iphigenia.

[5] The island is located more accurately by Mela (ii. 7, 98) at the mouth of the Dnieper; see §40, below.

[6] This promise was not fulfilled, unless a lost book is referred to: see crit. note.

disseremus.[1] 36. Sunt autem quaedam per Tauricam civitates, inter quas eminet Eupatoria et Dandace, et Theodosia et minores aliae nullis humanis hostiis impiatae.

37. Hactenus arcus apex protendi existimatur. Eius nunc residua leniter sinuata, subiectaque ursae caelesti, ad usque laevum Bospori Thracii latus (ut ordo postulat) exsequemur, id admonentes, quod, cum arcus omnium gentium flexis curventur hastilibus, Scythici soli vel Parthici, circumductis utrimque introrsus pandis et patulis cornibus, effigiem lunae decrescentis ostendunt, medietatem recta et rotunda regula dividente.

38. Ergo in ipso huius compagis exordio, ubi Riphaei deficiunt montes, habitant Aremphaei, iusti homines placiditateque cogniti, quos amnes Chronius et Visula [2] praeterfluunt; iuxtaque Massagetae, Halani et Sargetae, aliique plures obscuri, quorum nec vocabula nobis sunt nota nec mores. 39. Interiectu deinde non mediocri Carcinites panditur sinus eiusdemque nominis fluvius, et religiosus per eas terras Triviae lucus. 40. Dein Borysthenes a montibus oriens Nerviorum, primigeniis fontibus copiosus concursuque multorum amnium adulescens,

[1] *disseremus*, V; *disserebamus*, Gardt. [2] *Visula*, vulgo; *Vistula*, Val.; *bisula*, V.

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[1] These apparently contradictory words have given a good deal of trouble, but the meaning is plain. The handle is straight laterally, but is rounded like a broomstick for example, or a hoe-handle, and for the same reason; see note on § 10, above.

[2] That is, the Greek bow is bent in a continuous curve; in the Scythian, the two sides are bent, but not the handle.

time. 36. Now there are some cities in the Taurica, conspicuous among which are Eupatoria, Dandace, and Theodosia, with other smaller towns, which are not contaminated with human sacrifices.

37. So far the peak of the bow is thought to extend; the remainder of it, gently curved and lying under the Bear in the heavens, we shall now follow as far as the left side of the Thracian Bosporus, as the order demands, with this warning; that while the bows of all other races are bent with the staves curved, in those of the Scythians alone, or the Parthians, since a straight rounded [1] handle divides them in the middle, the ends are bent downwards on both sides and far apart,[2] presenting the form of a waning moon.[3]

38. Well then, at the very beginning of this district, where the Riphaean mountains sink to the plain, dwell the Aremphaei, just men and known for their gentleness, through whose country flow the rivers Chronius and Visula. Near them are the Massagetae, Halani, and Sargetae, as well as several other obscure peoples whose names and customs are unknown to us. 39. Then at a considerable distance the Carcinitian gulf opens up, with a river of the same name, and the grove of Trivia,[4] sacred in those regions. 40. Next the Borysthenes,[5] rising in the mountains of the Nervii, rich in waters from its own springs, which are increased by many tributaries, and mingle with the sea in high-rolling

[3] I.e. in the "gibbous" stage; see xx. 3, 11, notes.

[4] Diana; on the origin of the name, see Varro, *L.L.* vii. 16.

[5] Modern Dnieper.

mari praeruptis undarum verticibus intimatur, cuius in marginibus nemorosis Borysthenes est civitas et Cephalonesus, et arae Alexandro Magno Caesarique Augusto sacratae. 41. Longo exinde intervallo paene est insula, quam incolunt Sindi ignobiles, post eriles in Asia casus, coniugiis potiti dominorum et rebus, quibus subiectum gracile litus Ἀχιλλέως vocant indigenae δρόμον, exercitiis ducis quondam Thessali memorabilem. Eique proxima est civitas Tyros, colonia Phoenicum, quam praestringit fluvius Tyras.

42. In medio autem spatio arcus, quod prolixae rotunditatis esse praediximus, quodque expedito viatori diebus conficitur quindecim, Europaei sunt Halani et Costobocae, gentesque Scytharum innumerae, quae porriguntur ad usque terras sine cognito fine distentas. Quarum pars exigua frugibus alitur, residuae omnes palantes per solitudines vastas, nec stivam aliquando nec sementem expertas, sed squalentes et pruinosas, ferarum taetro ritu vescuntur, eisque caritates et habitacula, vilesque suppellectiles plaustris impositae sunt corticibus tectis, et cum placuerit, sine obstaculo migrant, eodem carpenta quo libuerit convolventes.

43. Cum autem ad alium portuosum ambitum fuerit ventum, qui arcus figuram determinat ultimam, Peuce prominet insula, quam circumcolunt Trogodytae et Peuci, minoresque aliae gentes, et Histros

[1] By a servile war; see Justin, ii. 5, 1-8.
[2] "The racecourse of Achilles."
[3] See Mela, ii. 1, 55; Pliny, *N.H.* iv. 83.
[4] Now the Dniester.

waves. On its well-wooded banks are the cities of Borysthenes and Cephalonesus and the altars consecrated to Alexander the Great and Augustus Caesar. 41. Then, a long distance away, is a peninsula inhabited by the Sindi, people of low birth, who after the disaster to their masters in Asia [1] got possession of their wives and property. Next to these is a narrow strip of shore which the natives call Ἀχιλλέως δρόμος,[2] memorable in times past for the exercises of the Thessalian leader.[3] And next to it is the city Tyros, a colony of the Phoenicians, washed by the river Tyras.[4]

42. Now in the middle space of the bow, which, as I have said, is widely rounded out and is fifteen days' journey for an active traveller, are the European Halani, the Costobocae, and innumerable Scythian tribes, which extend to lands which have no known limit. Of these, only a small part live on the fruits of the earth; all the rest roam over desert wastes, which never knew plough nor seeds, but are rough from neglect and subject to frosts; and they feed after the foul manner of wild beasts. Their dear ones, their dwellings, and their poor belongings they pack upon wains covered with the bark of trees, and when the fancy takes them they change their abode without trouble, wheeling their carts to the place which has attracted them.

43. But when we have come to another bend, abounding in harbours, which forms the last part of the curve of the bow, the island of Peuce juts forth,[5] and around this dwell the Trogodytae, the Peuci, and other lesser tribes. Here is Histros, once a

[5] At the mouth of the Danube.

quondam potentissima civitas, et Tomi et Apollonia et Anchialos et Odessos,[1] aliae praeterea multae, quas litora continent Thraciarum. 44. Amnis vero Danubius, oriens prope Rauracos montesque[2] confines limitibus Raeticis, per latiorem orbem praetentus, ac sexaginta navigabilis paene omnes[3] recipiens fluvios, septem ostiis per hoc Scythicum litus erumpit in mare. 45. Quorum primum est Peuce insula supra dicta,[4] ut interpretata sunt vocabula Graeco sermone, secundum Naracustoma, tertium Calonstoma, quartum Pseudostoma; nam Borionstoma ac deinde Stenostoma longe minora[5] sunt ceteris; septimum caenosum[6] et palustri specie nigrum.

46. Omnis autem circumfluo ambitu Pontus et nebulosus est, et dulcior aequorum ceteris et vadosus, quod et concrescit aer ex umorum spiramine saepe densatus, et irruentium undarum magnitudine temperatur, et consurgit in brevia dorsuosa, limum glebasque[7] aggerente multitudine circumvenientium fluentorum. 47. Et constat ab ultimis nostri finibus maris, agminatim ad[8] hunc secessum pariendi gratia

[1] *Odessos*, Lind.; *odyssos*, V. [2] *montesque confines*, Her. (*confines*, Bent.); *montes confines*, V. [3] *omnes*, added by Gardt.; V omits. [4] *insula supra dicta*, regarded as a gloss by Clark; Her. thought *cum* should be supplied. [5] *languidiora*, Gardt. [6] *caenosum*, Novák; *segnius*, Gardt.; *caenosa*, Clark; *genus*, V. [7] *glebasque*, Bent., Reinesius, Wagner; *glareasque*, Corn.; *globosque*, V. [8] *ad*, deleted by Bent.

[1] According to Pliny, *N.H.* iv. 79, the Danube rises *in Germania iugus montis Abnobae ex adverso Rauraci Galliae oppidi*. For the seven months, cf. Val. Flacc. viii. 186, *septem exit aquis, septem ostia pandit*.

powerful city, and Tomi, Apollonia, Anchialos, and Odessos, besides many other cities which lie along the Thracian coast. 44. But the river Danube, rising near Augst,[1] and the mountains near the Raetian frontier, extends over a wide tract, and after receiving sixty tributaries, nearly all of which are navigable, breaks through this Scythian shore into the sea through seven mouths.[2] 45. The first of these, as their names are interpreted in the Greek tongue, is the aforesaid island of Peuce,[3] the second Naracustoma, the third Calonstoma, the fourth Pseudostoma; but the Borionstoma and Stenostoma are far smaller than the others; the seventh is muddy and black like a swamp.

46. Now the entire Pontus throughout its whole circuit is misty,[4] has sweeter[5] waters than the other seas,[6] and is full of shoals, since the air is often thickened and condensed from the evaporation of moisture, and is tempered by the great masses of water that flow into it; and, because the many rivers that pour into it from every side bring in mud and clods, it rises in shoals that are full of ridges. 47. And it is a well-known fact that fish from the remotest bounds of our sea[7] come in schools to this

[2] The earlier writers counted only five; Pliny and Ptolemy, six; Strabo, seven.

[3] The name of the mouth itself is ἱερόν (στόμα). *Stoma* (στόμα) in each of the following names is the word meaning "mouth." *Naracu* cannot be interpreted; those that follow are "beautiful," "false," "north" and "narrow."

[4] Cf. Mela, i. 19, 102, *brevis, atrox, nebulosus*, etc.

[5] I.e. "fresher."

[6] Cf. Sall., *Hist.* iii. 65, Maur., *mare Ponticum dulcius quam cetera*; Val. Flacc. iv. 719 ff.

[7] The Mediterranean.

petere pisces, ut aquarum suavitate salubrius fetus educant in receptaculis cavis (qualia[1] sunt ibi densissima), securi voracium beluarum: nihil enim in Ponto huius modi aliquando est visum, praeter innoxios delphinas et parvos.[2] 48. Quicquid autem eiusdem Pontici sinus aquilone caeditur et pruinis, ita perstringitur gelu, ut nec amnium cursus subtervolvi credantur, nec per infidum et labile solum, gressus hominis possit vel iumenti firmari, quod vitium numquam mare sincerum, sed permixtum aquis amnicis temptat. Prolati aliquanto sumus[3] longius quam sperabamus, pergamus ad reliqua.

49. Accesserat aliud ad gaudiorum praesentium cumulum, diu quidem speratum, sed dilationum ambage mutiplici tractum. Nuntiatum est enim per Agilonem et Iovium, postea quaestorem, Aquileiae defensores longioris obsidii taedio, cognitoque Constanti excessu, patefactis portis egressos, auctores prodidisse turbarum, eisdemque vivis exustis (ut supra relatum est), omnes concessionem impetrasse delictorum et veniam.

[1] *qualia*, Her.; *quae*, added by EG; V omits. [2] *parvos*, EAV[2], cf. Pliny, cited in note 1, p. 241; *paucos*, W[2]BG; *pauos*, V. [3] *aliquanto sumus*, Her.; *aliquorsum*, G; *aliquantorsum*, V.

etreat for the purpose of spawning, in order that hey may rear their young more healthfully in its weet waters, and that in the refuge of the hollows, uch as are very numerous there, they may be ecure from voracious sea-beasts; for in the Pontus nothing of that kind has ever been seen,[1] except small and harmless dolphins. 48. But the part of that same Pontic gulf which is scourged by the north wind and by frosts is so completely bound in ice, that neither are the courses of the rivers believed to flow beneath the ice, nor can men or animals keep their footing on the treacherous and slippery surfacc, a defect which an unmixed sea never has, but only one which is mingled with water from rivers. But since I have been carried somewhat farther than I expected, let us hasten on to the rest of our story.

49. Another thing was added,[2] to crown the present joys, something long hoped for it is true, but delayed by an extensive complex of postponements. For it was announced by Agilo and Jovius, who was later quaestor, that the defenders of Aquileia,[3] through weariness of the long siege and having learned of the death of Constantius, had opened their gates, come out, and surrendered the instigators of the revolt; that these were burned alive (as was told above),[4] and all the rest obtained indulgence and pardon for their offences.

[1] Pliny, *N.H.* ix. 50.
[2] Continuing from the end of xxii. 7, p. 213.
[3] Cf. xxi. 11, 2.
[4] xxi. 12, 20.

9. *Iulianus A., aucta ornataque Constantinopoli, Antiochiam petit, ac in itinere Nicomediensibus ad reparandas urbis ruinas pecunias tribuit, Ancyrae iuris dictionibus vacat.*

1. At prosperis Iulianus elatior, ultra homines iam spirabat, periclis expertus assiduis, quod ei orbem Romanum placide iam regenti, velut mundanam cornucopiam Fortuna gestans propitia, cuncta gloriosa deferebat et prospera, antegressis victoriarum titulis haec quoque adiciens, quod, dum teneret imperium solus, nec motibus internis est concitus, nec barbarorum quisquam ultra suos exsiluit fines: et populi omnes, aviditate semper insectari praeterita, ut damnosa et noxia, in laudes eius studiis miris accendebantur.

2. Omnibus igitur, quae res diversae poscebant et tempora, perpensa deliberatione dispositis, et militibus orationibus crebris,[1] stipendioque competenti, ad expedienda incidentia promptius animatis, cunctorum favore sublimis, Antiochiam ire contendens, reliquit Constantinopolim incrementis maximis fultam: natus enim illic, diligebat eam ut genitalem patriam et colebat. 3. Transgressus itaque fretum, praetercursa Chalcedone[2] et Libyssa, ubi sepultus

[1] *crebris*, EBG; *crebrius*, Bent.; *crebriis suspendioque*, V. [2] *Chalcedone*, Bent.; *calcedona*, V.

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[1] Cf. Soph., *Ajax*, v. 777; Aesch., *Septem*, 425.
[2] Fortuna is commonly represented in art with a ship's helm in her right hand, and in her left the horn of Amal-

9. *Julianus Augustus, after having enlarged and adorned Constantinople, went to Antioch. On the way he gave the people of Nicomedia funds for the restoration of their ruined city, and found time for holding court at Ancyra.*

1. But Julian, elated by his success, now felt more than mortal aspirations,[1] since he had been tried by so many dangers and now upon him, the undisputed ruler of the Roman world, propitious Fortune, as if bearing an earthly horn of plenty,[2] was bestowing all glory and prosperity; also adding this to the records of his former victories, that so long as he was sole ruler he was disturbed by no internal strife and no barbarians crossed his frontiers; but all nations, laying aside their former eagerness for repeated attacks, as ruinous and liable to punishment, were fired with a wonderful desire of sounding his praises.

2. Therefore, after everything that the times and the changed circumstances demanded had been arranged with careful deliberation, and the soldiers had by numerous addresses and by adequate pay been roused to greater readiness for carrying out the coming enterprises, exulting in the favour of all men, he hastened to go to Antioch, leaving Constantinople supported by great increase of strength; for it was there that he was born, and he loved and cherished the city as his natal place. 3. Accordingly, having crossed the strait,[3] and passed by Chalcedon and Libyssa, where

theia, which was placed among the stars; hence here *mundanam*.
[3] The Thracian Bosporus.

est Hannibal Poenus, Nicomediam venit, urbem antehac inclytam, ita magnis retro principum amplificatam impensis, ut aedium multitudine privatarum et publicarum, recte noscentibus regio quaedam urbis aestimaretur aeternae. 4. Cuius moenia cum vidisset in favillas miserabiles consedisse, angorem animi tacitis fletibus indicans, pigriore gradu pergebat ad regiam, hoc maxime aerumnis eius illacrimans, quod ordo squalens occurrit et[1] populus nimium quantum antehac florentissimus; et agnoscebat quosdam, ibidem ab Eusebio educatus episcopo, quem genere longius contingebat. 5. Hic quoque pari modo ad reparanda, quae terrae subverterat tremor, abunde praestitis plurimis, per Nicaeam venit ad Gallograeciae fines, unde dextrorsus itinere declinato, Pessinunta convertit, visurus vetusta Matris magnae delubra, a quo oppido bello Punico secundo, carmine Cumano monente, per Scipionem Nasicam simulacrum translatum est Romam. 6. Cuius super adventu in Italiam pauca cum aliis huic materiae congruentibus, in actibus Commodi principis digessimus per excessum. Quam autem ob rem hoc nomine oppi-

[1] *et*, add. Val.; V omits.

[1] Especially Diocletian and Constantine the Great, whose favourite resort it was.

[2] The reference is to the fourteen regions into which Rome was divided by Augustus. Nicomedia, in the opinion of good judges of such matters, was worthy to be considered a fifteenth region of Rome.

[3] That is of the public buildings and monuments erected by former emperors. The city had suffered from an earthquake and a fire that lasted for five days and nights; cf. xvii. 7, 1-8.

Hannibal the Carthaginian was buried, he came to Nicomedia, a city famed of old and so enlarged at the great expense of earlier emperors,[1] that because of the great number of its private and public buildings it was regarded by good judges as one of the regions, so to speak, of the Eternal City.[2] 4. When he saw that its walls[3] had sunk into a pitiful heap of ashes, showing his distress by silent tears he went with lagging step to the palace: and in particular he wept over the wretched state of the city because the senate and the people, who had formerly been in a most flourishing condition, met him in mourning garb. And certain of them he recognised, since he had been brought up there under the bishop Eusebius,[4] whose distant relative he was. 5. Having here also in a similar way generously furnished many things that were necessary for repairing the damage done by the earthquake, he went on past Nicaea to the borders of Gallograecia.[5] From there he made a detour to the right and turned to Pessinus, in order to visit the ancient shrine of the Great Mother. It was from that town, in the second Punic war, that at the direction of the Cumaean verses[6] her image was brought to Rome by Scipio Nasica.[7] 6. Of its arrival in Italy, along with other matters relating to the subject, I have given a brief account by way of digression in telling of the acts of the emperor Commodus.[8] But why the town was called by that

[4] Eusebius of Nicomedia, not the Church historian, Eusebius of Caesaraea.

[5] Galatia (Gallacia); cf. Suet., *Calig.* 29, 2.

[6] The Sibylline Verses; see Livy, xxix. 10, 11.

[7] In 204 B.C.; see Livy, *l.c.*

[8] In one of the lost books.

dum sit appellatum, variant rerum scriptores: 7. quidam enim figmento deae caelitus lapso ἀπὸ τοῦ πεσεῖν (quod cadere nos dicimus) urbem asseruere cognominatam. Alii memorant Ilum, Trois filium Dardaniae regem,[1] locum sic appellasse. At[2] Theopompus non Ilum id egisse, sed Midam affirmat, Phrygiae quondam potentissimum regem.

8. Venerato igitur numine, hostiisque litato et votis, Ancyram rediit[3]: eumque exinde progredientem ulterius, multitudo inquietabat, pars violenter erepta reddi sibi poscentium, alii querentes consortiis se curialium[4] addictos iniuste, non nulli sine respectu periculi agentes ad usque rabiem, ut adversarios suos laesae maiestatis criminibus illigarent. 9. Verum ille iudicibus Cassiis tristior et Lycurgis, causarum momenta aequo iure perpendens, suum cuique tribuebat, nusquam a vero abductus, acrius in calumniatores exsurgens, quos oderat, multorum huius modi petulantem saepe dementiam, ad usque discrimen

[1] V has *bello cum* after *regem*, followed by *uel locum*; Günther suggested for the lac. *plurimis ibi concidissent, inde*. [2] *at*, add. Clark; *set*, Her. (*t* from *appellasset*, of V). [3] *rediit*, Clark; *redit*, EBG; *reddit*, V. [4] *curialium*, vulgo; *curiarum*, BG; *curiarium*, V.

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[1] Herodian, i. 11, 1.

[2] Of Chios, a pupil of Isocrates, and a rhetorician and historian. His works are lost.

[3] According to Diod. Sic. (iii. 59, 8), he was the first to build a splendid temple to Cybele at Pessinus.

[4] Modern Angora.

[5] The position of *curialis*, or local senator, was an honorary office, without pay, and imposing many obligations. Therefore many sought to avoid such positions,

name writers of history are not in agreement; 7. for some have maintained that since the image of the goddess fell from heaven, the city was named from πεσεῖν, which is the Greek word meaning "to fall." Others say that Ilus, son of Tros, king of Dardania,[1] gave the place that name. But Theopompus[2] asserts that it was not Ilus who did it, but Midas,[3] the once mighty king of Phrygia.

8. Then, after Julian had worshipped the deity and propitiated her with victims and vows, he returned to Ancyra.[4] And as he continued his journey from there, the multitude annoyed him, some demanding the return of what had been wrested from them by violence, others complaining that they had unjustly been forced onto the boards of senators,[5] while some, without regard to their own danger, exerted themselves to the point of madness to involve their opponents in charges of high treason. 9. But he, a judge more severe than a Cassius,[6] or a Lycurgus,[7] weighed the evidence in the cases with impartial justice and gave every man his due, never deviating from the truth, and showing particular severity towards calumniators, whom he hated because he had experienced the impudent madness of

and it was necessary to force men to take them. Julian was not always indulgent in such cases; see 9, 12, below, and cf. xxv. 4, 21.

[6] Cassius, city praetor in 111 B.C., was feared as a judge; Cic., *Brut.* 25, 97; Val. Max. iii. 7, 9; cf. xxvi. 10, 10; xxx. 8, 13.

[7] Not the celebrated Spartan lawgiver, but the statesman and orator of Athens, a contemporary of Demosthenes. He is often cited as a severe judge, e.g. Plutarch, *Vitae X Orat.* 541 F.; Plautus, *Bacch.* 111; Diod. Sicul. xvi. 88, 1.

expertus, dum esset adhuc humilis et privatus. 10. Exemplumque patientiae eius in tali negotio, licet sint alia plurima, id unum sufficiet poni. Inimicum quidam suum, cum quo discordabat asperrime, commisisse in maiestatem turbulentius deferebat, imperatoreque dissimulante, eadem diebus continuis replicans, interrogatus ad ultimum, qui esset quem argueret, respondit municipem locupletem Quo audito princeps renidens "Quibus indiciis" ait "ad hoc pervenisti?" 11. Et ille "Purpureum sibi" inquid "indumentum ex serico pallio parat," iussusque post haec ut vilis arduae rei vilem incusans, abire tacitus et innoxius, nihilo minus instabat. Quo taedio Iulianus defetigatus ad largitionum comitem visum propius "Iube" inquit "periculoso[1] garrulo pedum tegmina dari purpurea, ad adversarium perferenda, quem (ut datur intellegi), chlamydem huius coloris memorat sibi consarcinasse, ut sciri possit sine viribus maximis quid pannuli proficiant leves."

12. Sed ut haec laudanda et bonis moderatoribus aemulanda, ita illud amarum et notabile fuit, quod aegre sub eo a curialibus quisquam appetitus, licet privilegiis et stipendiorum numero et originis penitus alienae firmitudine communitus, ius[2] obtinebat

[1] *pediculoso*, Reinesius, Bent.; *perridiculoso*, Her.; *periculoso*, V. [2] *ius obtinebat*, Pet.; *subobtinebat*, V[2] (from *suboptinebat*, V).

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[1] Under Constantius the wearing of such a garment was a serious offence; see xiv. 9, 7; xvi. 8, 8.

[2] That is: whom they wished to make a member of their *curia*, or local senate; see note 5 on 9, 8, above (p. 246).

many such folk even to the peril of his life, while he was still a humble private citizen. 10. Of his patience in such matters it will suffice to give this single example, although there are many others. A certain man with great vehemence charged an enemy of his, with whom he was at bitter odds, of being guilty of high treason; and when the emperor ignored it, he repeated the same charge day after day. At last, on being asked who it was that he accused, he replied that it was a wealthy citizen. On hearing this, the emperor said with a smile: "On what evidence have you come to this conclusion?" 11. And the man answered: "He is making himself a purple robe out of a silk cloak";[1] and when after this he was bidden to depart in silence, but unpunished, as a low fellow making a serious charge against another of the same sort, he was none the less insistent. Whereupon Julian, wearied and disgusted with the man's conduct, seeing his treasurer nearby, said to him: "Have a pair of purple shoes given to this dangerous chatterbox, to take to his enemy (who he says, so far as I can understand, has had a cloak of that colour sewn for him), in order that he may be able to learn what insignificant rags amount to without great power."

12. But, although such conduct was laudable and worthy of imitation by good rulers, it was on the contrary hard and censurable that under his rule anyone who was sought by the *curiales*,[2] even though protected by special privileges, by length of service in the army, or by proof that he was wholly ineligible by birth for such a position, could with difficulty obtain full justice; so that many of them

aequissimum, adeo ut plerique territi emercarentur molestias pretiis clandestinis et magnis.[1]

13. Itineribus itaque emensis cum ad Pylas venisset, qui locus Cappadocas discernit et Cilicas, osculo susceptum rectorem provinciae, nomine Celsum, iam inde a studiis cognitum Atticis, asscitumque in consessum vehiculi, Tarsum secum induxit. 14. At hinc videre properans Antiochiam, orientis apicem pulcrum, usus itineribus solitis venit, urbique propinquans, in speciem alicuius numinis votis excipitur publicis, miratus voces[2] multitudinis magnae, salutare sidus illuxisse eois partibus acclamantis. 15. Evenerat autem eisdem diebus, annuo cursu completo, Adonea ritu veteri celebrari, amato Veneris (ut fabulae fingunt), apri dente ferali deleto, quod in adulto flore sectarum est indicium frugum. Et visum est triste, quod amplam urbem principumque domicilium introeunte imperatore tunc[3] primum, ululabiles undique planctus et lugubres sonus audiebantur. 16. Hic patientiae eius et lenitudinis documentum leve quidem apparuit, sed mirandum. Thalassium quendam ex proximo libellorum, insidiatorem fratris oderat Galli, quo adorare adesseque officio inter honoratos prohibito, adversarii, cum quibus litigabat in foro, postridie turba congregata

[1] *et magnis*, Novák in lac. of 7 letters; no lac. in BG.
[2] *os* (for *voces*) . . . *adclamans*, Momm.; *addamans*, V.
[3] *tunc*, W[2], Clark; *nunc*, G; *et nunc*, B; *imperator et nunc*, V.

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[1] That is, the Cilician Gates.
[2] He was a Cilician, a pupil of Libanius.
[3] Cf. xix. 1, 11, and Cumont, *Syria*, pp. 45-49.

through fear bought immunity from annoyance by secret and heavy bribes.

13. Thus proceeding on his way and arriving at the Gates,[1] a place which separates the Cappadocians from the Cilicians, he received with a kiss the governor of the province, Celsus by name,[2] whom he had known since his student days in Athens, gave him a seat in his carriage, and took him with him into Tarsus. 14. But hastening from there to visit Antioch, fair crown of the Orient, he reached it by the usual roads; and as he neared the city, he was received with public prayers, as if he were some deity, and he wondered at the cries of the great throng, who shouted that a lucky star had risen over the East. 15. Now, it chanced that at that same time the annual cycle was completed and they were celebrating, in the ancient fashion, the festival of Adonis (beloved by Venus, as the poet's tales say), who was slain by the death-dealing tusk of a boar—a festival which is symbolic of the reaping of the ripe fruits of the field.[3] And it seemed a gloomy omen, as the emperor now for the first time entered the great city, the residence of princes, that on all sides melancholy wailing was heard and cries of grief. 16. It was here that he gave a proof of his patience and mildness, slight, it is true, but surprising. He hated a certain Thalassius,[4] a former assistant master of petitions, who had plotted against his brother Gallus. When this man had been prohibited from greeting the emperor and attending at court among the other dignitaries,[5] some enemies of his, with whom he had a suit in the forum, gathered together next day a huge throng of his remaining

[4] Not the same as the one mentioned in xiv. 1, 10.
[5] Cf. xxi. 6, 2.

superflua, adito imperatore "Thalassius" clamitabant, "inimicus pietatis tuae nostra violenter eripuit." 17. Et ille hac occasione hominem opprimi posse coniciens, "Agnosco" respondit, "quem dicitis offendisse me iusta de causa, sed silere vos interim consentaneum est, dum mihi inimico potiori faciat satis." Mandavitque assidenti praefecto, ne audiretur eorum negotium, antequam ipse cum Thalassio rediret in gratiam, quod brevi evenit.

10. *Antiochiae hiemans Iulianus iura reddit, nec quemquam propter religionem gravat.*

1. Ibi hiemans ex sententia, nullis interim voluptatium[1] rapiebatur[2] illecebris, quibus abundant Syriae omnes, verum per speciem quietis, iudicialibus causis intentus, non minus quam arduis bellicisque, distrahebatur multiformibus curis, exquisita docilitate deliberans,[3] quibus modis suum cuique tribueret, iustisque sententiis, et improbi modicis coercerentur suppliciis, et innocentes[4] fortunis defenderentur intactis. 2. Et quamquam in disceptando aliquotiens erat intempestivus, quid quisque iurgantium coleret, tempore alieno interrogans, tamen nulla eius definitio litis a vero dissonans reperitur, nec argui umquam potuit, ob religionem vel quodcumque aliud ab aequitatis recto tramite deviasse. 3. Iudicium

[1] *voluptatium*, C[2]; *voluptatum*, AG; *voluptatis*, Val.; *voluptatibus*, V. [2] *rapiebatur*, vulgo; *pariebatur*, V. [3] *deliberans*, Corn.; *librans*, BG; *liberans*, V. [4] *et innocentes*, added by G; *et innoxii*, Her.

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[1] *Pietas tua* is one of the numerous titles by which the later emperors were addressed.

foes and approaching the emperor, shouted: "Thalassius, your majesty's[1] enemy, has lawlessly robbed us of our goods." 17. But, although Julian believed that this was an opportunity to ruin the man, he replied: "I know that the person to whom you refer has given me just cause for offence, but it is proper for you to keep silence until he gives satisfaction to me, his opponent of higher rank." And he ordered the prefect who was sitting in judgement not to listen to their charge until he himself was reconciled with Thalassius, which shortly happened.

10. *Julian, wintering at Antioch, holds court, but disturbs no one because of his religious beliefs.*

1. Passing the winter there to his heart's content, he was meanwhile carried away by no incitements of the pleasures in which all Syria abounds; but as if for recreation devoting his attention to cases at law, not less than to difficult and warlike affairs, he was distracted by many cares, as with remarkable willingness to receive information he deliberated how he might give each man his due by righteous decisions, bringing the guilty to order with moderate punishments and protecting the innocent with the safety of their property. 2. And, although in arguing cases he was sometimes untimely, asking at some inopportune moment what the religion of each of the litigants was, yet it cannot be found that in the decision of any suit he was inconsistent with equity, nor could he ever be accused because of a man's religious views, or for any other cause, of having deviated from the straight path of justice. 3. For that is desirable

enim hoc est optandum et rectum, ubi per varia negotiorum examina, iustum distinguitur[1] et iniustum; a quo ille ne aberraret, tamquam scopulos cavebat abruptos. Hoc autem ideo assequi potuit, quod levitatem agnoscens commotioris ingenii sui, praefectis proximisque permittebat, ut fidenter impetus suos aliorsum tendentes atque[2] decebat, monitu opportuno frenarent; monstrabatque subinde[3] se dolere delictis et gaudere correctione. 4. Cumque eum defensores causarum, ut conscium rationis perfectae, plausibus maximis celebrarent, fertur id dixisse permotus: "Gaudebam plane praeque me ferebam,[4] si ab his laudarer, quos et vituperare posse adverterem, siquid factum sit secus aut dictum." 5. Sufficiet autem pro multis, quae clementer egit in litibus cognoscendis, hoc unum ponere nec abhorrens a proposito, nec absurdum. Inducta in iudicium femina quaedam, cum palatinum adversarium suum e numero proiectorum cinctum praeter spem conspexisset, hoc factum insolens tumultuando querebatur, et imperator "Prosequere" ait "mulier, siquid te laesam existimas; hic enim sic cinctus est, ut expeditius per lutum incedat: parum nocere tuis partibus potest."

[1] *distinguitur*, Novák; *id est*, V. [2] *atque*, Kellerbauer, Corn., Pet.; *ad quae*, G. [3] *quae permittebat quae subinde* (omitting *ut fidenter . . . monstrabat*, supplied by G), V. [4] *praeque me ferebam*, Novák; *prae meque me ferebam*, V.

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[1] With the expression cf. Caesar (ap. Gell. i. 10, 4), *ut tamquam scopulum fugias . . . insolens verbum.*

[2] The sign either of military rank or of a position at court; the right to wear it was lost with the office.

and proper judgement, when, after examination of all the circumstances, just is distinguished from unjust; and that he might not depart from this, he was as careful as of dangerous rocks.[1] Now this he was able to accomplish for the reason that, recognising the hastiness of his somewhat excitable disposition, he allowed his prefects and associates freely to curb his impulses, when they led him away from what was fitting, by a timely admonition; and at times he showed that he regretted his errors and was glad to be corrected. 4. And when the defenders of causes greeted him with the greatest applause, declaring that he understood perfect justice, he is said to have replied with emotion: "I should certainly rejoice and show my joy, if I were praised by those whom I knew to have also the power to blame me in case I was wrong in deed or word." 5. But it will suffice, in place of many examples of the clemency that he showed in judicial processes, to set down this one, which is neither out of place nor ill-chosen. When a certain woman had been brought before the court, and contrary to her expectation saw that her accuser, who was one of the court servants that had been discharged, wore his girdle,[2] she loudly complained at this act of insolence. Whereupon the emperor said: "Go on with your charge, woman, if you think that you have been wronged in any way; for this man has thus girt himself in order to go through the mire the more easily[3]; it can do little harm to your cause."

[3] This seems to be a sarcastic reference to the "muck-raking" that would characterize the trial.

6. Et aestimabatur per haec et similia, ut ipse dicebat assidue, vetus illa Iustitia, quam offensam vitiis hominum, Aratus extollit in caelum, imperante eo reversa ad terras, ni quaedam suo ageret, non legum arbitrio, erransque aliquotiens, obnubilaret gloriarum multiplices cursus. 7. Post multa enim etiam iura quaedam correxit in melius, ambagibus circumcisis, indicantia liquide, quid iuberent fieri vel vetarent. Illud autem erat inclemens, obruendum perenni silentio, quod arcebat docere magistros rhetoricos et grammaticos, ritus Christiani cultores.

11. *Georgius, Alexandriae episcopus ab ethnicis Alexandrinis cum duobus aliis per vicos trahitur, discerpiturque ac crematur impune.*

1. Eisdem diebus notarius ille Gaudentius, quem opponendum per Africam missum supra diximus a Constantio, Iulianus quin etiam ex vicario, earundem partium nimius fautor, retracti sub vinculis, morte periere poenali. 2. Tunc et Artemius, ex duce Aegypti, Alexandrinis urgentibus atrocium criminum

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[1] Astraea, who left the earth in the iron age; cf. Ovid, *Metam.* i. 150 f., *Victa iacet pietas et virgo caede madentes Ultima caelestum terras Astraea reliquit.*

[2] That is, was represented by Aratus, a Greek poet of Soli in Cilicia (*circ.* 276 B.C.), as leaving the earth; cf. Aratus, 130, καὶ τότε μισήσασα δίκη κείνων γένος ἀνδρῶν ἔπταθ' ὑπουρανίη: Cic., *Arat. Phaen.* 137 ff. (lines 1, 3 and 4 in the supplement of Grotius):

Tunc, mortale exosa genus, dea in alta volavit
Et Iovis in regno caelique in parte resedit,
Illustrem sortita locum, qua nocte serena
Virgo conspicuo fulget vicina Boötae.

6. And these and similar instances led to the belief, as he himself constantly affirmed, that the old goddess of Justice,[1] whom Aratus takes up to heaven[2] because she was displeased with the vices of mankind, had returned to earth during his reign, were it not that sometimes Julian followed his own inclination rather than the demands of the laws, and by occasionally erring clouded the many glories of his career. 7. For after many other things, he also corrected some of the laws, removing ambiguities, so that they showed clearly what they demanded or forbade to be done. But this one thing was inhumane, and ought to be buried in eternal silence, namely, that he forbade teachers of rhetoric and literature to practise their profession, if they were followers of the Christian religion.

11. *Georgius, bishop of Alexandria, with two others is dragged through the streets by the Pagans of Alexandria, torn to pieces, and burned to ashes; and no one was punished for it.*

1. At about that same time, that notorious state-secretary Gaudentius, who (as I said before)[3] had been sent to Africa by Constantius to oppose Julian there, and also Julianus, a former vice-governor, an intemperate partisan of the same faction, were brought back in chains and punished with death. 2. Then, too, Artemius, sometime military commander in Egypt,[4] since the Alexandrians heaped upon him a mass of atrocious charges, suffered capital

[3] See xxi. 7, 2.

[4] xvii. 11, 5.

mole, supplicio capitali multatus est. Post quem Marcelli ex magistro equitum et peditum filius, ut iniectans imperio manus publica deletus est morte. Romanus quin etiam et Vincentius, scutariorum scholae primae secundaeque tribuni, agitasse convicti quaedam suis viribus altiora, acti sunt in exilium.

3. Cumque tempus interstetisset exiguum, Alexandrini, Artemii comperto interitu, quem verebantur, ne cum potestate reversus (id enim minatus est), multos laederet ut offensus, iram in Georgium verterunt episcopum, vipereis (ut ita dixerim), morsibus ab eo saepius appetiti. 4. Is [1] in fullonio natus (ut ferebatur), apud Epiphaniam Ciliciae oppidum, auctusque in damna complurium, contra utilitatem suam reique communis, episcopus Alexandriae est ordinatus, in civitate quae suopte motu et ubi causae non suppetunt, seditionibus crebris agitatur et turbulentis, ut oraculorum quoque loquitur fides. 5. His efferatis hominum mentibus, Georgius quoque ipse grave accesserat incentivum, apud patulas aures Constantii multos exinde incusans ut eius recalcitrantes imperiis, professionisque suae oblitus, quae nihil nisi iustum suadet et lene, ad delatorum ausa feralia desciscebat. 6. Et inter cetera dicebatur id quoque maligne docuisse Constantium,

[1] *is*, added by Günther, Pet.; *in fullio* (*fullonio*, Lind.), V.

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[1] xvi. 2, 7, 8.

[2] They were followers of the banished Athanasius, xv. 7, 7 and 10.

[3] According to Athanasius he was a Cappadocian.

[4] See, for example, Curtius, iv. 1, 30; *Aegyptii, vana*

punishment. After him the son of Marcellus, at one time commander of the cavalry and infantry,[1] was publicly executed, on the ground that he had aspired to the throne. Finally, even Romanus and Vincentius, tribunes of the first and the second corps of the targeteers, were convicted of designs beyond their powers and exiled.[2]

3. Hardly had a brief time elapsed, when the Alexandrians, on learning of the death of Artemius, whom they dreaded, for fear that he would return with his power restored (for so he had threatened) and do harm to many for the wrong that he had suffered, turned their wrath against the bishop Georgius, who had often, so to speak, made them feel his poisonous fangs. 4. The story goes that he was born in a fullery at Epiphania, a town of Cilicia,[3] and flourished to the ruin of many people. Then, contrary to his own advantage and that of the commonwealth, he was ordained bishop of Alexandria, a city which on its own impulse, and without ground, is frequently roused to rebellion and rioting,[4] as the oracles themselves show.[5] 5. To the frenzied minds of these people Georgius himself was also a powerful incentive by pouring, after his appointment, into the ready ears of Constantius charges against many, alleging that they were rebellious against his authority; and, forgetful of his calling, which counselled only justice and mildness, he descended to the informer's deadly practices. 6. And, among other matters, it was said that he maliciously

gens, et novandis quam gerendis aptior rebus; Trebellius, *Thirty Tyrants*, 22, 1.

[5] Nothing is known of these oracles.

quod in urbe praedicta aedificia cuncta solo[1] cohaerentia, a conditore Alexandro magnitudine impensarum publicarum exstructa, emolumentis aerarii proficere debent ex iure. 7. Ad haec mala id quoque addiderat, unde paulo post actus[2] est in exitium praeceps. Reversus ex comitatu principis cum transiret per speciosum Genii templum, multitudine stipatus ex more, flexis ad aedem ipsam luminibus "Quam diu" inquit "sepulcrum hoc stabit?" Quo audito, velut fulmine multi perculsi, metuentesque ne illud quoque temptaret evertere, quicquid poterant in eius perniciem clandestinis insidiis[3] concitabant. 8. Ecce autem repente perlato laetabili nuntio, indicante exstinctum Artemium, plebs omnis elata gaudio insperato, vocibus horrendis infrendens, Georgium petit, raptumque diversis mulcandi generibus proterens et conculcans, divaricatis[4] pedibus, interfecit.[4]

9. Cumque eo Dracontius monetae praepositus et Diodorus quidam, veluti comes, iniectis per crura funibus simul exanimati sunt; ille quod aram in moneta quam regebat, recens locatam evertit; alter quod dum aedificandae praeesset ecclesiae, cirros puerorum licentius detondebat, id quoque ad deorum cultum existimans pertinere. 10. Quo non contenta multitudo immanis, dilaniata cadavera peremptorum

[1] *Serapio* or *Bucolo*, Reinesius; *salo*, Pet.; *solo*, V. [2] *actus*, Kiessling; *trusus*, G; *eius*, V. [3] *insidiis*, added in G; V omits. [4] lac. indicated by Clark after *divaricatis* c.c., *interfecit*, added by Novák; no lac. in V.

[1] I.e. of the city. [2] Cf. xiv. 7, 15, of Montius.
[3] *veluti* seems to indicate that he had the title, but not the office. [4] To Juno Moneta.

informed Constantius also of this, namely, that all the edifices standing on the soil of the said city had been built by its founder, Alexander, at great public cost, and ought justly to be a source of profit to the treasury. 7. To these evil deeds he had added still another, which soon after drove him headlong to destruction. As he was returning from the emperor's court and passed by the beautiful temple of the Genius,[1] attended as usual by a large crowd, he turned his eyes straight at the temple, and said: "How long shall this sepulchre stand?" On hearing this, many were struck as if by a thunderbolt, and fearing that he might try to overthrow even that building, they devised secret plots to destroy him in whatever way they could. 8. And lo! on the sudden arrival of the glad news that told of the death of Artemius, all the populace, transported by this unlooked-for joy, grinding their teeth and uttering fearful outcries, made for Georgius and seized him, maltreating him in divers ways and trampling upon him; then they dragged him about spread-eagle fashion,[2] and killed him.

9. And with him Dracontius, superintendent of the mint, and one Diodorus, who had the honorary rank of count,[3] were dragged about with ropes fastened to their legs and both killed; the former, because he overthrew an altar,[4] newly set up in the mint, of which he had charge; the other, because, while overseer of the building of a church, he arbitrarily cut off the curls of some boys, thinking that this also was a fashion belonging to the pagan worship. 10. Not content with this, the inhuman mob loaded the mutilated bodies of the slain men upon camels

camelis imposita, vexit ad litus, eisdemque subdito igne crematis, cineres proiecit in mare, id metuens (ut[1] clamabat), ne collectis supremis, aedes illis exstruerentur, ut reliquis, qui deviare a religione compulsi, pertulere cruciabiles poenas, ad usque gloriosam mortem intemerata fide progressi, et nunc martyres appellantur.

Poterantque miserandi homines ad crudele supplicium ducti, Christianorum adiumento defendi, ni Georgii odio omnes indiscrete flagrabant. 11. Hoc comperto imperator ad vindicandum facinus nefandum erectus, iamque expetiturus poenas a noxiis ultimas, mitigatus est lenientibus proximis, missoque edicto, acri oratione scelus detestabatur admissum, minatus extrema, si deinde temptatum fuerit aliquid quod iustitia vetet et leges.

12. *Expeditionem Iulianus parat in Persas, et ad praenoscendum belli eventum oracula consulit, victimasque innumerabiles caedit, totus haruspicinae et auguriis addictus.*

1. Inter haec expeditionem parans in Persas, quam dudum animi robore conceperat celso, ad ultionem praeteritorum vehementer elatus est, sciens et audiens, gentem asperrimam per sexaginta ferme

[1] *ut*, added in G; V omits.

and carried them to the shore; there they burned them on a fire and threw the ashes into the sea, fearing (as they shouted) that their relics might be collected and a church built for them, as for others who, when urged to abandon their religion, endured terrible tortures, even going so far as to meet a glorious death with unsullied faith; whence they are now called martyrs.

And these wretched men who were dragged off to cruel torture might have been protected by the aid of the Christians, were it not that all men without distinction burned with hatred for Georgius. 11. The emperor, on hearing of this abominable deed, was bent upon taking vengeance, but just as he was on the point of inflicting the extreme penalty upon the guilty parties, he was pacified by his intimates, who counselled leniency. Accordingly, he issued an edict expressing, in the strongest terms, his horror at the outrage that had been committed, and threatened extreme measures in case in the future anything was attempted contrary to justice and the laws.

12. *Julian prepares for a campaign against the Persians, and in order to learn the outcome of the war, he consults the oracles and slays countless victims, abandoning himself wholly to soothsaying and prophecies.*

1. Meanwhile, Julian was preparing a campaign against the Persians, which he had long before planned with lofty strength of mind, being exceedingly aroused to punish their misdeeds in the past, knowing and hearing as he did that this savage

annos inussisse Orienti caedum et direptionum monumenta saevissima, ad internecionem exercitibus nostris saepe deletis. 2. Urebatur autem bellandi gemino desiderio, primo quod impatiens otii, lituos somniabat et proelia, dein quod in aetatis flore primaevo, obiectus efferatarum [1] gentium armis, recalentibus etiam tum regum precibus et regalium, qui vinci magis posse quam supplices manus tendere credebantur, ornamentis illustrium gloriarum inserere Parthici cognomentum ardebat.

3. Quae maximis molibus festinari cernentes, obtrectatores desides et maligni, unius corporis permutationem tot ciere [2] turbas intempestivas, indignum et perniciosum esse strepebant, studium omne in differendo procinctu ponentes. Et dictitabant, his praesentibus quos audita referre ad imperatorem posse rebantur, eum ni sedatius ageret in immodica [3] rerum secundarum prosperitate, velut luxuriantes ubertate nimia fruges, bonis suis protinus occasurum. 4. Et haec diu multumque agitantes, frustra virum circumlatrabant immobilem occultis iniuriis, ut Pygmaei

[1] *efferatarum*, Eyssen.; *efferarum*, EBG; *effetarum*, V.
[2] *tot ciere*, Clark; *tot cieri*, EAG; *tot cier*, V (*cieri*, V[2]).
[3] *in immodica*, Corn.; *in modica*, Momm.; V omits *in*.

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[1] His two motives were: a love of action; and, since those men had prayed to him for peace who no one ever thought would do so, a desire for further glory in the Orient.
[2] Apparently referring to the Christians.

people for almost three score years had branded the Orient with the cruelest records of murder and pillage, and had often all but annihilated our armies. 2. He was inflamed besides with a two-fold longing for war, first, because he was tired of inactivity and dreamed of clarions and battle; and then, exposed as he had been in the first flower of his youth to warfare with savage nations, while his ears were still warm [1] with the prayers of kings and princes who (as it was believed) could more easily be vanquished than led to hold out their hands as suppliants, he burned to add to the tokens of his glorious victories the surname Parthicus.

3. But his idle and envious detractors,[2] seeing these mighty and hasty preparations, cried out that it was shameful and ruinous that through the exchange of one man for another [3] so many untimely disturbances should be set on foot; and they devoted all their efforts to putting off the campaign. And they repeatedly said, in the presence of those who they thought could repeat to the emperor what they had heard, that if he did not conduct himself with more moderation in his excessive prosperity and success, like plants that grow rank from too great fertility, he would soon find destruction in his own good fortune. 4. But though they kept up this agitation long and persistently, it was in vain that they barked around a man as unmoved by secret insults, as was Hercules by those of the Pygmies,[4] or by

[3] That is, of Julian for Constantius.
[4] When Hercules entered the country of the Pygmies an army of them attacked him in his sleep, but he gathered them up and packed them in his lion skin.

vel Thiodamas agrestis homo Lindius[1] Herculem. 5. Ille tamen ut maioris praeter ceteros spiritus, nihilo lentius magnitudinem expeditionis secum commentans, in praeparandis congruis operam navabat enixam.

6. Hostiarum tamen sanguine plurimo aras crebritate nimia perfundebat, tauros aliquotiens immolando centenos, et innumeros varii pecoris greges, avesque candidas terra quaesitas et mari, adeo ut in dies paene singulos milites carnis distentiore sagina, victitantes incultius, potusque aviditate corrupti, umeris impositi transeuntium, per plateas ex publicis aedibus, ubi vindicandis potius quam cedendis conviviis indulgebant, ad sua diversoria portarentur, Petulantes ante [2] omnes et [3] Celtae, quorum ea tempestate confidentia creverat ultra modum. 7. Augebantur autem cerimoniarum ritus immodice, cum impensarum amplitudine antehac inusitata et gravi: et quisque cum impraepedite liceret, scientiam vaticinandi professus, iuxta imperitus et docilis, sine fine vel praestitutis ordinibus, oraculorum permittebantur scitari responsa, et extispicia non numquam futura pandentia, oscinumque et auguriorum et ominum fides, si reperiri usquam posset, affectata

[1] *Lindius*, Lind.; *lidius* (from *adius*), V. [2] *sua* . . *ante*, added by V[2] in margin. [3] *et*, add. V[2].

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[1] According to Apollodorus (ii. 5, 11) Thiodamas was a neatherd of the Dryopians. Hercules killed and ate one of his cattle, without being disturbed by the scolding of Thiodamas.

those of the Lindian peasant Thiodamas.[1] 5. But Julian, being a man of uncommonly high spirit, no less carefully considered the importance of his campaign, and used every effort to make corresponding preparations.

6. Nevertheless, he drenched the altars with the blood of an excessive number of victims, sometimes offering up a hundred oxen at once, with countless flocks of various other animals, and with white birds [2] hunted out by land and sea; to such a degree that almost every day his soldiers, who gorged themselves on the abundance of meat, living boorishly and corrupted by their eagerness for drink, were carried through the squares to their lodgings on the shoulders of passers-by from the public temples, where they indulged in banquets [3] that deserved punishment rather than indulgence; especially the Petulantes [4] and the Celts, whose wilfulness at that time had passed all bounds. 7. Moreover, the ceremonial rites were excessively increased, with an expenditure of money hitherto unusual and burdensome. And, as it was now allowed without hindrance, everyone who professed a knowledge of divination, alike the learned and the ignorant, without limit or prescribed rules, were permitted to question the oracles and the entrails, which sometimes disclose the future; and from the notes of birds, from their flight, and from omens, the truth was sought with studied variety, if anywhere it

[2] A colour of good omen; cf. Juv. xiii. 141, *gallinae filius albae;* Suet., *Galba*, 1; Hor., *Sat.* i. 7, 8, *equis albis;* etc.

[3] I.e. sacrificial feasts. [4] Cf. xx. 4, 2, note.

varietate quaerebatur. 8. Haecque dum more pacis[1] ita procedunt, multorum curiosior Iulianus, novam[2] consilii viam ingressus est, venas fatidicas Castalii recludere cogitans fontis, quem obstruxisse Caesar dicitur Hadrianus mole saxorum ingenti, veritus ne (ut ipse praecinentibus aquis capessendam rem publicam comperit), etiam alii similia docerentur: deumque adfatus[3] circumhumata corpora statuit exinde transferri, eo ritu quo Athenienses insulam purgaverant Delon.

13. *Templi Apollinis Daphnaei incendium Iulianus A. immerito imputat Christianis, et maiorem Antiochiae ecclesiam claudi iubet.*

1. Eodem tempore diem[4] undecimum kalendarum Novembrium amplissimum Daphnaei Apollinis fanum, quod Epiphanes Antiochus rex ille condidit iracundus et saevus, et simulacrum in eo Olympiaci Iovis imitamentum, eiusque[5] aequiperans magnitudinem,

[1] *more pacis* (after *procedunt*) obelized by Clark, defended by Fletcher (cf. xxiii. 5, 3; Tac., *Hist.* iv. 15 and iv. 28) with comma after *procedunt*; *transposui* c.c. [2] *novam*, added by V². [3] *deumque adfatus*, Momm., who indicated a lac.; *adfatus*, V; *ac statim* G; *ad fastus*, Pet. [4] *diem*, Kiessling; *die*, V. [5] *imitamentum, eiusque*, Damsté; *imitamenti Phidiaci eiusque*, Momm.; *semitamenti*, V.

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[1] Not the one at Delphi, but a spring at Daphne, a suburb of Antioch.

[2] According to Sozomenus, *Church History*, v. 19, he threw a laurel leaf into the spring, and, when he took it out, found on it a note, which confirmed his hopes.

[3] Caesar Gallus, in order to purify the place from pagan superstition, had caused the remains of martyrs to be brought there.

might be found. 8. While these things were thus going on, as if in time of peace, Julian devoted to many interests, entered upon a new way of consultation, and thought of opening the prophetic springs of the Castalian fount;[1] this, it is said, Caesar Hadrian had blocked up with a huge mass of stones, for fear that (as he himself had learned from the prophetic waters[2] that he was destined to become emperor), others also might get similar information. And Julian, after invoking the god, decided that the bodies which had been buried around the spring,[3] should be moved to another place, under the same ceremonial with which the Athenians had purified the island of Delos.[4]

13. *The burning of the temple of Apollo, at Daphne, is falsely attributed to the Christians by Julian, who therefore orders the greater church of Antioch to be closed.*

1. At that same time, on the twenty-second of October, the splendid temple of the Daphnaean Apollo, which that hot-tempered and cruel king Antiochus Epiphanes had built,[5] and with it the statue of the god, a copy of that of the Olympian Zeus[6] and of equal size, was reduced to ashes by a

[4] First under Peisistratus (Hdt. i. 64) and again in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war (Thuc. iii. 104, 1).

[5] According to others, the builder was Seleucus Nicator. Antiochus may have enlarged or embellished it.

[6] At Olympia, the work of Phidias; cf. Pausanias, v. 11, 9.

subita vi flammarum exustum est. 2. Quo tam atroci casu repente consumpto, ad id usque imperatorem ira provexit, ut quaestiones agitari iuberet, solito acriores, et maiorem ecclesiam Antiochiae claudi. Suspicabatur enim id Christianos egisse, stimulatos invidia, quod idem templum inviti videbant ambitioso circumdari peristylio. 3. Ferebatur autem licet rumore levissimo, hac ex causa conflagrasse delubrum,[1] quod Asclepiades philosophus, cuius in actibus Magnenti meminimus, cum visendi gratia Iuliani peregre ad id suburbanum venisset, deae caelestis argenteum breve figmentum, quocumque ibat secum solitus ferre,[2] ante pedes statuit simulacri sublimes,[3] accensisque cereis ex usu cessit, unde medietate noctis emensa, cum nec adesse quisquam potuit nec iuvare, volitantes scintillae adhaesere materiis vetustissimis, ignisque aridis nutrimentis, omne quicquid contingi potuit (licet erecta[4] discretum celsitudine) concremarunt. 4. Eo anno sidere etiam tum instante brumali, aquarum incessit inopia metuenda, ut et rivi cassescerent[5] quidam, et fontes antehac aquarum copiosis pulsibus abundantes, sed in integrum postea restituti sunt. 5. Et quartum nonas[6] Decembres, vergente in vesperam die, reliqua Nicomedia collapsa est terrae motu, itidemque Nicaeae portio non mediocris.

[1] *delubrum*, Bent.; *delublum*, V (corr. by contemporary hand). [2] *ferre*, Clark, c.c.; *afferre*, BG; *efferre*, V. [3] *sublime*, Corn.; *sublimis*, Pet.; *sublimes*, V. [4] *erecta*, Her. (from *erecti* before *omne*, V). [5] *cassescerent*, Haupt; *iri vicasse soerent*, V. [6] *quarto nonas Decembres*, G; *quarto* (lac. of 5 or 6 letters) *Decembrium*, A; *quartum Decembres*, V.

sudden fire. 2. The unexpected destruction of this shrine by so terrible an accident inflamed the emperor with such anger, that he ordered stricter investigations than usual to be made, and the greater church at Antioch to be closed. For he suspected that the Christians had done the deed, aroused by jealousy and unwillingness to see the temple enclosed by a magnificent colonnade. 3. It was said, however, though on very slight evidence, that the cause of the burning of the temple was this: the philosopher Asclepiades, whom I have mentioned in the history of Magnentius,[1] when he had come to that suburb[2] from abroad to visit Julian, placed before the lofty feet of the statue a little silver image of the Dea Caelestis,[3] which he always carried with him wherever he went, and after lighting some wax tapers as usual, went away. From these tapers after midnight, when no one could be present to render aid, some flying sparks alighted on the woodwork, which was very old, and the fire, fed by the dry fuel, mounted and burned whatever it could reach, at however great a height it was. 4. In that year also, just as the winter season was at hand, there was such a fearful scarcity of water that some brooks dried up, as well as springs which had before overflowed with plentiful jets of water; but later these were restored to their former condition. 5. Then, on the second of December, just before evening, the rest of Nicomedia[4] was wholly destroyed by an earthquake, as well as a good part of Nicaea.

[1] In a lost book. [2] Daphne.
[3] Venus Urania, as worshipped in Syria and Phoenicia.
[4] Cf. xvii. 7, 1-8.

14. *Iulianus A. in monte Casio Iovi sacra facit; cur Antiochensibus iratus Misopogonem scripserit.*

1. Quae tametsi maestitiam sollicito incuterent principi, residua tamen non contemnebat urgentia, dum pugnandi tempus ei veniret optatum. Inter praecipua tamen et seria illud agere superfluum videbatur, quod, nulla probabili ratione suscepta, popularitatis amore, vilitati studebat venalium rerum, quae non numquam secus quam convenit ordinata, inopiam gignere solet et famem. 2. Et Antiochensi ordine id tunc fieri, cum ille iuberet, non posse, aperte monstrante, nusquam a proposito declinabat, Galli similis fratris licet incruentus. Quocirca in eos deinceps saeviens ut obtrectatores et contumaces volumen composuit invectivum, quod Antiochense vel Misopogonem appellavit, probra civitatis infensa mente dinumerans,[1] addensque veritati complura: post quae multa in se facete dicta comperiens, coactus dissimulare pro tempore, ira sufflabatur interna. 3. Ridebatur enim ut Cercops, homo brevis humeros extentans angustos et barbam prae se ferens hircinam,

[1] *dinumerans*, G; *annumerans*, B; *innumerans*, V.

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[1] Diocletian had done the same in his edict, *De Pretiis Venalium Rerum.*

[2] This work has survived. It means "*The Beard-Hater*"; see *Julian, L.C.L.*, ii. 420 ff. It is a satire on Julian himself, in which he also scolded the people of Antioch. They made fun of his beard because they themselves were clean-shaven. Hadrian and his successors wore beards, but Constantine and his successors did not.

14. *Julian offers sacrifice to Jupiter on Mt. Casius. Why he wrote the Misopogon through anger at the people of Antioch.*

1. Although these disasters filled the prince with sorrow and anxiety, yet he did not neglect the urgent duties that remained to be done before the longed-for time of battle arrived. All the same, amid such weighty and serious affairs, it did seem superfluous, that with no satisfactory reason for such a measure, but merely from a desire for popularity, he wished to lower the price of commodities;[1] although sometimes, when this matter is not properly regulated, it is wont to cause scarcity and famine. 2. And, although the senate at Antioch clearly pointed out that this could not be done at the time when he ordered it, he in no wise gave up his plan, since he resembled his brother Gallus, though without his cruelty. Therefore raging against them one by one as recalcitrant and stubborn, he composed an invective, which he entitled *The Antiochian* or *Misopogon*,[2] in which he enumerated in a hostile spirit the faults of the city, including more than were justified. After this, finding that he was the object of many jests, he was forced at the time to disregard them, but was filled with suppressed wrath. 3. For he was ridiculed as a Cercops,[3] as a dwarf, spreading his narrow shoulders and displaying a billy-goat's beard,[4] taking mighty strides as if he were the

[3] One of a people living in an island near Sicily, changed by Jupiter into apes; Ov., *Metam.* xiv. 91, and Suidas, s.v. *Κέρκωπες*.

[4] Cf. xxv. 4, 22.

grandiaque incedens tamquam Oti frater et Ephialtis, quorum proceritatem Homerus in immensum extollit,[1] itidemque victimarius pro sacricola dicebatur ad crebritatem hostiarum alludentibus multis, et culpabatur hinc opportune, cum ostentationis gratia, vehens licenter pro sacerdotibus sacra, stipatusque mulierculis laetabatur. Et quamquam his paribusque de causis indignaretur, tacens tamen motumque in animi retinens potestate, sollemnia celebrabat.

4. Denique praestituto feriarum die Casium montem ascendit, nemorosum et tereti ambitu in sublime porrectum, unde secundis galliciniis videtur primo solis exortus. Cumque Iovi faceret rem divinam, repente conspexit quendam humi prostratum, supplici voce vitam precantem et veniam. Interrogantique ei, qui esset, responsum est praesidalem esse Theodotum Hierapolitanum, qui profectum a civitate sua Constantium inter honoratos deducens, adulando deformiter, tamquam futurum sine dubietate victorem, orabat, lacrimas fingens et gemitum, ut Iuliani ad eos mitteret caput, perduellis ingrati, specie illa, qua Magnenti circumlatum meminerat membrum. 5. Quibus auditis, "Accepi" inquit, "olim hoc dictum" imperator[2] "relatione multorum, sed abi securus ad lares exutus omni metu

[1] *extollit*, Clark, Novák, c.c.; *tollit*, V. [2] *imperator*, omitted by G.

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[1] Two giants, the Aloïdae; cf. Odyss. xi. 307 ff.
[2] The *victimarius* slew the animal that was offered up.
[3] In Seleucia, near Antioch.

brother of Otus and Ephialtes, whose height Homer describes as enormous.[1] He was also called by many a slaughterer[2] instead of high-priest, in jesting allusion to his many offerings; and in fact he was fittingly criticised because for the sake of display he improperly took pleasure in carrying the sacred emblems in place of the priests, and in being attended by a company of women. But although he was indignant for these and similar reasons, he held his peace, kept control of his feelings, and continued to celebrate the festivals.

4. Finally, on a previously appointed festal day, he ascended Mount Casius,[3] a wooded hill rising on high with a rounded contour, from which at the second cock-crow[4] the sun is first seen to rise And as he was offering sacrifice to Jove, he suddenly caught sight of a man lying flat upon the ground, and in suppliant words begging for life and pardon. And when Julian asked who he was, the man answered that he was the ex-governor Theodotus of Hierapolis; that when in company with other dignitaries he was escorting Constantius as he set out from his city, he shamefully flattered him, in the belief that he would unquestionably be victorious, begging him with feigned tears and wailing to send them the head of Julian, that ungrateful rebel, just as he remembered that the head of Magnentius had been paraded about. 5. Upon hearing this, the emperor answered: "I heard of this speech of yours long ago from the mouths of many; but go to your home carefree, relieved of all fear by the

[4] One of the divisions of the night; the latter part of the fourth watch; cf. Pliny, *N.H.* v. 80; Mart. Cap. vi., p. 235.

clementia principis, qui (ut prudens definivit) inimicorum minuere numerum augereque amicorum sponte sua contendit ac libens."

6. Exinde sacrorum[1] perfecto ritu digresso, offeruntur rectoris Aegypti scripta, Apim bovem operosa quaesitum industria, tandem[2] post tempus inveniri potuisse firmantis, quod (ut earum regionum existimant incolae) faustum, et ubertatem frugum diversaque indicans[3] bona.

7. Super qua re pauca conveniet expediri. Inter animalia antiquis observationibus consecrata, Mnevis et Apis sunt notiora: Mnevis Soli sacratur, super quo nihil dicitur memorabile; sequens Lunae. Est enim Apis bos diversis genitalium notarum figuris expressus, maximeque omnium corniculantis lunae specie latere dextro insignis, qui cum post vivendi spatium praestitutum, sacro fonte immersus e vita abierit (nec enim ultra eum trahere licet aetatem, quam secreta librorum praescribit auctoritas mysticorum), necatur choragio pari,[4] bos femina, quae ei[5] inventa cum notis certis offertur, quo perempto alter cum publico quaeritur luctu, et

[1] *exinde sacrorum* or *locorum*, Her.; *exin vectorum*, V. [2] *tandem*, Bent., Madvig; *tamen*, V. [3] *indicans*, Haupt; *indicat*, AG, Her.; *indicant*, V. [4] *choragio pari*, Haupt; *eadem hora et*, Val.; *horago arei*, V. [5] *quae ei*, add. Salmasius, Val.; V omits.

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[1] Socrates; perhaps referring to the saying quoted by Stobaeus, *Sermones*, ccxiii. *πόσῳ μᾶλλον χαριέστερον ἐποίησας, εἰ καὶ τούτους (= ἐχθρούς) εἰς φιλίαν μετετρόπωσας.*

[2] Cf. Diod. Sic. i. 21, 10; Hdt. iii. 27, 28; Strabo, xvii. 1, 31; Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 184 ff.

mercy of your prince, who (as the philosopher[1] advised) of his own accord and willingly strives to diminish the number of his enemies and increase that of his friends."

6. When he left there after completing the sacred rites, a letter was presented to him from the governor of Egypt, reporting that after laborious search for a new Apis bull, they had finally, after a time, been able to find one, which (in the belief of the people of that region) is an indication of prosperity, fruitful crops, and various blessings.

7. About this matter it will be in place to give a brief explanation. Among the animals consecrated by ancient religious observance, the better known are Mnevis and Apis.[2] Mnevis[3] is consecrated to the Sun, but about him there is nothing noteworthy to be said; Apis to the moon.[4] Apis, then, is a bull distinguished by natural marks of various forms,[5] and most of all conspicuous for the image of a crescent moon on his right side. When this bull, after its destined span of life,[6] is plunged in the sacred fount[7] and dies (for it is not lawful for him to prolong his life beyond the time prescribed by the secret authority of the mystic books), there is slain with the same ceremony a cow, which has been found with special marks and presented to him. After his death another Apis is sought amid public mourning;

[3] Older than Apis, but later neglected; his shrine was in Heliopolis.

[4] Later also to the Sun; Macrob. i. 21, 20.

[5] There were twenty-nine in all.

[6] Twenty-five years.

[7] Its location was a secret known only to the priests.

si omnibus signis consummatus reperiri potuerit, ducitur [1] Memphim, urbem praesentia frequenti [2] numinis Aesculapii claram. 8. Cumque initiante antistitum numero centum, inductus in thalamum esse coeperit sacer, coniecturis apertis, signa [3] rerum futurarum dicitur demonstrare, et adeuntes quosdam indiciis averti videtur obliquis, ut offerentem cibum aliquando Germanicum Caesarem (sicut lectum est) aversatus portenderat paulo post eventura.

15. *Descriptio rerum Aegyptiarum; et de Nilo, de crocodilo, de ibi, ac de pyramidibus.*

1. Strictim itaque, quoniam tempus videtur hoc flagitare, res Aegyptiacae tangantur, quarum notitiam in actibus Hadriani et Severi principum digessimus late, visa pleraque narrantes. 2. Aegyptum gentem omnium vetustissimam, nisi quod super antiquitate certat cum Scythis, a meridiali latere Syrtes maiores et Phycus promuntorium et Borion et Garamantes nationesque varia claudunt; qua orientem e regione prospectat,[4] Elephantinen et Meroen urbes Aethiopum, et Catadupos rubrumque pelagus, et Scenitas praetenditur Arabas, quos

[1] *ducitur*, E, Lind.; *defertur*, BG; *dicitur*, V. [2] *praesentia frequenti*, Her.; *frequentem praesentiaque*, Val.; *praesentiam praesentiam*, V, *frequentia praesentiam*, V[2]. [3] *signa*, EBG; *omina* (cf. Sol.), Her.; *ima*, Clark; *siina*, V (*sima*, V[2], *signa*, V[3]). [4] *prospectat*, Her.; *prospicit*, V.

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[1] In A.D. 49 in Egypt. Soon after, Plancina, Piso's wife, was suspected of poisoning him. Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 185.
[2] In lost books. [3] Cf. Justinus, ii. 1, 5.

and if it has been possible to find one, complete with all its marks, it is taken to Memphis, famed for the frequent presence of the god Aesculapius. 8. And when he has been led into the city by a hundred priests and conducted to his chamber, he begins to be an object of worship; and it is said that by manifest signs he gives indications of coming events; and some of those who approach him he evidently rejects by unfavourable signs, as once (so we read) [1] he turned away from Caesar Germanicus when he offered him food, and thus prophesied what soon after came to pass.

15. *A description of Egypt, and of the Nile, the crocodile, the ibis, and the Pyramids.*

1. Accordingly, since the occasion seems to demand it, let us touch briefly on matters Egyptian, of which I discoursed at length in connection with the history of the emperors Hadrian and Severus,[2] telling for the most part what I myself had seen. 2. The Egyptian nation is the most ancient of all, except that in antiquity it vies with the Scythians.[3] It is bounded on the south [4] by the Greater Syrtes, the promontories Phycus and Borion, by the Garamantes [5] and various other nations. Where it looks directly east it extends to Elephantine and Meroë, cities of the Aethiopians, to the Catadupi [6] and the Red Sea, and to the Scenitic Arabs, whom we now call the

[4] The account of Ammianus is very confused and inexact.
[5] A nomadic people of Libya.
[6] At the cataracts of the Nile.

Sarracenos nunc appellamus; septentrioni supposita,[1] terrarum situ cohaeret immenso, unde exordium Asia Syriarumque provinciae sumunt; a vespera Issiaco disiungitur mari, quod quidam nominavere Parthenium.

3. Pauca itaque super benivolo omnium flumine[2] Nilo (quem Aegyptum Homerus appellat), praestringi conveniet, mox ostendendis aliis, quae sunt in his regionibus admiranda. 4. Origines fontium Nili, ut mihi quidem videri solet, sicut adhuc factum est, posterae quoque ignorabunt aetates. Verum quoniam fabulantes poetae variantesque geographi, in diversa latentem notitiam scindunt, opiniones eorum veritati confines, ut arbitror, expediam paucis. 5. Affirmant aliqui physicorum, in subiectis septentrioni spatiis cum hiemes frigidae cuncta constringunt, magnitudines nivium congelare, easque postea vi flagrantis sideris resolutas, fluxis umoribus nubes efficere gravidas, quae in meridianam plagam Etesiis flantibus pulsae, expressaeque tepore nimio incrementa ubertim suggerere Nilo creduntur. 6. Ex Aethiopicis imbribus, qui abundanter[3] in tractibus illis per aestus torridos cadere memorantur, exundationes eius erigi anni temporibus asserunt alii praestitutis: quod utrumque dissonare videtur a

[1] *supposita*, Gardt.; *opposita*, V. [2] *omnium . . . Nilo*, add. V[2] in margin; *benevolo solo*, Madvig; *omnium numine*, Petschenig. [3] *qui abundanter*, Bent.; *qui abundantes*, G; *qua ludantes*, V.

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[1] Cf. xiv. 4, 1 ff.
[2] See xiv. 8, 10, note, and Index I., vol. i.
[3] Cf. Odyss. iv. 477. On the Nile and its floods, see Hdt. ii. 19, 20; Diod. Sic. i. 36; Strabo, xvii. 1, 5; Pliny, *N.H.* v. 51 ff.

Saracens.[1] On the north it forms part of the boundless tract from which Asia and the provinces of Syria take their beginning. On the west its boundary is the Issiac Sea, which some have called the Parthenian.[2]

3. Now it will be in place to touch briefly on the most helpful of all rivers, the Nile, which Homer calls the Aegyptus,[3] and then to describe other remarkable things to be found in those lands. 4. The origin of the sources of the Nile (so at least I am wont to think) will be unknown also to future ages, as it has been up to the present. But, since the poets' tales and dissenting geographers give varying accounts of this unknown subject, I shall succinctly set forth such of their views as in my opinion approach the truth. 5. Some natural philosophers affirm that in the tracts lying beneath the north, when the cold winters freeze everything, great masses of snow are congealed; that afterwards when these are melted by the heat of the blazing sun, they form clouds filled with flowing moisture, which are then driven towards the south by the Etesian winds,[4] and when melted by the excessive warmth, are believed to cause the rich overflow of the Nile. 6. Others assert that it is by the Aethiopian rains, which are said to fall in abundance in those regions in the season of torrid heat, that its floods are raised at the appointed season of the year; but both these reasons seem to

[4] Periodic winds which blow yearly in the dog-days, according to Colum. xi. 2, 56, from August 1 to 30; cf. Pliny, *N.H.* ii. 124; xviii. 270 f. The *Prodromoi*, "forerunners," mentioned below in section 7, begin eight days earlier.

veritate. Imbres enim apud Aethiopas aut numquam aut per intervalla temporum longa cadere memorantur. 7. Opinio est celebrior alia, quod spirantibus Prodromis, perque dies quadraginta et quinque, Etesiarum continuis flatibus repellentibus eius meatum, velocitate cohibita, superfusis fluctibus intumescit; et reluctante spiritu controverso adulescens in maius, hinc vi reverberante ventorum, inde urgente cursu venarum perennium, progrediens in sublime, contegit[1] omnia, et humo suppressa, per supina camporum speciem exhibet maris. 8. Rex autem Iuba, Punicorum confisus textu librorum, a monte quodam oriri eum exponit, qui situs in Mauritania despectat oceanum, hisque indiciis hoc proditum ait, quod pisces et herbae et beluae similes per eas paludes gignuntur. 9. Aethiopiae autem partes praetermeans Nilus nominum diversitate decussa,[2] quae ei[3] orbem peragranti nationes indidere complures, aestuans[4] inundatione ditissima, ad cataractas (id est praeruptos scopulos[5]) venit, e quibus praecipitans, ruit potius quam fluit: unde Atos olim accolas usu aurium fragore assiduo deminuto, necessitas vertere solum ad quietiora[6] coegit. 10. Exinde lenius means, per ostia septem,

[1] *contegit* or *integit*, Her., Clark, c.c.; *sublimem tegit*, V. [2] *decursa*, BG; *decussa*, V (restored by Corn.). [3] *ei*. vulgo; *eum*, G; *et* VEB. [4] *aestuans*, vulgo; G omits; *et ans*, V; *exultans*, sugg. by Novák, cf. xiv. 8, 3; xv. 11, 14. [5] *id est praeruptos scopulos*, regarded as a gloss by Reinesius. [6] *ad quietiora*, G in epist. Froben.; *ad editiora*, G in ed.; *atque diciora*, V.

be out of harmony with the truth. For it is reported that in the land of the Aethiopians rains fall either not at all or at long intervals of time. 7. Another, more widespread opinion is, that when the *Prodromoi* blow and after them the Etesians for forty-five consecutive days, since they drive back the course of the river and check its speed, it swells with overflowing waves; and while the contrary wind blows against it, it increases more and more, since on the one side the force of the wind hurls it back and on the other the flow of its perennial springs forces it onward; and rising high it covers everything, and hiding the ground, over the low-lying plains it has the appearance of a sea. 8. But King Juba,[1] relying upon the testimony of Punic books, thinks that the Nile rises in a mountain situated in Mauritania and looking down upon the ocean, and he says that this is proved by the fact that in those marshes[2] are found fishes, plants, and animals like those of the Nile. 9. But the river, flowing through the regions of Aethiopia, and going under various names, which many nations have given it in its course over the earth, swelling with its rich flood, comes to the cataracts, which are steep rocks, from which it plunges headlong rather than flows; for which reason the Ati, who formerly lived nearby, since their hearing was impaired by the continual roar, were forced to change their abode to a quieter spot. 10. Flowing more gently from there, through seven

[1] The one whom Julius Caesar led in triumph; Octavian later made him his friend and restored his kingdom to him; Pliny, *N.H.* v. 16.
[2] Those from which the river flows.

quorum singula perpetuorum amnium usum et faciem praebent, nullis per Aegyptum aquis externis adiutus eiectatur. Et praeter amnis plurimos ex alveo derivatos auctore, cadentesque in suppares eis,[1] septem navigabiles sunt et undosi, quibus subiecta vocabula veteres indiderunt: Heracleoticus, Sebennyticus, Bolbiticus, Pathmiticus, Mendesius, Taniticus et Pelusiacus. 11. Oriens autem inde (ut dictum est) propellitur e paludibus ad usque cataractas, insulasque efficit plures, quarum aliquae ita porrectis spatiis[2] dicuntur extentae, ut singulas aegre tertio die relinquat. 12. Inter quas duae sunt clarae, Meroe et Delta, a triquetrae litterae forma hoc vocabulo signatius appellata. Cum autem sol per Cancri sidus coeperit vehi, augescens ad usque transitum eius in Libram,[3] diebusque centum sublatius fluens, minuitur postea, et mitigatis ponderibus aquarum, navibus antea pervios equitabiles campos ostendit. 13. Abunde itaque luxurians ita est noxius, ut infructuosus, si venerit parcior: gurgitum enim nimietate umectans diutius terras culturas moratur agrorum, parvitate autem minatur steriles segetes. Eumque nemo aliquando extolli cubitis altius sedecim possessor optavit. Et si inciderit

[1] *eis*, Pet.; *eius*, V, Clark. [2] *spatiis*, Bent.; *agris*, Pet.; *porrectus aquis*, V. [3] After *libram* V[2] adds a second *eius* in margin, put after *diebusque* by BG, deleted by W[2]A.

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[1] Not all writers give the same names. We have for instance Canopic and Naucratic.

[2] Ammianus seems to accept King Juba's opinion; cf. section 8, above.

mouths, each of which has the appearance of an uninterrupted river, and is equally usable, it empties into the sea without being increased by any tributaries in Egypt. And besides many streams which flow from the main channel and fall into others nearly as great, seven are full of surges and navigable, and to them the ancients gave the following names: the Heracleotic, Sebennytic, Bolbitic, Pathmitic, Mendesian, Tanitic, and Pelusiac.[1] 11. Rising, then, in the quarter which has been mentioned, it passes from the marshes[2] as far as the cataracts and forms many islands, some of which (it is said) extend over such wide-spread spaces that the stream hardly leaves each of them behind on the third day. 12. Of these two are famous, namely Meroë and Delta, the latter clearly so-called from the form of the triangular letter.[3] But when the sun has begun to ride through the sign of the Crab, the river increases until it passes into the Balance[4]; then, flowing at high water for a hundred days, the river becomes smaller, and as the weight of its waters decreases, it shows the plains that before were navigable for boats now suitable for riders on horseback. 13. However, too great a rise of the Nile is as harmful to the crops as too small a one is unfruitful. For if it soaks the land for too long a time with an excess of water, it delays the cultivation of the fields; but if the rise is too small, it threatens a bad harvest. No landowner has ever wished for a higher rise than sixteen cubits. But if there is a more moderate rise, seeds sown on a

[3] Greek Δ (inverted on our maps).

[4] That is, from the summer solstice until the autumnal equinox.

moderatius, aliquotiens iactae sementes in loco prae-[1] pinguis cespitis cum augmento fere septuagesimo renascuntur: solusque fluminum auras nullas exspirat.[2]

14. Exuberat Aegyptus etiam pecudibus multis, inter quas terrestres sunt et aquatiles, aliaeque humi et in humoribus vivunt, unde ἀμφίβιοι nominantur. Et in aridis quidem capreoli vescuntur et bubali et spinturnicia omni deformitate ridicula, aliaque monstra quae enumerare [3] non refert.

15. Inter aquatiles autem bestias, crocodilus ubique per eos tractus abundat, exitiale quadrupes malum, assuetum elementis ambobus, lingua carens, maxillam superiorem commovens solum, ordine dentium pectinato, perniciosis morsibus quicquid contigerit pertinaciter petens, per ova edens fetus anserinis similia. 16. Utque armatus est unguibus, si haberet etiam pollices, ad evertendas quoque naves sufficeret viribus magnis: ad cubitorum enim longitudinem octodecim [4] interdum extentus, noctibus quiescens per undas, diebus humi vaporatur [5] confidentia cutis, quam ita validam gerit, ut eius terga cataphracta vix tormentorum ictibus perforentur. 17. Et saevientes semper eaedem ferae (quasi pacto foedere quodam castrensi), per septem caerimoniosos dies mitescunt, ab omni saevitia desciscentes, quibus

[1] *loco prae-*, Her.; *loquore pinguis*, V. [2] *exspirat*, Her.; *inspirat*, V. [3] *enumerare*, C. F. W. M.; *dinumerare*, Novák; *nunc d.*, Her.; *numerare*, V, Heilm. [4] xviii. A; *decem*, V² (from *ecbecem*, V), WBG; *sedecim*, suggested by Clark. [5] *vaporatur*, Erfurdt, Haupt, Novák; *versatur*, Val.; *veperatur*, V² (from *vituperatur*, V.)

place where the soil is very rich sometimes return an increase of nearly seventy-fold. And it is the only river that does not raise a breeze.[1]

14. Egypt abounds also in many animals, some of which are terrestrial, some aquatic; and there are others which live both on land and in the water, and hence are called amphibious. And on the dry plains roebucks feed and antelopes and *spinturnicia*,[2] laughable for their utter ugliness, and other monsters, which it is not worth while to enumerate.

15. Now among aquatic animals crocodiles abound everywhere in that region, a destructive four-footed monster, a curse to the land, accustomed to both elements. It has no tongue, and moves only its upper jaw; its teeth are arranged like those of a comb, and whatever it meets it persistently attacks with destructive bites. It produces its young from eggs resembling those of geese. 16. And, if besides the claws with which it is armed it also had thumbs, its strength would be great enough to overturn even ships; for it sometimes attains a length of eighteen cubits. At night it remains quiet in the water; in the daytime it suns itself on land, trusting to its hide, which is so strong that its mail-clad back can hardly be pierced by the bolts of artillery. 17. Now, savage as these same beasts always are, during the seven festal days on which the priests at Memphis celebrate the birthday of the Nile, as if by a kind of military truce they lay aside all their

[1] The meaning is not clear; it may mean because it flows so slowly in the lower part of its course, or because it is spread over the plains by canals.

[2] A kind of monkey.

sacerdotes Memphi natales celebrant Nili. 18. Praeter eos autem, qui fortuita pereunt morte, alii dirumpuntur suffossis alvis [1] mollibus serratis [2] ferarum dorsualibus cristis,[3] quas delphinis similes nutrit fluvius ante dictus, alii exitio intereunt tali. 19. Trochilus avicula brevis, dum escarum minutias captat, circa cubantem feram volitans blande, genasque eius irritatius titillando pervenit ad usque ipsam viciniam gutturis. Quod factum contuens enhydrus,[4] ichneumonis genus, oris aditum penetrat alite praevia patefactum, et populato ventre, vitalibus dilancinatis erumpit. 20. Audax tamen crocodilus monstrum fugacibus; ubi audacem senserit, timidissimum; et in terra acutius cernens, per quattuor menses hibernos, nullo vesci dicitur cibo.

21. Hippopotami quoque generantur in illis partibus, ultra animalia cuncta ratione carentia sagacissimi, ad speciem equorum bifidos [5] unguis habentes, caudasque breves, quorum sollertiae duo interim ostendere documenta sufficiet. 22. Inter arundines celsas, ut squalentes nimia densitate, haec belua cubilibus positis, otium pervigili studio circumspectat, laxataque copia, ad segetes depascendas egreditur. Cumque iam coeperit redire distenta, aversis vestigiis distinguit tramites multos, ne unius

[1] *alvi*, Salmasius, Lind.; *alvis*, E²BG; *alveis*, V. [2] *serratis*, Gardt.; *certis*, V²EBG; *sertis*, V. [3] *cristis*, Salmasius; *crustis* (V², from *crussis*, V). [4] *enhydrus*, Salmasius; *hydrus hicheumonis*, V. [5] *bifidos unguis habentes*, Clark; *bifidas habentes ungulas*, Lind.; *unguis habentes* omitted by V.

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[1] As a matter of fact, the ichneumon destroys only the eggs of the crocodile; cf. Diod. Sic. i. 35, 7; Solinus, 32, 25, agrees with Ammianus, and in 32, 26, tells of the destruction of crocodiles by dolphins with sharp dorsal fins.

fierceness and become mild. 18. Besides those that lose their lives through accident, some are destroyed by creatures resembling dolphins, which are found in that same river and with sawlike dorsal fins tear the crocodiles' soft bellies; and others die in the following manner. 19. The trochilus, a little bird, as it looks for bits of food, flutters and plays about the crocodile as it lies outstretched, and pleasantly tickling its cheeks, makes its way as far as its throat. Seeing this going on, a water rat, a kind of ichneumon, enters the opening of the crocodile's mouth, to which the bird has shown the way, and after lacerating its belly and tearing its vitals to pieces, forces its way out.[1] 20. Yet daring as this monster is towards those who run from it, when it sees that it has a daring opponent it is most timorous. It has sharper sight when on land, and during the four winter months it is said to take no food.

21. Hippopotami also, or river-horses,[2] are produced in those parts, animals sagacious beyond all unreasoning beasts, with cloven hooves like horses and short tails. Of their cunning it will suffice for the present to give two instances. 22. This monster makes its lair amid a thick growth of high and rough reeds and with watchful care looks about for a time of quiet; when free means are offered, it goes forth to feed upon the cornfields. And when it has finally begun to return, gorged with

[2] Cf. Hdt. ii. 71; Diod. Sic. i. 35, 8; Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 95.

plani itineris lineas insidiatores secuti, repertum sine difficultate confodiant. 23. Item cum aviditate nimia extuberato ventre pigrescit, super calamos recens exsectos femora convolvit et crura, ut pedibus vulneratis cruor egestus sagina[1] distentum faciat levem: et partes saucias caeno oblinit quam diu in cicatrices conveniant plagae. 24. Has monstruosas antehac raritates in beluis, in aedilitate Scauri vidit Romanus populus primitus, patris illius Scauri, quem defendens Tullius imperat Sardis, ut de familia nobili ipsi quoque cum orbis terrarum auctoritate sentirent, et per aetates exinde plures saepe huc ducti, nunc inveniri nusquam possunt, ut coniectantes regionum incolae dicunt, insectantis multitudinis taedio ad Blemmyas migrasse compulsi.

25. Inter Aegyptias alites, quarum varietas nullo comprehendi numero potest, ibis sacra est et amabilis, et innocua ideo, quod nidulis suis ad cibum suggerens ova serpentum, efficit ut rarescant mortiferae pestes absumptae. 26. Occurrunt eaedem volucres pinnatis agminibus anguium, qui ex Arabicis emergunt paludibus, venena maligna gignentes,[2]

[1] *sagina distentum*, G; *inadestemtum*, V. [2] *maligna gignentes*, Clark; *malignantes*, VBG; *maligna manantes*, Her.

[1] We have fragments of the oration *Pro M. Aemilio Scauro*, delivered in 54 B.C. The Scaurus who gave magnificent games when aedile was the same as the one defended by Cicero. His father, who was an aedile in 123 B.C. was poor at the time, and nothing is said of his games, while those of his son were famous. Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 96, says: *eum (= hippopotamum) et quinque crocodilos Romae aedilitatis suae ludis M. Scaurus temporario euripo ostendit.* It seems natural to apply this to the man defended by Cicero, and *temporario euripo* may have been a feature of the temporary theatre which he built on that occasion.

food, it walks backward and makes several paths, for fear that hunters, following the lines of one direct course, may find and stab it without difficulty. 23. Also, when by excessive greed it has made its belly bulge and grown sluggish, it rolls its thighs and legs on freshly cut reeds, in order that the blood flowing from its wounded feet may relieve its repletion; and it keeps the injured parts covered with mud until the raw places scab over. 24. This monstrous and once rare kind of beast the Roman people first saw when Scaurus was aedile, the father of that Scaurus in whose defence Cicero spoke[1] and bade the Sardinians also to conform with the authority of the whole world in their judgement of so noble a family; and for many ages after that more hippopotami were often brought to Rome. But now they can nowhere be found, since, as the inhabitants of those regions conjecture, they were forced from weariness of the multitude that hunted them to take refuge in the land of the Blemmyae.[2]

25. Among Egyptian birds, the variety of which is countless, the ibis is sacred, harmless, and beloved for the reason that by carrying the eggs of serpents to its nestlings for food it destroys and makes fewer those destructive pests.[3] 26. These same birds meet the winged armies of snakes which issue from the marshes of Arabia, producing deadly poisons, and before they leave their own lands vanquish

[2] A people of Aethiopia, near the cataracts of the Nile.
[3] Cf. Cic., *Nat. Deo.* i. 36, 101.

eosque antequam finibus suis excedunt, proeliis superatos aeriis vorant, quas aves per rostra edere fetus accepimus. 27. Serpentes quoque Aegyptus alit innumeras, ultra omnem perniciem saevientes: basiliscos et amphisbaenas et scytalas, et acontias et dipsadas et viperas, aliasque complures, quas omnes magnitudine et decore aspis facile supereminens, numquam sponte sua fluenta egreditur Nili.[1]

28. Multa in illis tractibus pretium est operae ac maxima cernere;[2] e quibus pauca conveniet explicari. Templa ubique molibus magnis exstructa. Pyramides[3] ad miracula septem provectae, quarum diuturnas surgendi difficultates scriptor[4] Herodotus docet, ultra omnem[5] altitudinem, quae humana manu[6] confici potest, erectae sunt turres, ab imo latissimae in summitates acutissimas desinentes. 29. Quae figura apud geometras ideo sic appellatur, quod ad ignis speciem (τοῦ πυρὸς, ut nos dicimus) extenuatur in conum. Quarum magnitudo quoniam

[1] V has lac. of 18 letters after *Nili;* no lac. BG. [2] *ac maxima,* Her.; *maximum legere e,* G; *maximum cernere,* Haupt; *maxima aeger naequibus,* V. [3] *pyramides,* add. EAG; extensive lac. suspected by Her. and Clark. [4] *scriptor,* V²EBG; *auctor,* Her.; *ruptor,* V; Clark thinks *antiquitatum,* or something similar, has been lost. [5] *omnem omnino,* G; *omnem nominum,* V. [6] *humana manu,* Lind.; *humanis,* VBG (defended by Löfstedt).

[1] See Aristotle, *De Gen.* iii. 6.

[2] The basilisk was found principally in the Cyrenaica and got its name from a white spot on its head, resembling a diadem; Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 78. The *amphisbaenae* were so-called from moving forwards and backward. The *scytalae* were long and slender like a staff (σκυτάλη). The

them in battles in the air, and devour them. And it is said of those birds that they lay their eggs through their beaks.[1] 27. Egypt also breeds innumerable serpents, surpassing all their destructive kind in fierceness: basilisks, amphisbaenae, scytalae, acontiae, dipsades, vipers, and many others,[2] all of which are easily surpassed in size and beauty by the asp, which never of its own accord leaves the bed of the Nile.[3]

28. Many and great things there are in that land which it is worth while to see; of these it will be in place to describe a few. Everywhere temples of vast size have been erected. The Pyramids have been enrolled among the seven wonders of the world,[4] and of their slow and difficult construction the historian Herodotus tells us.[5] These are towers higher than any others which can be erected by human hands, extremely broad at the base and tapering to very pointed summits. 29. The figure pyramid has that name among geometers because it narrows into a cone after the manner of fire, which in our language is called πῦρ; for their size, as they mount to a vast height, gradually becomes slenderer,

acontiae are called by Pliny (viii. 85) by the Latin name *iaculus,* "javelin." The *dipsades* caused excessive thirst (δίψος). These snakes are not found in Egypt in modern times, and the ibis has gone to its native Aethiopia.

[3] Apparently a misunderstanding of Lucan, xi. 704 f., *ipsa caloris egens gelidum non transit in orbem sponte sua Niloque tenus metitur harenas,* "needing heat, the asp never of its own accord passes into cold regions, but traverses the desert as far as the Nile and no farther" (Lucan, *L.C.L.,* p. 557).

[4] The lists of these vary; see Gellius, I, p. 10, note 2, *L.C.L.* [5] ii. 124.

in celsitudinem nimiam scandens, graciliscit paulatim, umbras quoque mechanica ratione consumit.

30. Sunt et syringes subterranei quidam, et flexuosi secessus, quos (ut fertur) periti rituum vetustorum adventare diluvium praescii, metuentesque ne cerimoniarum oblitteraretur memoria, penitus operosis digestos fodinis per loca diversa struxerunt, et excisis parietibus volucrum ferarumque genera multa sculpserunt, et animalium [1] species innumeras illas,[2] quas hierographicas litteras appellarunt.[3]

31. Dein Syene, in qua solstitii tempore, quo sol aestivum cursum extendit, recta omnia ambientes radii excedere ipsis corporibus umbras non sinunt. Inde si [4] stipitem quisquam fixerit rectum, vel hominem aut arborem viderit stantem, circa lineamentorum ipsas extremitates contemplabitur umbras absumi, sicut apud Meroen, Aethiopiae partem aequinoctiali circulo proximam, dicitur evenire, ubi per nonaginta dies umbrae nostris in [5] contrarium cadunt, unde Antiscios eius incolas vocant. 32. Quae quoniam miracula multa sunt, opusculi nostri

[1] *inanimalium*, Madvig; *alius*, Gardt. [2] *illas*, Eyssen.; *multas*, V. [3] V has a lac. of 19 letters; no lac. in G. [4] *si*, added in EG; V omits. [5] *nostris in*, W[2], Lind.; *nostrae in*, BG; *nostrae*, omitting *in*, V.

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[1] This, of course, is true only when the sun stands directly over their tops.

[2] σύριγγες, xvii. 7, 11, note.

[3] Described in xvii. 4, 8 ff.

[4] Modern Assouan.

[5] That is, they cast no shadows. Macrobius, *Somn. Scip.* ii. 7, 15, limits this to *eo die quo sol certam partem ingreditur*

and also they cast no shadows at all, in accordance with a principle of mechanics.[1]

30. There are also subterranean fissures and winding passages called syringes,[2] which, it is said, those acquainted with the ancient rites, since they had fore-knowledge that a deluge was coming, and feared that the memory of the ceremonies might be destroyed, dug in the earth in many places with great labour; and on the walls of these caverns they carved many kinds of birds and beasts, and those countless forms of animals which they called hierographic writing.[3]

31. Then comes Syene,[4] where at the solstice, to which the sun extends its summer course, its rays surround all upright bodies and do not allow their shadows to extend beyond the bodies themselves.[5] At that time if one fixes a stake upright in the earth, or looks at a man or a tree standing anywhere, he will observe that the shadows are lost in the outer circumference of the figures. The same thing is said to happen at Meroë, a part of Aethiopia lying next to the equinoctial circle, where for ninety days the shadows fall on the side opposite to ours, for which reason those who dwell there are called Antiscii.[6] 32. But since there are many such wonders, which extend beyond the plan of my

Cancri, hora dies sexta; Strabo also limits the time to mid-day (xvii. 1, 48; *L.C.L.*, viii. p. 129).

[6] From ἀντί, "against," "opposite," and σκιά, "shadow." Ammianus means that the locality is so far south that the sun for a time casts shadows southwards; cf. Pliny, *N.H.* ii. 183, *per eos dies* xc *in meridiem umbras iaci,* "the shadows are turned towards the south."

propositum excedentia, ad ingenia celsa reiciamus, pauca super provinciis narraturi.

16. *De quinque Aegypti provinciis, deque claris eorum urbibus.*

1. Tres provincias Aegyptus fertur habuisse temporibus priscis, Aegyptum ipsam et Thebaida[1] et Libyam, quibus duas adiecit posteritas, ab Aegypto Augustamnicam et Pentapolim a Libya sicciore disparatam.

2. Igitur Thebais multas inter urbes clariores aliis Hermopolim habet, et Copton et Antinou, quam Hadrianus in honorem Antinoi ephebi condidit sui: hecatompylos[2] enim Thebas nemo ignorat.

3. In Augustamnica Pelusium est oppidum nobile, quod Peleus Achillis pater dicitur condidisse, lustrari deorum monitu iussus in lacu, qui eiusdem civitatis alluit moenia, cum post interfectum fratrem nomine Phocum, horrendis furiarum imaginibus raptaretur, et Cassium, ubi Pompei sepulcrum est Magni, et Ostracine et Rhinocorura.

4. In Pentapoli Libya Cyrene est posita, urbs antiqua sed deserta, quam Spartanus condidit Battus, et Ptolemais et Arsinoe (eadem quae Teuchira) et

[1] *Thebaida,* Clark; *Thebaidem,* Bent.; *Thebaidam.* V.
[2] *apud ecaton pylos,* V; *apud* deleted by Lind., Haupt; Eyssen. indicates lac. after *pylos; nemo non novit,* add. Lind.; *nemo ignorat,* by Haupt; *magnorum,* without lac. V.

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[1] I.e. Antinoū(polis), also called Antinupolis (see xviii. 9, 1). Antinupolis was not actually founded by Hadrian, but he enbellished and renamed it.
[2] Cf. xvii. 4, 2.

little work, let me refer them to lofty minds, since I wish to tell a few things about the provinces.

16. *Of the five provinces of Egypt and their famous cities.*

1. In early times Egypt is said to have had three provinces: Egypt proper, Thebaïs, and Libya. To these later times have added two: Augustamnica being taken from Egypt, and Pentapolis from the dryer part of Libya.

2. Now Thebaïs has these among cities that are especially famous: Hermopolis, Coptos and Antinoū,[1] which Hadrian founded[1] in honour of his favourite Antinoūs; for hundred-gated Thebes[2] everyone knows.

3. In Augustamnica is the famous city of Pelusium, which Peleus, the father of Achilles, is said to have founded, being bidden by order of the gods to purify himself in the lake which washes the walls of that city, when after the murder of his brother, Phocus by name, he was hounded by the dread forms of the furies;[3] also Cassium,[4] where is the tomb of Pompey the Great, and Ostracine, and Rhinocorura.

4. In Pentapolis-Libya is Cyrene, an ancient city, but deserted, founded by the Spartan Battus,[5] and Ptolemaïs, and Arsinoë, also called Teuchira, and

[3] All other writers say that Peleus was banished by his father Aeacus, and fled to Eurytus, son of Actor, who purified him; cf. Diod. Sic. iv. 72, 6.
[4] Also called Casium and containing a temple of Jupiter Casius. He was also worshipped in Syria; cf. 14, 4, above.
[5] Cf. Hdt. iv. 150 ff.; Strabo, xvii. 3, 21. The founder is sometimes called Aristaeus (Just. xiii. 7, 1).

Darnis et Berenice, quas Hesperidas appellant. 5. In sicciore vero Libye Paraetonion et Chaerecla et Neapolis inter municipia pauca et brevia.

6. Aegyptus ipsa, quae iam inde uti Romano imperio iuncta est, regio iure[1] regitur a praefectis, exceptis minoribus multis, Athribi et Oxyryncho et Thumi et Memphi maximis urbibus nitet.

7. Alexandria enim vertex omnium est civitatum, quam multa nobilitant et magnifica,[2] conditoris altissimi, et architecti sollertia Dinocratis, qui cum ampla moenia fundaret et pulchra, paenuria calcis ad[3] momentum parum repertae, omnes ambitus lineales farina respersit, quod civitatem post haec alimentorum uberi copia circumfluere fortuito monstravit. 8. Inibi aurae salubriter spirant, et[4] aer est[5] tranquillus et clemens atque, ut periculum docuit, per varias collectum aetates, nullo paene die incolentes hanc civitatem solem serenum non vident. 9. Hoc litus cum fallacibus et insidiosis accessibus affligeret antehac navigantes discriminibus plurimis, excogitavit in portu Cleopatra turrim excelsam, quae

[1] *regio iure regitur*, Val.; *regitur*, G; *regie regitur*, Gronov; *regio regitur*, V. [2] *magnifica*, V, restored by Pet.; *magnificentia*, G. [3] *am]pla . . . calcis id* (*ad*, Lind.), added in G; *cumam . . . monumentum*, V. [4] *spirant et*, Clark; *spirant*, Novák; *spirantes*, V. [5] *aer est*, Clark; *aer*, N²BG; *aer saepe*, Novák; *spirantes saepe tranquillus*, V.

Darnis and Berenice, which two they call Hesperidae. 5. But in dry Libya are Paraetonion, Chaerecla, Neapolis, and a few small towns.

6. Egypt itself, which from the time when it was joined with the Roman empire has been governed by prefects in place of kings,[1] is adorned by the great cities of Athribis, Oxyrynchus, Thumis, and Memphis, to say nothing of many lesser towns.

7. But the crown of all cities is Alexandria, which is made famous by many splendid things, through the wisdom of its mighty founder and by the cleverness of the architect Dinocrates. The latter, when laying out its extensive and beautiful walls, for lack of lime, of which too little could at the time be found, sprinkled the whole line of its circuit with flour,[2] which chanced to be a sign that later the city would abound with a plentiful store of food. 8. There healthful breezes blow, the air is calm and mild, and as the accumulated experience of many ages has shown, there is almost no day on which the dwellers in that city do not see a cloudless sun. 9. Since this coast in former times, because of its treacherous and perilous approaches, involved seafarers in many dangers, Cleopatra[3] devised a lofty tower in the harbour, which from its situation is called the

[1] Because of its importance as a grain supply; cf. Suet., *Jul.* 35, 1; Tac., *Hist.* i. 11. The *praefectus Aegypti* ranked next to the *praefectus praetorio* in the equestrian *cursus honorum*.

[2] Cf. Strabo, xvii. 1, 6 (at end); Plutarch, *Alex.* 26, 5 f.

[3] The pharos was the work of Sostrates of Cnidus, master-builder of Ptolemy Philadelphus. It was destroyed during the Alexandrine war, and rebuilt by Cleopatra.

Pharos a loco ipso cognominatur, praelucendi navibus nocturna suggerens ministeria, cum quondam ex Parthenio pelago venientes vel Libyco, per pandas oras et patulas,[1] montium nullas speculas vel collium signa cernentes, harenarum illisae glutinosae mollitiae frangerentur. 10. Haec eadem regina heptastadium sicut vix credenda celeritate, ita magnitudine mira construxit, ob causam notam et necessariam. Insula Pharos, ubi Protea cum phocarum gregibus diversatum Homerus fabulatur inflatius, a civitatis litore mille passibus disparata, Rhodiorum erat obnoxia vectigali. 11. Quod cum hi die quodam[2] nimium quantum petituri venissent, femina callida semper in fraudes, sollemnium specie feriarum eisdem publicanis secum ad suburbana perductis, opus iusserat inrequietis laboribus consummari, et septem diebus totidem stadia molibus iactis in mari solo propinquante,[3] terrae sunt vindicata; equorumque[4] cum vehiculo ingressa riserat[5] Rhodios, insularum non continentis portorium flagitantes.

12. His accedunt altis sufflata fastigiis templa, inter quae eminet Serapeum, quod licet minuatur

[1] *patulas*, Gruter from cod. Fauchetti; *peculas* (lac. of 8 letters at end of page), V. [2] *hi die quodam*, Momm.. *in die quodam*, vulgo; *in die quidam*, V (by a new scribe); [3] *mari solo propinquante*, Her.; *mare solo propinquanti*, V. [4] *equorumque*, Her.; *quocumque*, V. [5] *riserat*, Her.; *erat*, V.

[1] It was built on an island called Pharos; its height is estimated to have been about 360 feet, and its base 82 feet square. It stood until 1477 or 1478, when a fort was built from its material.

[2] A causeway seven stadia in length; "it is now, generally speaking, a mile wide, and forms a large part of the site of the modern city" (Strabo, *L.C.L.*, vol. viii. p. 27, n. 2. Cf. Strabo, xvii. 1, 6 (p. 792). This also is earlier than Cleopatra.

Pharos[1] and furnishes the means of showing lights to ships by night; whereas before that, as they came from the Parthenian or the Libyan sea past flat and low shores, seeing no landmarks of mountains or signs of hills, they were dashed upon the soft, tenacious sandbanks and wrecked. 10. This same queen built the Heptastadium,[2] remarkable alike for its great size and for the incredible speed with which it was constructed, for a well-known and sufficient reason. The island of Pharos, where Proteus, as Homer relates in lofty language,[3] lived with his herd of seals, lay a mile from the shore of the city, and was subject to tribute by the Rhodians. 11. When they had come one day to collect this tax, which was excessive, the queen, who was ever skilled in deception, under pretence of a solemn festival, took the same tax-collectors with her to the suburbs, and gave orders that the work should be completed by unremitting toil. In seven days, by building dams in the sea near the shore, the same number of stadia were won for the land; then the queen rode to the spot in a carriage drawn by horses, and laughed at the Rhodians, since it was on islands and not on the mainland that they imposed a duty.[4]

12. There are besides in the city temples pompous with lofty roofs, conspicuous among them the

[3] *Odyss.* iv. 400 ff.

[4] The language is somewhat obscure, but the meaning is clear. The Heptastadion connected the island of Pharos with the mainland, and so took away the right of the Rhodians to tax it as an island.

exilitate verborum, atriis tamen columnatis amplissimus, et spirantibus signorum figmentis, et reliqua operum multitudine ita est exornatum, ut post Capitolium, quo se venerabilis Roma in aeternum attollit, nihil orbis terrarum ambitiosius cernat. 13. In quo bybliothecae fuerunt inaestimabiles: et loquitur monumentorum veterum concinens fides, septingenta voluminum milia, Ptolomaeis regibus vigiliis intentis composita, bello Alexandrino, dum diripitur civitas, sub dictatore Caesare conflagrasse.

14. Canopus inde duodecimo disiungitur lapide, quem (ut priscae memoriae tradunt), Menelai gubernator sepultus ibi cognominavit. Amoenus[1] impendio locus, et diversoriis laetis exstructus, auris et salutari temperamento perflabilis, ita ut extra mundum nostrum morari se quisquam arbitretur, in illis tractibus agens, cum saepe aprico spiritu immurmurantes audierit ventos.

15. Sed Alexandria ipsa non sensim (ut aliae urbes), sed inter initia prima aucta per spatiosos ambitus internisque seditionibus diu aspere fatigata, ad ultimum multis post annis, Aureliano imperium agente, civilibus iurgiis ad certamina interneciva

[1] *amoenus*, Bent., C. F. W. M., Haupt; *hactenus*, V.

[1] Ammianus confuses two libraries, that of the Bruchion and that of the Serapeum. The former was founded by Ptolemy Soter (322-283 B.C.) and in the time of Callimachus contained 490,000 volumes; the Serapeum, founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247 B.C.), contained 42,800. At the time of the battle of Pharsalia the total number was 532,800 and it may have reached 700,000 by the time of the Alexandrine war. Antony gave Cleopatra 200,000 volumes that had been collected in Pergamum. The damage done by Caesar has been greatly exaggerated. Strabo, who visited Alexandria twenty-three years later, found the Museum intact. The Bruchion library was destroyed A.D. 272; the Serapeum in A.D. 391. 400,000 volumes were destroyed in the Alexandrine war. See especially J. W. White, *The Scholia on the Aves of Aristophanes*, Introd.

Serapeum, which, though feeble words merely belittle it, yet is so adorned with extensive columned halls, with almost breathing statues, and a great number of other works of art, that next to the Capitolium, with which revered Rome elevates herself to eternity, the whole world beholds nothing more magnificent. 13. In this were invaluable libraries, and the unanimous testimony of ancient records declares that 700,000 books, brought together by the unremitting energy of the Ptolemaic kings, were burned in the Alexandrine war, when the city was sacked under the dictator Caesar.[1]

14. At a distance of twelve miles from Alexandria is Canopus, which, according to the statements of ancient writers, got its name from the burial there of Menelaüs' steersman. The place is most delightful because of its beautiful pleasure-resorts, its soft air and healthful climate, so that anyone staying in that region believes that he is living outside of this world, as oftentimes he hears the winds that murmur a welcome with sunny breath.

15. But Alexandria herself, not gradually (like other cities), but at her very origin, attained her wide extent; and for a long time she was greviously troubled by internal dissensions, until at last, many years later under the rule of Aurelian,[2] the quarrels of the citizens turned into deadly strife; then her

[2] In A.D. 272.

prolapsis, dirutisque moenibus, amisit regionum[1] maximam partem, quae Bruchion appellabatur, diuturnum praestantium hominum domicilium. 16. Unde Aristarchus grammaticae rei dumis[2] excellens, et Herodianus artium minutissimus sciscitator, et Saccas Ammonius Plotini magister, aliique plurimi scriptores multorum in litteris nobilium studiorum, inter quos Chalcenterus eminuit Didymus, multiplicis scientiae copia[3] memorabilis, qui in illis sex libris, ubi non numquam imperfecte Tullium reprehendit, sillographos imitatus, scriptores maledicos,[4] iudicio doctarum aurium incusatur, ut immania frementem leonem trepidulis[5] vocibus canis catulus longius circumlatrans. 17. Et quamquam veteres cum his quorum memini floruere complures, tamen ne nunc quidem in eadem urbe doctrinae variae silent; nam et disciplinarum magistri quodam modo spirant, et nudatur ibi geometrico radio quicquid reconditum latet, nondumque apud eos penitus exaruit musica, nec harmonia conticuit, et recalet apud quosdam adhuc (licet raros[6]), consideratio mundani motus et siderum, doctique sunt alii numeros; pauci super his scientiam callent, quae

[1] *regionum*, V; restored by Bent.; *regionis*, Val.
[2] *dumis*, Her., cf. *Anth. Pal.* xi. 322, 347; *doctrinis*, G; *dotibus*, Pet.; *domis*, V.
[3] *copia*, Bent., M. Schmidt, Haupt; *copti*, V.
[4] *scriptores maledicos*, regarded as a gloss by Corn.; *male edi eos*, V.
[5] *trepidulis*, Her. from Gell. ii. 29, 8; *putredulis*, P; *stridulis*, Corn.; *pitredulis*, V.
[6] *raros*, Lind., Val; *atros*, V.

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[1] This included at least a fourth part of the city, and contained the royal palace.

walls were destroyed and she lost the greater part of the district called Bruchion,[1] which had long been the abode of distinguished men. 16. From there came Aristarchus,[2] eminent in thorny problems of grammatical lore, and Herodian,[3] a most accurate investigator in science and Saccas Ammonius, the teacher of Plotinus, and numerous other writers in many famous branches of literature. Among these Didymus Chalcenterus[4] was conspicuous for the abundance of his diversified knowledge, although in those six books in which he sometimes unsuccessfully criticises Cicero, imitating the scurrilous writers of Silli,[5] he makes the same impression on learned ears as a puppy-dog barking from a distance with quavering voice around a lion roaring awfully. 17. And although very many writers flourished in early times as well as these whom I have mentioned, nevertheless not even to-day is learning of various kinds silent in that same city; for the teachers of the arts show signs of life, and the geometrical measuring-rod brings to light whatever is concealed, the stream of music is not yet wholly dried up among them, harmony is not reduced to silence, the consideration of the motion of the universe and of the stars is still kept warm with some, few though they be, and there are others who are skilled in numbers; and a few besides are versed in the knowledge which reveals the course

[2] The celebrated critic, born in Samothrace; he lived under Ptolemy Philometor (181-146 B.C.).
[3] Also a grammarian.
[4] This scholar (65 B.C.–*circ.* A.D. 10) was surnamed Χαλκέντερος, "of the brazen guts," because of his tireless industry; see also Index.
[5] Satirical poems; cf. Gell. iii. 17, 4 f.

fatorum vias ostendit. 18. Medicinae autem—cuius in hac vita nostra nec parca nec sobria, desiderantur adminicula crebra—ita studia augentur in dies ut (licet opus ipsum redoleat)[1] pro omni tamen experimento sufficiat medico ad commendandam artis auctoritatem, Alexandriae si[2] se dixerit eruditum. 19. Et haec quidem hactenus. Sed si[3] intellegendi divini editionem multiplicem, et praesensionum originem mente vegeta quisquam volverit replicare, per mundum omnem inveniet mathemata[4] huius modi ab Aegypto circumlata, 20. Ibi[5] primum homines longe ante alios ad varia religionum incunabula (ut dicitur) pervenerunt et initia prima sacrorum caute tuentur condita scriptis[6] arcanis. 21. Hac institutus prudentia Pythagoras colens secretius deos, quicquid dixit aut voluit auctoritatem esse instituit ratam, et femur suum aureum apud Olympiam saepe monstrabat, et cum aquila colloquens subinde visebatur. 22. Hinc Anaxagoras lapides e caelo lapsuros et putealem limum contrectans, tremores futuros praedixerat terrae. Et Solon sententiis adiutus Aegypti sacredotum, latis iusto moderamine legibus, Romano quoque iuri maximum addidit firmamentum. Ex his[7] fontibus

[1] *redoleat*, V; *refellat*, Haupt; *edoceat*, Corn. [2] *si*, added in G before *Alexandriae; si arbitrii*, Momm.; V omits. [3] *si*, added in G; V omits. [4] *inveniet mathemata*, G; *inveniet cuncta* or *universa*, Her.; *inveni* (lac. of 11 letters) *a*, V. [5] *ibi*, addidi; *ubi*, Her.; *hic*, G. [6] *scriptis*, cod. Fauchetii; *scribis*, WBG; *scribus*, V. [7] *Iesus* (*ihs*) added by A. de Gutschmidt.

[1] Wishing to represent himself as the equal of Apollo. Iamblichus, *De Vita Pyth.* xxviii. 135, Nauck, τὸν μηρὸν χρύσεον ἐπέδειξεν Ἀβάριδι τῷ Ὑπερβορέῳ, εἰκάσαντι αὐτὸν

of the fates. 18. Moreover, studies in the art of healing, whose help is often required in this life of ours, which is neither frugal nor sober, are so enriched from day to day, that although a physician's work itself indicates it, yet in place of every testimony it is enough to commend his knowledge of the art, if he has said that he was trained at Alexandria. 19. But enough on this point. If one wishes to investigate with attentive mind the many publications on the knowledge of the divine, and the origin of divination, he will find that learning of this kind has been spread abroad from Egypt through the whole world, 20. There, for the first time, long before other men, they discovered the cradles, so to speak, of the various religions, and now carefully guard the first beginnings of worship, stored up in secret writings. 21. Trained in this wisdom, Pythagoras, secretly honouring the gods, made whatever he said or believed recognised authority, and often showed his golden thigh at Olympia,[1] and let himself be seen from time to time talking with an eagle. 22. From here Anaxagoras foretold a rain of stones, and by handling mud from a well predicted an earthquake. Solon, too, aided by the opinions of the Egyptian priests, passed laws in accordance with the measure of justice, and thus gave also to Roman law its greatest support.[2] On this source, Plato

Ἀπόλλωνα εἶναι τὸν ἐν Ὑπερβορέοις, οὗπερ ἦν ἱερεὺς ὁ Ἄβαρις. This was one of the many absurd fictions of the Neo-Platonic writers.

[2] Cf. Hdt. 1, 30, who says that Solon did not come to Egypt until after he had made his laws; see also Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*. The Romans are said to have made use of his code in compiling the XII Tables.

per sublimia gradiens, sermonum amplitudine Iouis aemulus Platon,[1] visa Aegypto militavit sapientia gloriosa.

23. Homines autem Aegyptii plerique subfusculi sunt et atrati, magisque maestiores, gracilenti et aridi, ad singulos motus excandescentes, controversi et reposcones acerrimi. Erubescit apud eos siqui non infitiando tributa, plurimas in corpore vibices ostendat. Et nulla tormentorum vis inveniri adhuc potuit, quae obdurato illius tractus latroni invito elicere potuit, ut nomen proprium dicat.

24. Id autem notum est (ut annales veteres monstrant), quod Aegyptus omnis sub avitis[2] erat antea regibus, sed superatis apud Actium bello navali Antonio et Cleopatra, provinciae nomen accepit, ab Octaviano Augusto possessa. Aridiorem Libyam supremo Apionos regis consecuti sumus arbitrio, Cyrenas cum residuis civitatibus Libyae Pentapoleos, Ptolomaei liberalitate suscepimus. Evectus longius ad ordinem remeabo coeptorum.

[1] *Platon*, Val.; *non*, V (retained by A. de G.). [2] *avitis*, Pet. in Index; *amicis*, V.

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[1] Of thought. [2] Or "gloomier than *magi* are."
[3] It differed, however, from other provinces, in being ruled by a prefect of equestrian rank. See 16, 6, note.

drew and after visiting Egypt, traversed higher regions,[1] and rivalled Jupiter in lofty language, gloriously serving in the field of wisdom.

23. Now the men of Egypt are, as a rule, somewhat swarthy and dark of complexion, and rather gloomy-looking,[2] slender and hardy, excitable in all their movements, quarrelsome, and most persistent duns. Any one of them would blush if he did not, in consequence of refusing tribute, show many stripes on his body; and as yet it has been possible to find no torture cruel enough to compel a hardened robber of that region against his will to reveal his own name.

24. Moreover, it is a well-known fact, as the ancient annals show, that all Egypt was formerly ruled by their ancestral kings; but after Antony and Cleopatra were vanquished in the sea-fight at Actium, the country fell into the power of Octavianus Augustus and received the name of a province.[3] We acquired the dryer part of Libya by the last will of King Apion; we received Cyrene, with the remaining cities of Libya-Pentapolis, through the generosity of Ptolemy.[4] After this long digression, I shall return to the order of my narrative.

[4] This Ptolemy is identical with (Ptolemaeus) Apion just mentioned, following, as the similarity in language indicates, Rufius Festus, *Brev.* 13. *Cyrenas . . . antiquioris Ptolomaei liberalitate suscepimus; Libyam supremo Apionis regis arbitrio sumus adsecuti.* Ptolemaeus Apion, king of Cyrene, died in 96 B.C., but Cyrene first became a Roman province in 74 B.C.; cf. Eutropius, vi. 11, 2, *qui rex eius* (= *Cyrenae*) fuerat.

LIBER XXIII

1. *Iulianus A. templum apud Hierosolyma pridem dirutum, frustra instaurare conatur.*

1. Haec eo anno (ut[1] praetereamus negotiorum minutias) agebantur. Iulianus vero iam[2] tertio[3] consul, adscito in collegium trabeae Sallustio praefecto per Gallias, quater ipse amplissimum inierat magistratum et videbatur novum adiunctum esse Augusto privatum, quod post Diocletianum et Aristobulum, nullus meminerat gestum. 2. Et licet accidentium varietatem sollicita mente praecipiens, multiplicatos expeditionis apparatus flagranti studio perurgeret, diligentiam tamen ubique dividens,[4] imperiique sui memoriam, magnitudine operum gestiens propagare, ambitiosum quondam apud Hierosolymam templum, quod post multa et interneciva certamina, obsidente Vespasiano, posteaque Tito, aegre est expugnatum, instaurare sumptibus cogitabat immodicis, negotiumque maturandum Alypio dederat Antiochensi qui olim Britannias curaverat pro praefectis. 3. Cum itaque rei idem fortiter instaret Alypius, iuvaretque provinciae rector, metuendi globi flammarum prope fundamenta crebris assultibus erumpentes, fecere locum exustis aliquotiens operantibus inaccessum, hocque modo elemento destinatius repellente, cessavit inceptum.

[1] *ut*, added by BG; V omits. [2] *iam*, added by Bent. [3] *tertio*, Her. c.c.; *ter*, V. [4] *dividens*, Val.; *diffundens*, Bent.; *diffidens*, V.; perhaps *diffindens*.

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[1] In 363. [2] In 285.

BOOK XXIII

1. *Julianus Augustus vainly tries to restore the temple at Jerusalem, which had been destroyed long before.*

1. These were the events of that year, to pass over minor details. But Julian, who had already been consul three times, assumed the chief magistracy for the fourth time, taking as his colleague in the office Sallustius, prefect of Gaul.[1] And for a private citizen to be associated with the reigning emperor seemed an innovation which no one recalled to have been made since Diocletian and Aristobulus.[2] 2. And although he weighed every possible variety of events with anxious thought, and pushed on with burning zeal the many preparations for his campaign, yet turning his activity to every part, and eager to extend the memory of his reign by great works, he planned at vast cost to restore the once splendid temple at Jerusalem, which after many mortal combats during the siege by Vespasian and later by Titus, had barely been stormed. He had entrusted the speedy performance of this work to Alypius of Antioch, who had once been vice-prefect of Britain. 3. But, though this Alypius pushed the work on with vigour, aided by the governor of the province, terrifying balls of flame kept bursting forth near the foundations of the temple, and made the place inaccessible to the workmen, some of whom were burned to death; and since in this way the element persistently repelled them, the enterprise halted.

4. Eisdem diebus, legatos ad se missos ab urbe aeterna, clare natos meritisque probabilis vitae compertos, imperator honoribus diversis affecit. Et Apronianum Romae decrevit esse praefectum, Octavianum proconsulem Africae, Venusto vicariam commisit Hispaniae, Rufinum Aradium comitem Orientis, in locum avunculi sui Iuliani, recens defuncti, provexit. 5. Quibus ut convenerat ordinatis, terrebatur omine quodam, ut docuit exitus, praesentissimo. Felice enim largitionum comite profluvio sanguinis repente exstincto, eumque comite Iuliano secuto, vulgus publicos contuens titulos, Felicem Iulianum Augustumque pronuntiabat. 6. Praecesserat aliud scaevum[1]; namque kalendis ipsis Ianuariis ascendente eo gradile Genii templum, e sacerdotum consortio quidam ceteris diuturnior, nullo pulsante, repente concidit animamque insperato casu efflavit, quod adstantes (incertum per imperitiam an adulandi cupiditate), memorabant consulum seniori portendi, nimirum Sallustio, sed (ut apparuit) non aetati sed potestati maiori, interitum propinquare monstrabat.[2] 7. Super his alia quoque minora signa subinde quod acciderat[3] ostendebant. Inter ipsa enim exordia

[1] *scaevum*, Brakman; *saevum*, V. [2] *monstrabat* Bent.; *monstrabatur*, A; *monstrabant*, V. [3] *quod acciderat*, V; *quid accideret*, T[2]; *quid accidet*, Novák.

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[1] Cf. xxix. 3, 4.

[2] A grim jest of the people of Antioch. The official inscriptions read: *D(ominus) N(oster) Claudius Iulianus P(ius) F(elix) Augustus*. The people omitted some words and read: "Felix, Iulianus, Augustus," implying that Augustus (i.e. Julian) would follow Felix and Count Julianus to the grave.

4. At that same time envoys were sent to him from the eternal city, men illustrious by birth and approved by the services of a commendable life, on whom the emperor conferred various honours. Apronianus he appointed prefect of Rome, and Octavianus[1] proconsular governor of Africa; to Venustus he entrusted the vice-governorship of Spain, Rufinus Aradius he raised to the rank of Count of the Orient in room of his uncle Julian, who had recently died. 5. When these matters had been arranged as planned, he was alarmed by an omen which, as the result showed, was most trustworthy. For when Felix, head of the public treasury, had suddenly died of a haemorrhage, and Count Julian had followed him to the grave, the people as they looked at the public inscriptions, uttered the names as Felix, Julianus and Augustus.[2] 6. Another unlucky thing had happened before this; for just on the Kalends of January, as the emperor was mounting the steps of the temple of the Genius,[3] one of the college of priests who was older than the rest suddenly, without being pushed, fell and died of the unlooked-for accident. The bystanders—whether through ignorance or desire to flatter is uncertain—said that this surely pointed to Sallustius, the elder of the two consuls; but (as was evident) it showed that death was approaching, not the man of greater age, but the higher in rank. 7. Besides these, other lesser signs also indicated from time to time what came to pass. For amid the very beginning of the

[3] That is, the Genius of the Roman people; cf. xxii. 11, 8 for another at Alexandria.

procinctus Parthici disponendi, nuntiatum est Constantinopolim terrae pulsu vibratam: quod horum periti minus laetum esse pronuntiabant aliena pervadere molienti rectori. Ideoque intempestivo conatu desistere suadebant, ita demum haec et similia contemni oportere firmantes, cum irruentibus armis externis, lex una sit et perpetua, salutem omni ratione defendere, nihil remittentem[1] vigoris.[2] Eisdem diebus nuntiatum est ei per litteras, Romae super hoc bello libros Sibyllae consultos, ut iusserat, imperatorem eo anno discedere a limitibus suis, aperto prohibuisse responso.

2. *Arsacem idem Armeniae regem ad bellum Persicum parari iubet, et cum exercitu ac Scytharum auxiliis transit Euphratem.*

1. Inter haec tamen legationes gentium plurimarum auxilia pollicentium, liberaliter susceptae remittebantur, speciosa fiducia principe respondente, nequaquam decere adventiciis adiumentis rem vindicari Romanam, cuius opibus foveri conveniret amicos et socios, si auxilium eos adegerit necessitas implorare. 2. Solum Arsacem monuerat Armeniae regem, ut collectis copiis validis, iubenda operiretur, quo tenderet, quid deberet urgere, propere cogniturus. Proinde cum primam consultae rationes

[1] *remittentem*, Madvig; *renitente*, BG; *remittente*, V.
[2] *vigoris*, Madvig; *vi moris*, BG; *vi mortis*, Lind.; *vim oris*, V.

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[1] Cf. xxi. 6, 8.

preparations for the Parthian campaign word came that Constantinople had been shaken by an earthquake, which those skilled in such matters said was not a favourable omen for a ruler who was planning to invade another's territory. And so they tried to dissuade Julian from the untimely enterprise, declaring that these and similar signs ought to be disregarded only in the case of attack by an enemy, when the one fixed rule is, to defend the safety of the State by every possible means and with unremitting effort. Just at that time it was reported to him by letter, that at Rome the Sibylline books had been consulted about this war, as he had ordered, and had given the definite reply that the emperor must not that year leave his frontiers.

2. *Julian, after ordering Arsaces, king of Armenia, to get ready for a Persian war, crosses the Euphrates with his army and with Scythian auxiliaries.*

1. Meanwhile, however, embassies from many nations which promised aid were cordially received and sent back; for the emperor with laudable confidence replied, that it was by no means fitting for the Roman State to defend itself by means of foreign aid, since its duty was rather by its power to protect its friends and allies, if necessity forced them to apply for help. 2. Arsaces only, the king of Armenia,[1] did he order to muster a strong army and await his orders, since he would shortly learn to what place he was to march and what he ought to push forward. Thereupon, as soon as regard for

copiam praebuissent, rumore praecurso, hostiles occupare properans terras, nondum adulto vere, missa per militares numeros expeditionali tessera cunctos transire iussit Euphraten. 3. Quo comperto omnes evolant ex hibernis, transmissique (ut textus docebat scriptorum), dispersi per stationes varias adventum principis exspectabant. Ipse autem Antiochiam egressurus, Heliopoliten quendam Alexandrum, Syriacae iuris dictioni praefecit, turbulentum et saevum; dicebatque non illum meruisse, sed Antiochensibus avaris et contumeliosis huius modi iudicem convenire. 4. Cumque eum profecturum deduceret multitudo promiscua, itum felicem reditumque gloriosum exoptans, oransque ut deinde placabilis esset et lenior, nondum ira, quam ex compellationibus et probris conceperat, emollita, loquebatur asperius, se esse eos asserens postea non visurum. 5. Disposuisse enim aiebat, hiemandi gratia per compendiariam viam, consummato procinctu, Tarsum Ciliciae reversurum, scripsisseque ad Memorium praesidem, ut in eadem urbe cuncta usui [1] congrua pararentur. Et hoc haud diu postea contigit. Corpus namque eius illuc relatum exsequiarum humili pompa, in suburbano sepultum est, ut ipse mandarat.

6. Iamque apricante caelo tertium nonas Martias profectus, Hierapolim solitis itineribus venit. Ubi

[1] *usui*, Bent., Kellerbauer, Kiess.; *sui*, VBA.

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[1] See xxi. 5, 13, note. [2] Cf. xxv. 9, 12. [3] Cf. xxi. 13, 8.

prudence offered the opportunity, he hastened to invade the enemy's country, outstripping the report of his coming; and spring had barely arrived, when he ordered all to cross the Euphrates, sending marching orders [1] to every division of his army. 3. As soon as this was known, all hastened from their winter quarters, and having crossed as their written orders directed, they dispersed to their several posts and awaited the coming of the emperor. He himself, when on the point of leaving Antioch, appointed as governor of Syria a certain Alexander of Heliopolis, who was hot-tempered and cruel; and he said that the man did not deserve the post, but was the kind of judge proper for the avaricious and rebellious people of Antioch. 4. And when a crowd of all conditions of men escorted him as he was leaving the city, wishing him a successful march and a glorious return, and begging that in the future he might be more placable and mild, since the anger which their attacks and insults had aroused was not yet assuaged, he replied harshly, saying that they would never see him again. 5. For he said that he had arranged when the campaign was finished to return by a shorter route to Tarsus in Cilicia for the purpose of wintering, and that he had written to Memorius, the governor of that city, to prepare everything that was necessary for his use. And this not long afterwards came to pass; for his body was brought back there, and he was buried in a suburb of the city with simple rites, as he himself had directed.[2]

6. And when the season was now sunny, he set out on the fifth of March, and came by the usual route to Hierapolis.[3] There, as he was entering the

cum introierit civitatis capacissimae portas, sinistra porticus subito lapsa, subter tendentes quinquaginta milites exceptis plurimis vulneratis, tignorum tegularumque pondere magno collisit. 7. Unde contractis copiis omnibus, Mesopotamiam[1] propere signa commovit, ut fama de se nulla praeversa—id enim curatius observarat,—improvisus Assyrios occuparet. Denique cum exercitu et Scytharum auxiliis, Euphrate navali ponte transmisso, venit ad Batnas, municipium Osdroenae, ibique illaetabile portentum offendit. 8. Cum enim calonum frequens multitudo ad suscipiendum consuete pabulum prope acervum palearum stetisset, impendio celsum—hoc enim modo per regiones illas tales species construuntur,—rapientibus multis, quassata congeries inclinata est, parique exitio quinquaginta obruit homines, mole maxima ruinarum.

3. *Iuliano A. per Mesopotamiam iter facienti Saracenarum gentium reguli coronam auream et auxilia ultro offerunt; classis Romana milli et centum navium adveniens consternit Euphratem.*

1. Maestus exinde digressus, venit cursu propero Carras, antiquum oppidum, Crassorum et Romani exercitus aerumnis insigne. Unde duae ducentes Persidem viae regiae distinguuntur, laeva per Adiabenam et Tigridem, dextra per Assyrios et Euphraten.

[1] *Mesopotamiam iam*, V; *tam*, Lind.; deleted by Novák as dittography; put before *contractis* by Her.

[1] Cf. xiv. 3, 3.
[2] Marcus Crassus, the triumvir, and his son Publius in 53 B.C.; cf. Florus, i. 46, 11, etc.

gates of the great city, a colonnade on his left suddenly collapsed and crushed with a great weight of timbers and tiles fifty soldiers who were encamped under it, besides wounding many more. 7. Then, uniting all his forces, he marched to Mesopotamia so rapidly that, since no report of his coming had preceded him (for he had carefully guarded against that), he came upon the Assyrians unawares. Finally, having crossed the Euphrates on a bridge of boats, he arrived with his army and his Scythian auxiliaries at Batnae,[1] a town of Osdroëne, where he met with a sad portent. 8. For when a great throng of ostlers, in order to get fodder as usual, had taken their place near a very high stack of chaff (such as are commonly constructed in that country), since many at once laid hold on what they wanted, the heap was broken and gave way, and fifty men at once met death by being buried under the huge mass that fell upon them.

3. *As Julianus Augustus marches through Mesopotamia, the princes of the Saracen nations of their own accord offer him a golden crown and auxiliary troops. A Roman fleet of* 1100 *ships arrives and bridges the Euphrates.*

1. Departing from there in sorrow, by a forced march he came to Carrae, an ancient town, notorious for the disaster of the Crassi and the Roman army.[2] From there two different royal highways lead to Persia: the one on the left through Adiabene and over the Tigris; the other, on the right, through

2. Ibi moratus aliquot dies, dum necessaria parat, et Lunae (quae religiose per eos colitur tractus), ritu locorum fert sacra, dicitur ante aras, nullo arbitrorum admisso occulte paludamentum purpureum propinquo suo tradidisse Procopio, mandasseque arripere fidentius principatum, si se interisse didicerit apud Parthos. 3. Hic Iuliani quiescentis animus agitatus insomniis,[1] eventurum triste aliquid praesagibat.[2] Quocirca et ipse et visorum interpretes, praesentia contemplantes, diem secutum, qui erat quartum decimum kalendas Aprilis, observari debere pronuntiabant. Verum ut compertum est postea, hac [3] eadem nocte Palatini Apollinis templum, praefecturam regente Aproniano, in urbe conflagravit aeterna, ubi ni multiplex iuvisset auxilium, etiam Cumana carmina consumpserat magnitudo flammarum.

4. Post quae ita digesta, agmina et commeatus omnis generis disponenti[4] imperatori, procursatorum[5] adventu anhelantium etiam tum indicatur, equestres hostium turmas vicino limite quodam perrupto, avertisse subito praedas. 5. Cuius atrocitate mali perculsus, ilico (ut ante cogitaverat) triginta milia

[1] *insomniis*, Lind.; *insomnis*, V. [2] *praesagibat*, Her.; *praesagiebat*, NBG; *praesagebat*, V. [3] *hac*, E, Lind.; omitted by BG; *haec*, V. [4] *disponenti*, Lind.; *principi d.*, Novák; *disponendi*, V. [5] *imperatori procursatorum*, Pet.; *procursatorum*, G, Novák (cf. note 2); *perparo cursatorum*, V.

[1] These Sibylline books had been kept in the pedestal of the statue of Apollo, in accordance with the desire of

Assyria and across the Euphrates. 2. Having delayed there several days for necessary preparations, and to offer sacrifices according to the native rites to the Moon, which is religiously venerated in that region, before the altar, with no witness present, Julian is said secretly to have handed his purple mantle to his relative Procopius, and to have ordered him boldly to assume the rule, if he learned that the emperor had died among the Parthians. 3. Here, as Julian slept, his mind was disturbed by dreams, which made him think that some sorrow would come to him. Therefore, both he himself and the interpreters of dreams, considering the present conditions, declared that the following day, which was the nineteenth of March, ought to be carefully watched. But, as was afterwards learned, it was on that same night that the temple of the Palatine Apollo, under the prefecture of Apronianus, was burned in the eternal city; and if it had not been for the employment of every possible help, the Cumaean books [1] also would have been destroyed by the raging flames.

4. After these matters were thus arranged, just as Julian was busy with the army and in getting supplies of every kind, it was reported to him by scouts who arrived in breathless haste, that some bands of the enemy's horsemen had suddenly broken through a part of the neighbouring frontier and carried off booty. 5. Startled by this cruel disaster, Julian (as he had previously planned) instantly put 30,000 picked men under the command of the

Augustus, who built the temple. See Suet., *Aug.* xxxi. 1 (*L.C.L.*, i. 170).

lectorum militum eidem commisit Procopio, iuncto ad parilem potestatem Sebastiano comite ex duce Aegypti, eisdemque praecepit, ut intra Tigridem interim agerent, vigilanter omnia servaturi, nequid inopinum ex incauto latere oreretur, qualia multa saepe didicerat evenisse, mandabatque eis ut (si fieri potius posset), regi sociarentur Arsaci, cumque eo per Corduenam et Moxoenam, Chiliocomo uberi Mediae tractu, partibusque aliis praestricto cursu vastatis, apud Assyrios adhuc agenti sibi concurrerent, necessitatum articulis adfuturi.

6. His ita ordinatis, ipse exitu simulato per Tigrim,[1] quod iter etiam re cibaria de industria iusserat instrui, flexit dextrorsus, et quieta nocte emensa, mane iumentum quo veheretur ex usu poposcit, oblatusque ei equus Babylonius nomine, ictu torminum[2] consternatus, dum dolorum impatiens volvitur, auro lapillisque ornamenta distincta conspersit. Quo ostento laetior exclamavit, plaudentibus proximis, Babylona humi procidisse ornamentis omnibus spoliatam. 7. Et paulisper detentus, ut omen per hostias litando firmaret, Davanam venit castra praesidiaria, unde ortus Belias fluvius funditur in Euphraten. Hic corporibus cibo curatis et quiete, postridie ventum est ad Callinicum, munimentum robustum et commercandi opimitate

[1] *Tigrim*, NBG; *Tigridem*, Gardt.; *Tigrum*, V.
[2] *torminum*, Bent.; *torminis*, C²BG; *tormini*, V.

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[1] Cf. xviii. 6, 20; modern Turkestan.
[2] In Armenia.
[3] It was really in Assyria.

aforesaid Procopius, and joined to him with equal powers Sebastianus, formerly a military commander in Egypt, and now a count, with orders to keep for the present on this side of the Tigris and to watch carefully everywhere and see that nothing unexpected should happen on the unprotected side, such as he had heard had often occurred. And he gave the order that (if it could be done to greater advantage) they should join King Arsaces, march with him through Corduene[1] and Moxoëne,[2] lay waste in passing by Chiliocomum, a fruitful region of Media,[3] and other places, and meet him while he was still in Assyria, so as to aid him in cases of necessity.

6. After these arrangements had thus been made, he himself feigned a march across the Tigris, an expedition for which he had also ordered supplies to be carefully prepared, but then turned to the right and, after passing a quiet night, called next morning for the mount which he usually rode. And when the horse, called Babylonius, was brought to him, it was laid low by a missile from the artillery, and as it rolled on the ground in unbearable pain, it scattered about its ornaments, which were adorned with gold and precious stones. Delighted by this omen, Julian cried out amid expressions of joy from the bystanders, that Babylon had fallen to the ground, stripped of all its adornments. 7. Then delaying for a time, in order to confirm the omen by favourable signs from victims, he came to the fortified camp of Davana at the source of the river Belias, a tributary of the Euphrates. Here we rested and took food, and on the following day arrived at Callinicum, a strong fortress, and most welcome because of its

gratissimum, ubi diem sextum kalendas Apriles,[1] quo Romae Matri deorum pompae celebrantur annuales, et carpentum, quo vehitur simulacrum, Almonis undis ablui perhibetur, sacrorum sollemnitate prisco more completa, somno per otium capto, exsultans pernoctavit et laetus. 8. Luce vero secuta, profectus exinde per supercilia riparum fluvialium, aquis adulescentibus undique[2] convenis, cum armigera gradiens manu, in statione quadam sub pellibus mansit, ubi Saracenarum reguli gentium, genibus supplices nixi, oblata ex auro corona, tamquam mundi nationumque suarum dominum adorarunt, suscepti gratanter, ut ad furta bellorum appositi. 9. Dumque hos alloquitur, Xerxis illius potentissimi regis instar, classis advenit, tribuno Constantiano cum comite Lucilliano ductante, quae latissimum flumen Euphraten artabat, in qua mille erant onerariae naves, ex diversa trabe confectae,[3] commeatus abunde ferentes, et tela, et obsidionales etiam[4] machinas, quinquaginta aliae bellatrices, totidemque ad compaginandos necessariae pontes.

4. *Descriptiones muralium machinarum, ballistae, scorpionis vel onagri, arietis, helepoleos, ac malleoli.*

1. Re ipsa admoneor, breviter quantum mediocre potest ingenium, haec instrumentorum genera

[1] *Apriles*, added by Kiessling; V omits. [2] *undique*, Lind.; *unde quae*, V. [3] *confectae*, Momm.; *contextae*, HNG; *contectae*, V. [4] *etiam*, addidi c.c. This seems preferable to *alias* (see *Amer. Jour. of Phil.* lvii. 137 ff.) because of *aliae* in the next line. *alias* represents the usage referred to in *A.J.P.*

rich trade. There, on the twenty-seventh of March, the day on which at Rome the annual procession in honour of the Mother of the Gods takes place, and the carriage in which her image is carried is washed, as it is said, in the waters of the Almo, he celebrated the usual rites in the ancient fashion and spent the night in peaceful sleep, happy and full of confidence. 8. The next day he marched on from there along the brow of the river-banks, since the waters were rising from streams flowing in on all sides, and kept on with his armed force until he came to an outpost, where he encamped. There the princes of the Saracen nations as suppliants on bended knees presented him with a golden crown and did obeisance to him as lord of the world and of its peoples; and they were gladly received, since they were adapted for guerilla warfare. 9. And while he was giving them audience his fleet arrived, equal to that of the mighty king Xerxes, under the command of the tribune Constantianus and Count Lucillianus; and the broad Euphrates was almost too narrow for it, consisting as it did of a thousand cargo-carriers of varied construction, and bringing an abundance of supplies, weapons, and also siege-engines; there were besides fifty warships and an equal number which were needed for making bridges.

4. *A description of mural artillery: the ballista, the scorpion or wild ass, the ram, the helepolis, and fire-darts.*

1. What I have just said suggests that I should, as briefly as my modest ability permits, give a

ignorantibus circumscripte monstrare; et ballistae figura docebitur prima. 2. Ferrum inter axiculos duos firmum compaginatur et vastum in modum regulae maioris extentum, cuius ex volumine tereti, quod in medio pars polita componit, quadratus eminet stilus extentius, recto canalis angusti meatu cavatus, et hac multiplici chorda nervorum tortilium illigatus: eique cochleae duae ligneae coniunguntur artissime,[1] quarum prope unam assistit artifex contemplabilis, et subtiliter apponit in temonis cavamine, sagittam ligneam spiculo maiore conglutinatam, hocque facto, hinc inde validi iuvenes versant agiliter rotabilem flexum. 3. Cum ad extremitatem nervorum acumen venerit summum, percita interno pulsu a ballista ex oculis avolat, interdum nimio ardore scintillans, et evenit saepius ut antequam telum cernatur, dolor letale vulnus agnoscat.

4. Scorpionis autem (quem appellant nunc Onagrum) huius modi forma est. Dolantur axes duo quernei vel ilicei, curvanturque mediocriter, ut prominere videantur in gibbas, hique in modum serratoriae machinae conectuntur ex utroque latere patentius perforati, quos inter per cavernas funes colligantur robusti, compagem (ne dissiliat) continentes. 5. Ab hac medietate restium ligneus stilus exsurgens obliquius,[2] et in modum iugalis temonis

[1] *artissime*, Momm., Pet. in index; *aptissime*, V.
[2] *obliquius*, Bent.; *obliquus*, V.

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[1] See illustrations between pp. 328 and 329. These give a general idea of the scorpion and the ram, although they do not contain all the features of Ammianus' description.

[2] Its action is like that of a huge crossbow. The arrow is drawn back by a cord fastened to the ropes on the

ıcise description of engines of this kind, for the ıefit of those who are unacquainted with them; 1 I shall first explain the form of the ballista.[1] Between two posts a long, strong iron bar is fastened, l projects like a great ruler; from its smooth, nded surface, which in the middle is highly ished, a squared staff extends to a considerable tance, hollowed out along its length with a narrow ove, and bound there with a great number of sted cords. To this two wooden rollers are very ıly attached, and near one of them stands the ıner who aims the shot. He carefully places in the ove of the projecting iron bar a wooden arrow, ıed with a great iron point. When this is done, ıng young men on both sides quickly turn the ers and the cords. 3. When its point has reached outermost ropes, the arrow, driven by the power hin, flies from the ballista out of sight,[2] sometimes tting sparks because of the excessive heat. And ften happens that before the weapon is seen, the ı of a mortal wound makes it felt.

. The scorpion, which is now-a-days called the l ass, has the following form. Two posts of oak ıolm-oak are hewn out and slightly bent, so that y seem to stand forth like humps. These are ened together like a sawing-machine and bored ıugh on both sides with fairly large holes. ween them, through the holes, strong ropes are nd, holding the machine together, so that it may fly apart. 5. From the middle of these ropes a den arm rises obliquely, pointed upward like the

rs. When the catch is released, these ropes drive out ırrow.

erectus, ita nervorum nodulis implicatur, ut altius tolli possit et inclinari, summitatique eius unci ferrei copulantur, e quibus pendet stuppea vel ferrea funda, cui ligno fulmentum prosternitur ingens, cilicium paleis confertum minutis, validis nexibus illigatum, et locatum super congestos caespites vel latericios aggeres. Nam muro saxeo huius modi moles imposita disiectat quidquid invenerit subter concussione violenta, non pondere. 6. Cum igitur ad concertationem fuerit ventum,[1] lapide rotundo fundae imposito, quaterni altrinsecus iuvenes repagula quibus incorporati sunt funes, explicantes retrorsus, stilum paene supinum inclinant: itaque demum sublimis adstans magister, claustrum quod totius operis continet vincula, reserat malleo forti perculsum,[2] unde absolutus ictu volucri stilus, et mollitudine offensus cilicii, saxum contorquet, quicquid incurrerit collisurum. 7. Et tormentum quidem appellatur ex eo quod omnis explicatio torquetur, scorpio autem quoniam aculeum desuper habet erectum, cui etiam onagri vocabulum indidit aetas novella ea re, quod asini feri cum venatibus agitantur, ita eminus lapides post terga calcitrando emittunt, ut perforent pectora sequentium aut perfractis ossibus capita ipsa displodant.

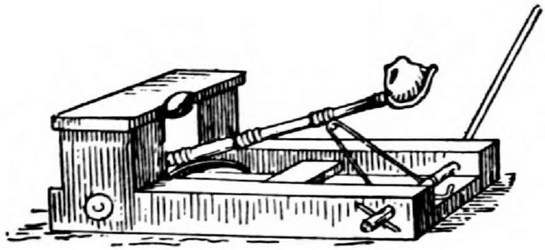
8. Hinc ad [3] arietem veniemus. Eligitur abies vel ornus excelsa, cuius summitas duro ferro concluditur et prolixo, arietis efficiens prominulam speciem, quae

[1] *fuerit ventum*, tr. by Novák, c.c. (cf. xxiii. 5, 21).
[2] *perculsum*, Haupt; *percussum*, EG; *perclausum*, VWB (*perclusum*, V[2]).
[3] *ad*, added by EBG; V omits.

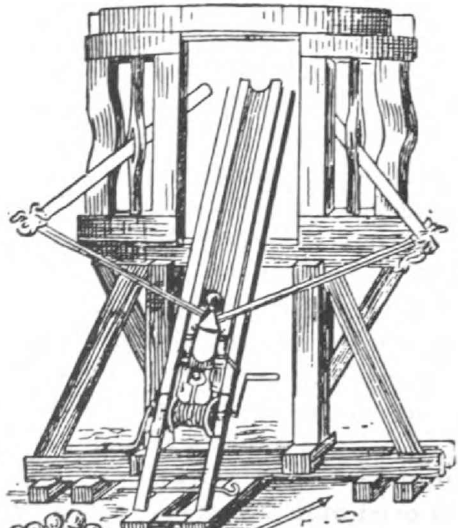
pole of a chariot,[1] and is twined around with cords in such a way that it can be raised higher or depressed. To the top of this arm, iron hooks are fastened, from which hangs a sling of hemp or iron. In front of the arm is placed a great cushion of hair-cloth stuffed with fine chaff, bound on with strong cords, and placed on a heap of turf or a pile of sundried bricks; for a heavy machine of this kind, if placed upon a stone wall, shatters everything beneath it by its violent concussion, rather than by its weight. 6. Then, when there is a battle, a round stone is placed in the sling and four young men on each side turn back the bar with which the ropes are connected and bend the pole almost flat. Then finally the gunner, standing above, strikes out the pole-bolt, which holds the fastenings of the whole work, with a strong hammer, thereupon the pole is set free, and flying forward with a swift stroke, and meeting the soft hair-cloth, hurls the stone, which will crush whatever it hits. 7. And the machine is called *tormentum* as all the released tension is caused by twisting (*torquetur*); and scorpion, because it has an upraised sting; modern times have given it the new name *onager*, because when wild asses are pursued by hunters, by kicking they hurl back stones to a distance, either crushing the breasts of their pursuers, or breaking the bones of their skulls and shattering them.

8. Now we shall come to the ram. A tall fir or mountain ash is selected, to the end of which is fastened a long, hard iron; this has the appearance of a projecting ram's head, and it is this shape which

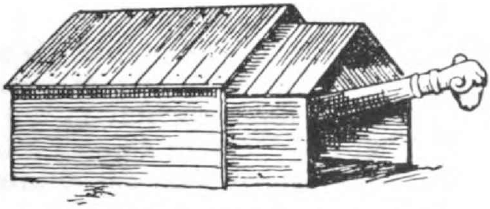
[1] I.e. when the horses are not harnessed to it.



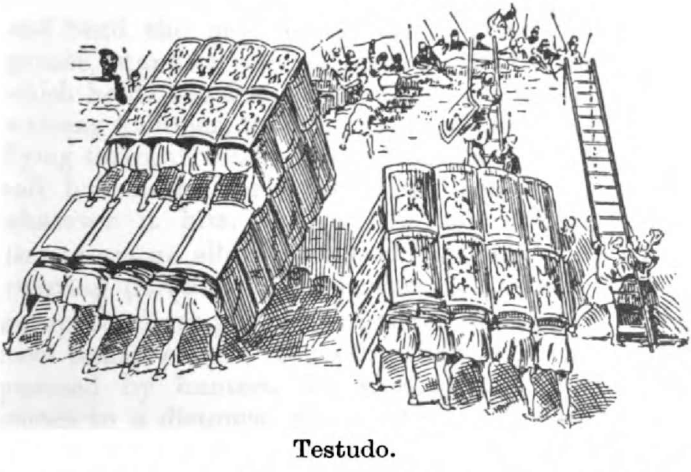
Scorpion or Onager.



Ballista.



Ram in Testudo, or tortoise-shed.



Testudo.

Testudo was applied to a military formation, and also to movable sheds of varying forms and sizes.

forma huic machinamento vocabulum indidit, et sic suspensa utrimque, transversis asseribus et ferratis, quasi ex lance vinculis trabis alterius continetur, eamque quantum mensurae ratio patitur, multitudo retro repellens, rursus ad obvia quaeque rumpenda protrudit, ictibus validissimis, instar adsurgentis et cedentis[1] arietis[2] Qua crebritate velut reciproci fulminis[3] impetu aedificiis scissis in rimas,[4] concidunt structurae laxatae murorum. 9. Hoc genere operis si fuerit exserto vigore discussum, nudatis defensoribus muris,[5] ideoque solutis obsidiis, civitates munitissimae recluduntur.

10. Pro his arietum meditamentis iam crebritate despectis, conditur machina scriptoribus historicis nota, quam ἑλέπολιν Graeci cognominamus. Cuius opera diuturna Demetrius, Antigoni filius regis, Rhodo aliisque urbibus oppugnatis, Poliorcetes est appellatus. 11. Aedificatur autem hoc modo: testudo compaginatur immanis, axibus roborata longissimis, ferreisque clavis aptata, et contegitur coriis bubulis, virgarumque recenti textura, atque limo asperguntur eius suprema, ut flammeos detrectet et missiles casus. 12. Conseruntur autem eius frontalibus trisulcae cuspides praeacutae, ponderibus ferreis

[1] *cedentis*, N, Val., Bent.; *caedentis*, V. [2] *cornuti* or *arietis cornuti*, Clark; *arietis*, N, Val.; *armati*, V. [3] *fulminis*, V; *fluminis*, Pet., def. by Damsté. [4] *ruinas*, Pet.; *rimas*, V. [5] *muris*, added by Novak; *moenibus*, by Her.; no lac. in V.

[1] The ancients believed that a stroke of lightning returned to the sky, doing damage as it came and as it went. Cf. Lucan, i, 156.

has given the machine its name. This is suspended between ironbound beams running across on both sides, so that it hangs from a third beam like the pan of a balance. Then a number of men, as great as the length of the pole permits, draw it back and then shove it forward again with powerful blows, just as a ram charges and retreats, to break everything in its way. As this is renewed with the force of a repeated stroke of lightning,[1] buildings are cracked and shattered as the structure of their walls is destroyed. 9. If this kind of engine is worked with full vigour, the strongest cities, after their walls have been stripped of defenders, are laid open, and the siege is thus brought to an end.

10. In place of these devices of rams, which, because they are now so frequent, are in less esteem, a machine is made, well known to the historians, which we Greeks call helepolis.[2] It was through the constant employment of this engine that Demetrius, the son of King Antigonus, after taking Rhodes and other cities gained the name of Poliorcetes.[3] 11. It is built in the following manner: a huge mantlet[4] is constructed of strong planks of great length fastened together with iron nails, and covered with ox-hides and hurdles of green twigs; and over these is spread mud, in order to protect it from fire and falling missiles. 12. On its front side are set very sharp,[5] three-pronged spear-points, of

[2] City-taker. The descriptions of Diod. xx. 48 and 91, and Athen. v. p. 206 d, are of a more powerful machine, including lofty towers. [3] Besieger of cities.

[4] Or tortoise-shed.

[5] Cf. *falces praeacutae*, Caes., *B.G.* iii. 14, 5, and *Class. Journal*, vi. (1910), pp. 133 f.

graves, qualia nobis pictores ostendunt fulmina vel fictores, ut quicquid petierit, aculeis exsertis abrumpat. 13. Hanc ita validam molem rotis et funibus regens, numerosus intrinsecus miles, languidiori murorum parti viribus admovet concitis, et nisi desuper propugnantium valuerint vires, collisis parietibus aditus patefacit ingentes.

14. Malleoli autem, teli genus, figurantur hac specie: sagitta est cannea, inter spiculum et harundinem multifido ferro coagmentata, quae in muliebris coli formam (quo nentur lintea stamina), concavatur ventre subtiliter, et plurifariam patens, atque in alveo ipso ignem cum aliquo suscipit alimento. 15. Et si emissa lentius arcu invalido,—ictu enim rapidiore exstinguitur,—haeserit usquam, tenaciter cremat, aquisque conspersa acriores excitat aestus incendiorum, nec remedio ullo quam superiacto pulvere consopitur. Hactenus de instrumentis muralibus, e quibus pauca sunt dicta. Nunc ad rerum ordinem revertamur.

5. ***Iulianus A. apud Cercusium Aboram flumen cum omnibus copiis ponte navali transgreditur, et milites alloquitur.***

1. Adscitis Saracenorum auxiliis, quae animis obtulere promptissimis, tendens imperator agili gradu Cercusium, principio mensis Aprilis ingressus est, munimentum tutissimum et fabre politum,

the form which our painters and sculptors give to thunderbolts, made heavy with iron weights, so that whatever it attacks it shatters with the projecting points. 13. This powerful mass is guided by numerous soldiers within by means of wheels and ropes, and by their united efforts is brought up to the weaker part of the walls; and unless the strength of the defenders above is too great, it shatters the walls and opens great breaches.

14. But fire-darts (a kind of missile) are made in this form: the shaft is of reed, and between this and the point is a covering of bands of iron; it looks like a woman's distaff for making linen threads. It is skilfully hollowed out on the lower side with many openings, and in the cavity fire and some inflammable matter are placed. 15. And if it is shot slowly from a somewhat loose bow (for it is extinguished by too swift a flight) and has stuck anywhere, it burns persistently, and water poured upon it rouses the fire to still greater heat; and there is no way of extinguishing it except by sprinkling it with dust. So much for mural engines, of which I have described only a few. Now let us return to the course of our narrative.

5. ***Julianus Augustus with his whole army crosses the river Abora at Cercusium on a bridge of boats. He addresses his troops.***

1. After having received the auxiliaries of the Saracens, which they offered him with great willingness, the emperor marched at quick step to Cercusium, a very safe and skilfully built fortress,

cuius moenia Abora et Euphrates ambiunt flumina, velut spatium insulare fingentes. 2. Quod Diocletianus exiguum antehoc et suspectum, muris turribusque circumdedit celsis, cum in ipsis barbarorum confiniis interiores limites ordinaret, documento recenti perterritus, ne vagarentur[1] per Syriam Persae, ita ut paucis ante annis cum magnis provinciarum contigerat damnis. 3. Namque, cum Antiochiae in alto silentio, scaenicis ludis mimus cum uxore immissus, e medio sumpta quaedam imitaretur, populo venustate attonito, coniunx " Nisi somnus est " inquit " en Persae," et retortis plebs universa cervicibus, ex arce volantia[2] in se tela declinans, spargitur passim. Ita civitate incensa, et obtruncatis pluribus, qui pacis more palabantur effusius, incensisque locis finitimis et vastatis, onusti praeda hostes ad sua remearunt innoxii, Mareade vivo exusto, qui eos ad suorum interitum civium duxerat inconsulte. Et haec quidem Gallieni temporibus evenerunt.

4. Iulianus vero dum moratur apud Cercusium, ut per navalem Aborae pontem exercitus et omnes sequelae transirent, litteras tristes Sallusti, Galliarum

[1] *recenti perterritus, ne vagarentur,* added by Her.; *e documento per Syriam,* V, without lac. [2] *ex arce volantia,* Pet.; *ex arce ruentia,* Novák; *exacervantia,* G; *exacerb ntia,* V.

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[1] Detailed in § 3.
[2] Or perhaps, " in a time of profound peace."
[3] 260-268; according to others, it was in the time of his father Valerian.

whose walls are washed by the Abora and Euphrates rivers, which form a kind of island, and entered it at the beginning of the month of April. 2. This place, which was formerly small and exposed to danger, Diocletian, alarmed by a recent experience,[1] encircled with walls and lofty towers, at the time when he was arranging the inner lines of defence on the very frontiers of the barbarians, in order to prevent the Persians from overrunning Syria, as had happened a few years before with great damage to the provinces. 3. For once upon a time at Antioch, amid deep silence,[2] an actor of mimes, who with his wife had been presented in stage-plays, was presenting some scenes from everyday life. And while all the people were amazed at the charm of the performance, the wife suddenly cried: " Is it a dream, or are the Persians here ? " Whereupon all the people turned their heads about and then fled in all directions, to avoid the arrows that were showered upon them from the citadel. Thus the city was set on fire, and many people who were carelessly wandering about, as in time of peace, were butchered; neighbouring places were burned and devastated, and the enemy, laden with plunder, returned home without the loss of a single man. Mareades, who had inconsiderately brought the Persians there to the destruction of his own people, was burned alive. This took place in the time of Gallienus.[3]

4. But while Julian was lingering at Cercusium, to the end that his army with all its followers might cross the Abora on a bridge of boats, he received a sorrowful letter from Sallustius, prefect of Gaul,

praefecti, suscepit, orantis suspendi expeditionem in Parthos, obtestantisque, ne ita intempestive, nondum pace numinum exorata, irrevocabile subiret exitium. 5. Posthabito tamen suasore cautissimo, fidentius ultra tendebat, quoniam nulla vis humana vel virtus meruisse umquam potuit, ut quod praescripsit fatalis ordo non fiat. Statimque transgressus, pontem avelli praecepit, nequi [1] militum ab agminibus propriis revertendi fiducia remaneret. 6. Pari sorte hic quoque omen inlaetabile visum est, apparitoris cuiusdam cadaver extentum, carnificis manu deleti, quem praefectus Salutius [2] praesens, ea re supplicio capitali damnarat, quod intra praestitutum diem alimentorum augmentum exhibere pollicitus, casu impediente frustratus est. Sed miserando homine trucidato, postridie advenit, ut ille promiserat, alia classis, abunde vehens annonam.

7. Profecti exinde Zaitham venimus locum, qui olea arbor interpretatur. Hic Gordiani imperatoris longe conspicuum vidimus tumulum, cuius actus a pueritia prima, exercituumque felicissimos ductus, et insidiosum interitum, digessimus tempore competenti. 8. Ubi cum pro ingenita pietate consecrato principi parentasset, pergeretque ad Duram (desertum oppidum [3]) procul militarem cuneum conspicatus, stetit immobilis, eique dubitanti quid ferrent, offertur ab eis immanissimi corporis

[1] *nequi*, EGV; *necui*, Val. [2] *Salutius*, Pet., Momm.; *Salustius*, V. [3] *op idulum*, Her. c.c.; *oppidum*, V.

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[1] See xiv. 1, 10, note.
[2] Zosimus, iii. 14, locates the tomb at Dura: see below, ch. 8. [3] In one of the lost books.

begging that the campaign against the Parthians might be put off, and that Julian should not thus prematurely, without having yet prayed for the protection of the gods, expose himself to inevitable destruction. 5. But the emperor, disregarding his cautious counsellor, pushed confidently on, since no human power or virtue has ever been great enough to turn aside what the decrees of fate had ordained. Immediately upon crossing the bridge he ordered it to be destroyed, so that no soldier in his own army might entertain hope of a return. 6. Here also, with like fatality, an unfavourable omen appeared: the outstretched corpse of a certain attendant slain by the hand of an executioner, whom the resident prefect [1] Salutius had condemned to death because, after promising to supply additional provisions within a designated time, he had been prevented by an accident from keeping his word. But on the day after the wretched man had been executed another fleet arrived, as he had promised, bringing an abundance of supplies.

7. Setting out from there we came to a place called Zaitha, which means "Olive tree." Here we saw, conspicuous from afar, the tomb of the Emperor Gordianus,[2] of whose deeds from early childhood, his successful campaigns, and his treacherous murder we have spoken at the appropriate time.[3] 8. When Julian had there, in accordance with his native piety, made offerings to the deified emperor, and was on his way to Dura (a deserted town), he saw a troop of soldiers in the distance and halted. And while he was in doubt what they were bringing, they presented him with a lion of huge size, which

leo, cum aciem peteret, multiplici telorum iactu confossus. Quo omine velut certiore iam spe status[1] prosperioris[2] elatus, exsultantius incedebat, sed incerto flatu[3] fortunae, aliorsum prorupit eventus. Obitus enim regis portendebatur, sed cuius, erat incertum. 9. Nam et oracula dubia legimus, quae non nisi casus discrevere postremi, ut fidem vaticinii Delphici, quae post Halyn flumen transmissum, maximum regnum deiecturum praedixerat Croesum, et aliam quae Atheniensibus ad certandum contra Medos oblique destinaverat mare, sortemque his posteriorem, veram quidem, sed non minus ambiguam: aio te, Aeacida, Romanos vincere posse.

10. Etrusci tamen haruspices qui comitabantur gnaros[4] prodigialium rerum, cum illis procinctum hunc saepe arcentibus, non crederetur, prolatis libris exercitualibus, ostendebant signum hoc esse prohibitorium, principique aliena licet iuste invadenti, contrarium. 11. Sed calcabantur philosophis refragantibus, quorum reverenda tunc erat auctoritas, errantium subinde, et in parum cognitis perseverantium diu. Et enim ut probabile argumentum ad fidem implendam scientiae suae, id praetendebant,

[1] *spe status*, Val.; *spe elatus*, Kiessling; *spectatos*, V. [2] *prosperiorum*, Kiessling; *prosperioris*, V. [3] *flatu*, Kiessling, H. Michael; *fato*, W[2]BG; *fatu*, V. [4] *gnaros*, Momm.; *gnari*, EAG; *gnarus*, V.

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[1] This oracle is often quoted; see Hdt. i. 53, where the envoys announced to Croesus: ἢν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχήν μιν καταλύσειν: Cic., *Div.* ii. 56, 115, *Croesus Halyn penetrans magnam pervertet opum vim.*

had attacked their line and had been slain by a shower of arrows. Elated by this omen, as if he now had surer hope of a successful outcome, the emperor pushed on with proud confidence, but since the breeze of fortune is uncertain, the result turned out otherwise; for the death of a king was foretold, but of which king was uncertain. 9. And, in fact, we read of other ambiguous oracles, the meaning of which only the final results determined: as, for example, the truth of the Delphic prediction which declared that Croesus, after crossing the river Halys, would overthrow a mighty kingdom;[1] and another which in veiled language designated the sea as the place for the Athenians to fight against the Medes;[2] and a later one than these, which was in fact true, but none the less ambiguous:

Aeacus' son, I say, the Roman people can conquer.[3]

10. However, the Etruscan soothsayers, who accompanied the other adepts in interpreting prodigies, since they were not believed when they often tried to prevent this campaign, now brought out their books on war, and showed that this sign was adverse and prohibitory to a prince invading another's territory, even though he was in the right. 11. But they were spurned by the opposition of the philosophers, whose authority was then highly valued, but who were sometimes in error and very persistent in matters with which they had little acquaintance. They, indeed, advanced as a specious argument for establishing belief in their knowledge,

[2] The oracle bade the Greeks defend themselves with wooden walls. In general, see Cic., *Div.* ii. 26, 56.

[3] Cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 174, *Remains of Old Latin*, *L.C.L.*, i.

quod et Maximiano antehac Caesari, cum Narseo Persarum rege iam congressuro, itidem leo et aper ingens trucidati simul oblati sunt, et superata gente discessit incolumis, illo minime contemplato, quod aliena petenti portendebatur exitium, et Narseus primus Armeniam Romano iuri obnoxiam occuparat. 12. Secuto itidem die, qui erat septimum idus Aprilis, sole vergente iam in occasum, ex parva nubecula subito aere crassato, usus adimitur lucis, et post minacem tonitruum crebritatem et fulgurum, Iovianus nomine miles ex[1] caelo tactus cum duobus equis concidit, quos potu satiatos a flumine reducebat. 13. Eoque viso, harum rerum interpretes arcessiti, interrogatique etiam id vetare procinctum fidentius affirmabant, fulmen consiliarium esse monstrantes: ita enim appellantur quae dissuadent aliquid fieri vel suadent. Ideoque hoc nimis cavendum, quod militem celsi nominis cum bellatoriis iumentis exstinxit, et hoc modo contacta loca nec intueri nec calcari debere fulgurales pronuntiant libri. 14. Contra philosophi, candorem ignis sacri repente conspecti, nihil significare aiebant, sed esse acrioris spiritus cursum, ex aethere aliqua vi ad inferiora detrusum, aut si exinde praenoscitur aliquid,

[1] *ex*, Clark; *de*, Lind.; V omits.

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[1] On this kind of thunderbolt see Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* ii. 39, 1 ff.

[2] Since *Jovianus* is connected with Jupiter.

[3] These prescribed the rites and taboos connected with thunderbolts. The expression *libri fulgurales* seems to occur only here and in Cic., *Div.* i. 33, 72, where we have *haruspicini et fulgurales et rituales libri.*

that when the former Caesar Maximianus was already on the point of engaging with Narseus, king of the Persians, in the same way a lion and a huge boar that had been killed were brought to him, and that he came back safely after conquering the enemy. And there was no idea at all that such a portent threatened destruction to the invader of another's territory, although Narseus had first seized Armenia, which was subject to Roman jurisdiction. 12. Likewise, on the following day, which was the seventh of April, as the sun was already sloping towards its setting, starting with a little cloud thick darkness suddenly filled the air and daylight was removed; and after much menacing thunder and lightning a soldier named Jovian, with two horses which he was bringing back after watering them at the river, was struck dead by a bolt from the sky. 13. Upon seeing this, Julian again called in the interpreters of omens, and on being questioned they declared emphatically that this sign also forbade the expedition, pointing out that the thunderbolt was of the advisory kind;[1] for so those are called which either recommend or dissuade any act. And so much the more was it necessary to guard against this one. because it killed a soldier of lofty name[2] as well as war-horses, and because places which were struck in that manner—so the books on lightning[3] declare—must neither be looked upon nor trodden. 14. The philosophers, on the other hand, maintained that the brilliance of the sacred fire which suddenly appeared signified nothing at all, but was merely the course of a stronger mass of air sent downward from the aether by some force; or if it did give any sign, it foretold

incrementa claritudinis imperatori portendi, gloriosa coeptanti, cum constet flammas suapte natura nullo obstante ad sublimia convolare.

15. Fracto [1] igitur (ut ante dictum est) ponte, cunctisque transgressis, imperator antiquissimum omnium ratus est militem alloqui, sui rectorisque fiducia properantem intrepide. Signo itaque per lituos dato, cum centuriae omnes et cohortes et manipuli convenissent, ipse aggeri [2] glebali assistens, coronaque celsarum circumdatus potestatum, talia ore sereno disseruit favorabilis studio concordi cunctorum:

16. "Contemplans maximis viribus et alacritate vos vigere, fortissimi milites, contionari disposui, docturus ratione multiplici, non nunc primitus (ut maledici mussitant) Romanos penetrasse regna Persidis. Namque ut Lucullum transeam vel Pompeium, qui per Albanos et Massagetas, quos Alanos nunc appellamus, hac quoque natione perrupta, adivit [3] Caspios lacus, Ventidium novimus Antoni legatum, strages per hos tractus innumeras edidisse. 17. Sed ut a vetustate discedam, haec quae tradidit recens memoria replicabo. Traianus et Verus et [4] Severus hinc sunt digressi, victores et

[1] *fracto*, Momm.; *perfecto*, E[2], C. F. W. M.; *facto*, VN[2].
[2] *aggeri*, Clark; *aggere*, V. [3] *adivit*, Haupt; *vidit*, V.
[4] *et*, added by Val.; V omits.

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[1] The Massagetae and the Alani are distinguished by Claudian, *in Ruf.* i. 310 ff. (i. 48, *L.C.L.*).

an increase in renown for the emperor, as he was beginning a glorious enterprise, since it is well known that flames by their very nature mount on high without opposition.

15. So when the bridge had been broken down (as was said before) and all had crossed, the emperor thought that the most urgent of all his duties was to address the soldiers, who were advancing confidently through trust in themselves and their leader. Therefore, when the signal had been given with the trumpets, and all the centuries, cohorts and maniples had come together, he took his place upon a mound of earth, surrounded by a ring of high officials, and with calm countenance and favoured with the unanimous devotion of all, spoke as follows:

16. "Seeing the great vigour and eagerness that animate you, my valiant soldiers, I have resolved to address you, in order to explain in full detail that this is not the first time—as some evil-minded men mutter—that the Romans have invaded the Persian kingdom. For not to mention Lucullus and Pompey, who, passing through the Albani and the Massagetae, whom we now call the Alani, broke into this nation also and came to the Caspian Sea, we know that Ventidius,[2] the lieutenant-general of Antony, inflicted innumerable sanguinary defeats in this region. 17. But to leave ancient times, I will disclose what recent history has transmitted to us. Trajan, Verus, and Severus returned from here victorious and adorned with trophies,[3] and the

[2] See Plut., *Ant.* 33, 4; 34, 1; Val. Max. vi. 9, 9.
[3] *Tropaeati* seems to be a word coined by Ammianus.

tropaeati, redissetque pari splendore iunior Gordianus, cuius monumentum nunc vidimus honorate, apud Resainan superato fugatoque rege Persarum, ni factione Philippi, praefecti praetorio, sceleste iuvantibus paucis, in hoc ubi sepultus est loco, vulnere impio cecidisset. Nec erravere diu manes eius inulti, quod velut facta librante [1] Iustitia, omnes qui in eius conspiravere perniciem,[2] cruciabilibus interiere suppliciis. 18. Et illos quidem voluntas, ad altiora propensiores, subire impulit facinora memoranda, sors [3] vero miseranda recens captarum urbium et inultae caesorum exercituum umbrae, et damnorum magnitudines castrorumque [4] amissiones, ad haec quae proposuimus agenda [5] hortantur, votis omnium sociis ut medeamur praeteritis, et roborata [6] huius lateris securitate re publica, quae de nobis magnifice loquatur posteritas relinquamus. 19. Adero ubique vobis, adiumento numinis sempiterni, imperator et antesignanus et conturmalis ominibus secundis (ut reor). At si fortuna versabilis in pugna me usquam fuderit, mihi vero pro Romano

[1] *velut facta librante*, Novák; *veluti librante*, Kiessling; *velut elabrente* (*r* del. V[2]), V. [2] *perniciem*, added by Novák after *conspiravere*, cf. xiv. 7, 9; *necem*, by Kiessling; *eum*, N[2]BG; *eius*, without lac., V. [3] *sors*, Damsté; *nos*, V; lac after *miseranda*, Clark. [4] *castrorumque*, Bent.; *carorumque*, V. [5] *agenda*, added by Novák. [6] *roborata*, C. F. W. M.; *honorata*, V.

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[1] Emperor from 238–244; see Index I., vol. i., s.v. *Gordiani*. In 242 he made a campaign against the Persians, at first with success; but his troops, incited by Philippus, mutinied and put him to death.

younger Gordianus,[1] whose monument we just now looked upon with reverence, would have come back with equal glory, after vanquishing the Persian king and putting him to flight at Resaina,[2] had he not been struck down by an impious wound inflicted by the faction of Philippus, the praetorian prefect, and a few wicked accomplices, in the very place where he now lies buried. But his shade did not long wander unavenged, for as if their deeds were weighed in the scales of Justice, all who had conspired against him perished by agonising deaths.[3] 18. Those emperors, indeed, their own desire, inclined as they were to lofty enterprises, drove to undertake noteworthy exploits, but we are urged on to our present purpose by the pitiful fate of recently captured cities, by the unavenged shades of armies destroyed, by the great disasters that have been suffered, and by the loss of many a camp. For everybody's desires are one with ours to make good the past and give strength to our country by making this side of her domain safe, and thus leave to future generations material for singing our praises. 19. Everywhere shall I, with the help of the eternal deity, be by your side, as emperor, as leader, and as fellow horseman,[4] and (as I think) under favourable auspices. But if fickle fortune should overthrow me in any battle, I shall be content with having sacrificed myself for the Roman world, after the

[2] A town of Osdroëne.
[3] Cf. Capit., *Gordian.* 33, and Suet., *Jul.* 89, of the assassins of Julius Caesar.
[4] *antesignanus et conturmalis* seems to imply playing the part now of a leader of the infantry and now of the cavalry.

orbe memet vovisse sufficiet, ut Curtii Muciique veteres, et clara prosapia Deciorum. Abolenda nobis natio molestissima, cuius in gladiis nondum nostrae propinquitatis exaruit cruor. 20. Plures absumptae sunt maioribus nostris aetates, ut interirent radicitus quae vexabant. Devicta est perplexo et diuturno Marte Carthago, sed eam dux inclytus timuit superesse victoriae. Evertit funditus Numantiam Scipio, post multiplices casus obsidionis emensos. Fidenas ne imperio subcrescerent aemulae Roma subvertit, et Faliscos ita oppressit et Veios, et suadere nobis laborat monumentorum veterum fides, ut has civitates aliquando valuisse credamus. 21. Haec ut antiquitatum peritus exposui; superest ut aviditate rapiendi posthabita, quae insidiatrix saepe Romani militis fuit, quisque agmini cohaerens incedat, cum ad necessitatem congrediendi fuerit ventum, signa propria secuturus, sciens quod si[1] remanserit usquam, exsectis cruribus relinquetur. Nihil enim praeter dolos et insidias hostium vereor, nimium callidorum. 22. Ad summam polliceor universis, rebus post haec prospere mitigatis,

[1] *si*, added by G, *qui* by Eyssen.; *si* restored from *hi* before *signa* by Her.; *hi signa quam* (del. V²) *exsectis* (*i* V² from *u*) V (in text); *propria . . . usquam* added by V² in margin.

[1] Cf. Livy, vii. 6, 1 ff. [2] Cf. Livy, ii. 12.
[3] See xvi. 10, 3.
[4] Scipio Aemilianus; cf. Seneca, *Dial.* xi. 14, 5, *quid referam Aemilianum Scipionem . . . vir in hoc natus, ne urbi Romanae aut Scipio deesset aut Carthago superesset.*

example of the Curtii[1] and Mucii[2] of old and the noble family of the Decii.[3] We must wipe out a most mischievous nation, on whose sword-blades the blood of our kinsmen is not yet dry. 20. Our forefathers spent many ages in eradicating whatever caused them trouble. Carthage was conquered in a long and difficult war, but our distinguished leader[4] feared that she might survive the victory. Scipio utterly destroyed Numantia,[5] after undergoing many vicissitudes in its siege. Rome laid Fidenae[6] low, in order that no rivals of her power might grow up, and for that same reason crushed Falerii and Veii;[7] and even trustworthy ancient histories would have difficulty in convincing us that those cities were ever powerful.[8] 21. This I have set forth from my knowledge of ancient records; it remains for each of you, putting aside the desire for plunder, which has often tempted the Roman soldier, to keep with the army on its march, and when battle must be joined, to follow each his own standard, remembering that if anyone falls behind, he will be left hamstrung.[9] For I fear nothing, save the craft and treachery of the over-cunning enemy. 22. Finally, I promise one and all that when, after this, affairs

[5] Cf. Florus, i. 24, 18. The siege lasted, with interruptions, for thirteen years.
[6] Cf. Livy, iv. 17 ff. [7] Cf. Livy, v. 25-27.
[8] Cf. Flor. i. 6, 11, *laborat annalium fides, ut Veios fuisse credamus*, "Our trust in our annals has a difficult task to make us believe that Veii ever existed." Florus, *L.C.L.*, p. 41.
[9] In this way the Persians disabled prisoners for whom they had no use; cf. xix. 6, 2; xxxi. 7, 13; so also the Romans, xvii. 13, 10; xxv. 3, 5.

absque omni praerogativa principum, qui quod dixerint vel censuerint, pro potestate auctoritatis iustum esse existimant, rationem me recte consultorum vel secus, siquis exegerit, redditurum. 23. Quocirca erigite iam nunc, quaeso, erigite animos vestros, multa praesumentes et bona,[1] aequata sorte nobiscum quicquid occurrerit difficile subituri, et coniectantes aequitati semper solere iungi victoriam."

24. Conclusa oratione ad hunc gratissimum finem, ductoris gloria proeliator miles exsultans, speque prosperorum elatior, sublatis altius scutis, nihil periculosum fore vel arduum clamitabat, sub imperatore plus sibi laboris quam gregariis indicente. 25. Maxime omnium id numeri Gallicani fremitu laetiore monstrabant, memores aliquotiens eo ductante, perque ordines discurrente, cadentes vidisse gentes aliquas alias supplicantes.

6. *Describuntur maiores privinciae xviii regni Persarum, una cum suis quaeque viribus, moresque nationum.*

1. Res adigit huc prolapsa ut in excessu celeri situm monstrare[2] Persidis, descriptionibus[3] gentium curiose digestis, in[4] quibus aegre vera dixere paucissimi. Quod autem erit paulo prolixior textus,

[1] *bona et,* tr. by G. [2] *monstrarem,* Bent.; *monstrare,* V. [3] *descriptionibus,* Pet.; *descriptoribus,* V. [4] *digestis in,* Pet.; *digestum e,* AG; *digestis,* V.

shall be brought to a successful conclusion, waiving all prior rights of princes, who by reason of their full powers think that whatever they have said or resolved is just, I will give to anyone who demands it an account of what has been rightly or wrongly undertaken. 23. Therefore rouse, I pray you, at once rouse your courage, both in the anticipation of great success, since you will undergo whatever difficulty arises on equal terms with me, and with the conviction that victory must always attend the just cause."

24. After the speech had been brought to this most welcome conclusion, the warriors, exulting in the fame of their leader, and still more greatly fired with the hope of success, lifted their shields on high and cried that nothing would be dangerous or difficult under a leader who imposed more toil upon himself than on the common soldiers. 25. In particular, the Gallic troops showed this feeling by joyful shouts, remembering how often under his command, and as he ran about from company to company, they had seen some nations overcome and others reduced to entreaties.

6. *A description of the eighteen greater provinces of the Persian kingdom, with the strength of each and the customs of their inhabitants.*

1. Affairs have reached a point where I am led in a rapid digression to explain the topography of the Persian kingdom, carefully compiled from the descriptions of the nations, in only a few of which the truth has been told, and that barely. My

ad scientiam proficiet plenam. Quisquis enim affectat nimiam brevitatem ubi narrantur incognita non quid signatius explicet, sed quid debeat praeteriri, scrutatur.

2. Hoc regnum quondam exiguum, multisque antea nominibus appellatum, ob causas quas saepe rettulimus, cum apud Babylona Magnum fata rapuissent Alexandrum, in vocabulum Parthi concessit Arsacis, obscuro geniti loco,[1] latronum inter adulescentiae rudimenta ductoris, verum paulatim in melius mutato proposito, clarorum contextu factorum aucti sublimius. 3. Qui post multa gloriose et fortiter gesta, superato Nicatore Seleuco, eiusdem Alexandri successore, cui victoriarum crebritas hoc indiderat cognomentum, praesidiisque Macedonum pulsis, ipse tranquillius agens temperator oboedientium fuit et arbiter lenis. 4. Denique post finitima cuncta vi vel aequitatis consideratione vel metu subacta, civitatum et castrorum castellorumque munimentis oppleta Perside, assuefactaque timori esse accolis omnibus, quos antea formidabat, medium ipse agens cursum aetatis placida morte decessit. Certatimque summatum et vulgi sententiis concinentibus, astris, ut ipsi existimant, ritus sui consecratione permixtus est omnium primus. 5. Unde ad id tempus reges eiusdem gentis praetumidi, appellari se patiuntur Solis fratres et Lunae, utque

[1] *obscuro geniti loco*, Clark; *obscure geniti*, V.

[1] I.e. were called Parthians; see Justinus, xli. 4, 6 f.

[2] It was not Seleucus Nicator, but Seleucus II., Callinicus, the fourth king after Nikator, who was conquered by Arsaces; see Justinus, xli. 4, 9.

[3] Nicator (cf. xiv. 8, 5) means "the victorious."

account, however, will be a little fuller, which will be to the advantage of complete knowledge. For anyone who aims at extreme brevity in telling of the unknown tries to discover what he ought to leave out rather than what he may explain more clearly.

2. This kingdom, which was once small and for reasons which we have often given was called before by various names, after the fates had taken off Alexander the Great at Babylon, took its name from the Parthian Arsaces,[1] a man of low birth; he had been a brigand chief during his younger days, but since his ideals gradually changed for the better, by a series of brilliant exploits he rose to greater heights. 3. After many glorious and valiant deeds, and after he had conquered Seleucus Nicator,[2] successor of the said Alexander, on whom his many victories had conferred that surname,[3] and had driven out the Macedonian garrisons, he passed his life in quiet peace, and was a mild ruler and judge of his subjects. 4. Finally, after all the neighbouring lands had been brought under his rule, by force, by regard for justice, or by fear, and he had filled Persia with cities, with fortified camps, and with strongholds, and to all the neighbouring peoples, which she had previously feared, he had made her a constant cause of dread, he died a peaceful death in middle life. And nobles and commons rivalling each other in agreement, he was placed among the stars according to the sacred custom of their country; and (as they believe) he was the first of all to be so honoured. 5. Hence to this very day the over-boastful kings of that race suffer themselves to be called brothers of the Sun and Moon, and just as for our emperors the

imperatoribus nostris Augusta nuncupatio amabilis est et optata, ita regibus Parthicis abiectis et ignobilibus antea, incrementa dignitatum felicibus Arsacis auspiciis accessere vel maxima. 6. Quam ob rem numinis eum vice venerantur et colunt, eo usque propagatis honoribus, ut ad nostri memoriam temporis,[1] non nisi Arsacides (si sit usquam)[2] in suscipiendo regno cunctis anteponatur, et in qualibet civili concertatione, quae assidue apud eos eveniunt, velut sacrilegium quisque caveat, ne dextra sua Arsaciden arma gestantem feriat vel privatum.

7. Satisque constat, hanc gentem regna populis vi[3] superatis compluribus dilatasse ad usque Propontidem et Thracias, sed alte spirantium ducum superbia, licenter grassantium per longinqua, aerumnis maximis imminutam, primo per Cyrum, quem Bospori fretum cum multitudine fabulosa transgressum, ad internecionem delevit Tomyris, regina Scytharum, ultrix acerrima filiorum. 8. Deinde cum Dareus posteaque Xerxes, Graeciam elementorum usu mutato aggressi, cunctis paene copiis terra marique consumptis, vix ipsi tutum invenere discessum, ut bella praetereamus Alexandri, ac[4] testamento nationem omnem in successoris unius iura translatam.

[1] *temporis*, added by Novák. [2] *si sit usquam*, Her.; *is sit, quisquam*, Lind.; *is situs quam*, V. [3] *vi*, added by G; deleted by Novák as dittography; *suis superatis* (last *i* from *u*), V. [4] *Alexandri, ac*, Her.; *Alexandrina et*, G; *Alexandrinae testamento*, V.

[1] Cf. xxv. 4, 23.
[2] Cf. Hdt. i. 214; Just. i. 8, 9 ff.

title of Augustus is beloved and coveted, so to the Parthian kings, who were formerly low and obscure, there fell the very greatest increase in distinction, won by the happy auspices of Arsaces. 6. Hence they venerate and worship Arsaces as a god, and their regard for him has been carried so far, that even down to the memory of our time only a man who is of the stock of Arsaces (if there is one anywhere) is preferred to all in mounting the throne. Even in any civil strife, which constantly arises among them, everyone avoids as sacrilege the lifting of his hand against an Arsacid, whether he is bearing arms or is a private citizen.

7. It is well known that this nation, after vanquishing many peoples by its power, extended its domain as far as the Propontis and Thrace,[1] but through the arrogance of its haughty leaders, who lawlessly extended their raids to a great distance, it was weakened by severe losses: first through Cyrus, who crossed the Bosporus with an army of incredible size, but was completely annihilated by the Scythian queen Tomyris, the fierce avenger of her sons.[2] 8. Later, when Darius, and after him Xerxes, changed the use of the elements[3] and attacked Greece, almost all their forces were destroyed by land and sea, and they themselves barely found a safe return; not to mention the wars of Alexander and the passing by his will and testament of the whole nation to the jurisdiction of a single successor.[4]

[3] Of water, when he bridged the Hellespont; of land, when he cut a canal through the Athos promontory.
[4] There is no mention of this will in Curtius, Arrian, or Diodorus Siculus.

9. Quibus peractis, transcursisque temporibus longis sub consulibus et deinceps in potestatem Caesarum redacta re publica, nobiscum hae nationes subinde dimicarunt paribusque momentis interdum, aliquotiens superatae, non numquam abiere victrices.
10. Nunc locorum situm (quantum ratio sinit), carptim breviterque absolvam. Hae regiones in amplitudines diffusae longas et latas, ex omni latere insulosum et celebre, Persicum ambiunt mare, cuius ostia adeo esse perhibentur angusta, ut[1] ex Harmozonte, Carmaniae promuntorio, contra oppositum alind promuntorium, quod appellant incolae Maces, sine impedimento cernatur. 11. Quibus angustiis permeatis, cum latitudo patuerit nimis extensa, aequa[2] navigatio ad usque urbem Teredona porrigitur, ubi post iacturas multiplices pelago miscetur Euphrates, omnisque sinus dimensione litorea in numerum viginti milium stadiorum velut spatio detornato, finitur, cuius per oras omnes oppidorum est densitas et vicorum, naviumque crebri discursus. 12. Ergo permeatis angustiis ante dictis venitur ad Carmaniae[3] sinum orienti obiectum. Inde longo[4] intervallo Canthicus nomine panditur sinus australis, haut procul inde alius, quem vocant Chaliten[5] occiduo obnoxius sideri. Hinc praestrictis

[1] *ut*, added by EAG; V omits. [2] *aequa*, Pet.; *vacua*, Her.; *qua*, V. [3] *Carmaniae*, Bent., Gardt.; *Armeniae*, EBG; *armeme*, V, *armeniae*, V². [4] *inde longo*, added by Her.; *obiectum intervallo*, V. [5] *Sachaliten*, Ptolemy.

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[1] For its extent under Cyrus, see Xen., *Cyrop.* viii. 7, 7; cf. i. 1, 4: under Darius Hystaspes, Hdt. iii. 88.

9. After this was done and a long time had passed, during which the Roman commonwealth was governed by consuls and later brought under the sway of the Caesars, these nations carried on wars with us from time to time, and sometimes the contest was equal, at other times they were conquered, and occasionally they came off victorious.
10. I shall now describe the lie of the land—so far as my purpose allows—briefly and succinctly. These regions extend to a wide area in length and breadth,[1] and run all along the Persian Gulf, which has many islands and peoples all round. The entrance to this sea (they say) is so narrow that from Harmoz, the promontory of Carmania, the other headland opposite it, which the natives call Maces, may be seen without difficulty. 11. After one has passed through this narrow strait, a wide expanse of sea opens, which is favourable to navigation as far as the city of Teredon,[2] where after many losses the Euphrates mingles with the deep.[3] The entire gulf is bounded by a shore of 20,000 stadia, which is rounded as if turned on a lathe. All along the coast is a throng of cities and villages, and many ships sail to and fro. 12. After passing the strait which has been mentioned, one comes to the bay of Carmania facing the east. Then, a long distance to the south, the bay of Canthicus opens, and not far off is another, called Chalites, facing the setting sun. Next, after one has skirted many islands,

[2] In Babylonia.
[3] It unites with the Tigris before flowing into the sea. The "losses" are diminution of its waters, and in the speed of their flow, because of alluvial deposits.

pluribus insulis, e quibus paucae sunt notae, Indorum mari iunguntur oceano, qui ferventem solis exortum suscipit omnium primus, ipse quoque nimium calens. 13. Utque geographici stili formarunt, hac specie distinguitur omnis circuitus ante dictus. Ab arctoo cardine usque ad Caspias portas, Cadusiis conterminat et Scytharum gentibus multis et Arimaspis hominibus luscis et feris. Ab occidua plaga contingit Armenios et Niphaten et in Asia sitos Albanos, Mare Rubrum et Scenitas Arabas quos Saracenos posteritas appellavit: Mesopotamiam sub axe meridiali despectat: orienti a fronte contrarius ad Gangen extenditur flumen, quod Indorum intersecans terras, in pelagus eiectatur australe.

14. Sunt autem in omni Perside, hae regiones maximae, quas vitaxae (id est magistri equitum) curant, et reges et satrapae—nam minores plurimas recensere difficile est et superfluum—Assyria, Susiana, Media, Persis, Parthia, Carmania maior, Hyrcania, Margiana, Bactriani, Sogdiani, Sacae, Scythia infra Imaum et[1] ultra eundem montem, Serica, Aria, Paropanisadae, Drangiana, Arachosia et Gedrosia.

15. Citra omnes propinqua est nobis Assyria, celebritate et magnitudine et multiformi feracitate ditissima. Quae per populos pagosque amplos diffusa quondam et copiosos, ad unum concessit

[1] *infra Imaum et*, added by Gardt., cf. Ptol. vi. 1; V omits.

[1] A pass in Mt. Taurus, between Parthia and Media.
[2] A mountain of Armenia.
[3] The Red Sea (Persian Gulf) is south (or south-west) of the Persian empire; cf. Pliny, *N.H.* vi. 112, *a meridie*, and Mesopotamia is west.

few of which are well known, those bays unite with the Indian ocean, which is first of all to receive the glowing sun when it rises, and is itself also exceedingly warm. 13. And as the pens of geographers have drawn it, the whole circuit just described has this form. In the northern direction, to the Caspian Gates[1] it borders on the Cadusii, on many tribes of the Scythians, and on the Arimaspæ, wild, one-eyed men. On the west it touches Armenia, Niphates,[2] the Asiatic Albani, the Red Sea,[3] and the Scenitic Arabs, whom men of later times called the Saracens.[4] Under the southern heaven it looks down on Mesopotamia.[4] Opposite the eastern front it extends to the Ganges river, which cuts through India and empties into the southern ocean.

14. Now there are in all Persia these greater provinces, ruled by vitaxae, or commanders of cavalry, by kings, and by satraps—for to enumerate the great number of smaller districts would be difficult and superfluous—namely, Assyria, Susiana, Media, Persis, Parthia, Greater Carmania, Hyrcania, Margiana, the Bactriani, the Sogdiani, the Sacae, Scythia at the foot of Imaus,[5] and beyond the same mountain, Serica, Aria, the Paropanisadae, Drangiana, Arachosia, and Gedrosia.

15. Nearest to us of all the provinces is Assyria, famous for its large population, its size, and the abundance and great variety of its products. This province once spread over great and prosperous peoples and districts,[6] then it was combined under a single name, and to-day the whole region is called

[4] Cf. xiv. 4, xxii. 15, 2. [5] The Himalayas.
[6] It included Assyria, Babylonia, and Mesopotamia.

vocabulum et nunc omnis appellatur Assyria, ubi inter bacarum vulgariumque abundantiam frugum, bitumen nascitur prope lacum nomine Sosingiten, cuius alveo Tigris voratus, fluensque subterraneus, percursis spatiis longis emergit. 16. Hic et naphtha gignitur picea specie glutinosa, similis ipsa quoque bitumini, cui etiam si avicula insederit brevis, praepedito volatu submersa penitus evanescit. Et cum hoc liquoris ardere coeperit genus, nullum inveniet humana mens praeter pulverem exstinguendi commentum.

17. In his pagis hiatus quoque conspicitur terrae, unde halitus letalis exsurgens, quodcumque animal proxime steterit, odore gravi consumit. Quae lues oriens a profundo quodam puteo, cum os eius excesserit, si in[1] latum ante quam sublimius vagaretur, terras circumsitas inhabitabiles acerbitate fecisset. 18. Cuius simile foramen apud Hierapolim Phrygiae antehac (ut asserunt aliqui), videbatur. Unde emergens itidem noxius spiritus, perseveranti odore quidquid prope venerat corrumpebat, absque spadonibus solis, quod qua causa eveniat, rationibus physicis permittatur. 19. Apud Asbamaei quoque Iovis templum in Cappadocia, ubi amplissimus ille philosophus Apollonius traditur natus prope oppidum

[1] *si in*, added by Madvig; V omits.

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[1] Justin. xlii. 3, 9, says it flows under ground for 25,000 stadia.

[2] Cf. xxiii. 4, 15.

[3] Cf. Lucr. vi. 756 ff.

[4] Cf. Dio. lxviii. 27, 3; Pliny, *N.H.* ii. 208.

Assyria. There, besides a great abundance of berries and common fruits, bitumen is found near the lake called Sosingites, in whose bed the Tigris is swallowed up, and then, after flowing under ground, and traversing a long distance,[1] appears again. 16. Here naphtha also is produced, a glutinous substance which looks like pitch. This too is similar to bitumen, and even a little bird, if it lights upon it, is prevented from flying, sinks, and disappears utterly. And when fluid of this kind catches fire, the mind of man will find no means of putting it out, except dust.[2]

17. In these regions there is also to be seen a cleft in the earth,[3] from which rises a deadly exhalation, which with its foul odour destroys every living creature that comes near it. If this pestilential stuff, rising from a kind of deep well, should spread out widely from its opening before rising on high, it would by its fetid odour have made the surrounding country a desert. 18. A similar opening was formerly to be seen (as some say) at Hierapolis in Phrygia. And from this also a noxious vapour with a penetrating stench came forth and was destructive to whatever came near it, excepting only eunuchs; and the reason for this may be left to natural philosophers to determine.[4] 19. Also at the temple of Jupiter Asbamaeus in Cappadocia, where that famous philosopher Apollonius[5] is said to have been

[5] This self-styled philosopher, of Tyana in Cappadocia, was famous for his belief in his magic or supernatural powers. He lived in the first century A.D. His Life, by Philostratus, has come down to us; see *Philostratus*, *L.C.L.*, i. Introd.

Tyana, stagno effluens fons cernitur, qui magnitudine aquarum inflatus, seseque resorbens, numquam extra margines intumescit.

20. Intra hunc circuitum Adiabena est, Assyria priscis temporibus vocitata, longaque assuetudine ad hoc translata vocabulum, ea re quod inter Onam et Tigridem sita, navigeros fluvios, adiri vado numquam potuit: transire enim διαβαίνειν dicimus Graeci. Et veteres quidem hoc arbitrantur. 21. Nos autem dicimus quod in his terris amnes sunt duo perpetui, quos ipsi [1] transivimus, Diabas et Adiabas, iunctis [2] navalibus pontibus, ideoque intellegi Adiabenam cognominatam ut a fluminibus maximis Aegyptos, Homero auctore, et India et Euphratensis ante hoc Commagena, itidemque Hiberia ex Hibero (nunc Hispania) et a Baeti amne insigni provincia Baetica.

22. In hac Adiabena, Ninus est civitas, quae olim Persidis regna possederat, nomen Nini potentissimi quondam regis, Samiramidis mariti, declarans, et Ecbatana et Arbela et Gaugamela, ubi Dareum Alexander post discrimina varia proeliorum, incitato Marte prostravit.

[1] *ipsi*, Eyssen., *sie*, V (deleted as dittogr. by Novák).
[2] *iunctis*, Gardt.; *iuncti*, V.

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[1] See Philost. *vita Apoll.* i. 6 (*L.C.L.*, i. 15).
[2] Valesius thinks they are the same rivers which are more commonly called Zabas and Anzabas, and that *dia* became *za*; but see Index.
[3] During the flight after Julian's death.

born near the town of Tyana, a spring may be seen, flowing from a pool, which now is filled with an abundance of water, and again sucks itself back, and so never swells beyond its banks.[1]

20. Within this area is Adiabena, called Assyria in ancient times, but by long custom changed to this name because, lying between the navigable rivers Ona and Tigris it could never be approached by a ford; for we Greeks for *transire* say διαβαίνειν. At least, this is the opinion of the ancients. 21. But I myself say that there are two perpetually flowing rivers to be found in these lands, the Diabas and Adiabas,[2] which I myself have crossed,[3] and over which there are bridges of boats; and therefore it is to be assumed that Adiabena was named from them, as from great rivers Egypt[4] was named, according to Homer, as well as India, and the Euphratensis, before my time called Commagena; likewise from the Hiberus,[5] Hiberia (now Hispania), and the province of Baetica from the noble river Baetis.[6]

22. In this Adiabena is the city of Ninus,[7] which once possessed the rule over Persia, perpetuating the name of Ninus, once a most powerful king and the husband of Semiramis; also Ecbatana,[8] Arbela, and Gaugamela,[9] where Alexander, after various other battles, overthrew Darius in a hot contest.

[4] Homer calls the Nile Aegyptus; cf. xxii. 15, 3.
[5] Ebro. [6] Guadalquivir.
[7] Also called Nineve; cf. xxviii. 7, 1.
[8] Likewise a city of Media.
[9] Gaugamela was a small village near Arbela; it was there that the battle was fought, although it is more commonly called the battle of Arbela.

23. In omni autem Assyria, multae sunt urbes. Inter quas Apamia eminet, Mesene cognominata, et Teredon et Apollonia et Vologessia, hisque similes multae. Splendidissimae vero et pervulgatae hae solae sunt tres: Babylon cuius moenia bitumine Samiramis struxit—arcem enim antiquissimus rex condidit Belus—et Ctesiphon, quam Vardanes temporibus priscis instituit, posteaque rex Pacorus, incolarum viribus amplificatam et moenibus, Graeco indito nomine, Persidis effecit specimen summum. Post hanc Seleucia ambitiosum opus Nicatoris Seleuci. 24. Qua per duces Veri Caesaris (ut ante rettulimus), expugnata,[1] avulsum sedibus simulacrum Comaei Apollinis, perlatumque Romam, in aede Apollinis Palatini deorum antistites collocarunt. Fertur autem quod post direptum hoc idem figmentum, incensa civitate, milites fanum scrutantes invenere foramen angustum, quo reserato, ut[2] pretiosum aliquid invenirent, ex adyto quodam concluso a Chaldaeorum arcanis, labes primordialis exsiluit, quae insanabilium vi concepta morborum, eiusdem Veri Marcique Antonini temporibus, ab ipsis Persarum finibus ad usque Rhenum et Gallias, cuncta contagiis polluebat et mortibus.

[1] *expugnata*, C. F. W. M.; *expoliata*, Pet.; *expulsata*, V.
[2] *ut*, added by N (afterwards deleted), AG; *quasi*, Her.; V omits.

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[1] Pliny, *N.H.* vi. 132, separates Apamia from Mesene; cf. xxiv. 3, 12; on Teredon, cf. Pliny, vi. 145.
[2] Diod. Sic. (ii. 9, 9) says that in his time Babylon had been almost wholly destroyed and Pausanias, viii. 33, 3, that only the walls and the temple of Belus were standing.

23. But in all Assyria there are many cities, among which Apamia, formerly called Mesene,[1] and Teredon, Apollonia and Vologessia, and many similar ones are conspicuous. But these three are especially magnificent and widely known: Babylon,[2] whose walls Semiramis built with bitumen[3] (for the ancient king Belus built the citadel), and Ctesiphon, which Vardanes[4] founded long ago; and later king Pacorus[5] strengthened it with additional inhabitants and with walls, gave it a Greek name, and made it the crowning ornament of Persia. And finally there is Seleucia, the splendid work of Seleucus Nicator. 24. When this city was stormed by the generals of Verus Caesar (as I have related before),[6] the statue of Apollo Comaeus was torn from its place and taken to Rome, where the priests of the gods set it up in the temple of the Palatine Apollo. And it is said that, after this same statue had been carried off and the city burned, the soldiers in ransacking the temple found a narrow crevice; this they widened in the hope of finding something valuable; but from a kind of shrine, closed by the occult arts of the Chaldaeans, the germ of that pestilence burst forth, which after generating the virulence of incurable diseases, in the time of the same Verus and of Marcus Antoninus polluted everything with contagion and death, from the frontiers of Persia all the way to the Rhine and to Gaul.[7]

[3] Cf. Curtius, v. 1, 16 and 25. [4] Unknown.
[5] Pacorus seems to have been the son of king Orodes, defeated by Ventidius.
[6] In a lost book; cf. Capitolinus, *Verus*, 8, 3.
[7] Cf. Capitol., *Marcus Ant.* 13, 3-6.

25. His[1] prope Chaldaeorum est regio, altrix philosophiae veteris, ut memorant ipsi, apud quos veridica vaticinandi fides eluxit. Perfluunt autem has easdem terras potiores ante alios amnes, hi quos praediximus, et Marses et Flumen Regium et Euphrates, cunctis excellens. Qui tripertitus navigabilis per omnes est rivos, insulasque circumfluens, et arva cultorum industria diligentius rigans, vomeri et gignendis arbustis habilia facit.

26. His tractibus Susiani iunguntur, apud quos non multa sunt oppida. Inter alia tamen eminet Susa, saepe domicilium regum, et Arsiana et Sele et Aracha. Cetera brevia sunt et obscura. Fluvii vero multi per haec loca discurrunt, quibus praestant Oroates et Harax et Mosaeus, per harenosas angustias, quae a Rubro prohibent Caspium mare, aequoream multitudinem inundantes.

27. At in laeva Media confinis Hyrcano panditur mari: quam ante regnum Cyri superioris, et incrementa Persidos, legimus Asiae reginam totius, Assyriis domitis, quorum plurimos pagos in Agropatenae vocabulum permutatos, belli iure possedit. 28. Pugnatrix natio et formidanda post Parthos, quibus vincitur solis, regiones inhabitans ad speciem quadratae figurae formatas. Harum terrarum

[1] *his*, Her.; *hic*, V.

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[1] It is really a canal; cf. xxiv. 6, 1, where its native name Naarmalcha is given.

[2] I.e. by irrigation.

[3] The kings spent the winter in Susa or Babylon (sometimes in Bactra); the summers in Ecbatana; cf. Strabo, xi. 13, 1, 5; xv. 3, 2.

25. Near these is the land of the Chaldaeans, the foster-mother of the old-time philosophy—as they themselves say—where the true art of divination first made its appearance. Now the most important rivers that flow through those lands, besides the others that I have mentioned, are the Marses, the Royal River,[1] and the Euphrates, greatest of all. The last-named divides into three branches, all of which are navigable, forms several islands, and often thoroughly waters the fields through the diligence of the farmers,[2] and prepares them for the ploughshare and for tree-culture.

26. Neighbours to these lands are the Susiani, who have few cities. Conspicuous among them, however, is Susa, often the residence of the kings,[3] and Arsiana, Sele, and Aracha. The others are small and little known. On the other hand, many rivers flow through this region; most notable among them are the Oroates, Harax, and Mosaeus, which along the narrow sandy tract that separates the Caspian from the Red Sea overflow into a great number of pools.

27. On the left Media extends, bordering on the Hyrcanian[4] Sea. Of this province we read that before the reign of the elder Cyrus and the growth in Persia's power, it was the queen of all Asia, after it had overcome Assyria,[5] whose many provinces, changed in name to Agropatena, it possessed by the right of conquest. 28. It is a warlike nation, and most of all to be feared next to the Parthians, by whom alone it is surpassed, and its territory has the form of a rectangle. The inhabitants of these lands

[4] Part of the Caspian.

[5] Under Arbaces in the reign of Sardanapalus, 876 B.C.

incolae omnes ad latitudinem nimiam extenduntur, eisque maximae celsitudines imminent montium, quos Zagrum et Orontem et Iasonium vocant. 29. Coroni quoque montis altissimi partem habitantes occiduam, frumentariis agris affluunt et vinariis, pingui fecunditate laetissimi, et[1] fluminibus fontiumque venis liquidis locupletes. 30. Edunt[2] apud eos prata virentia fetus equorum nobilium, quibus (ut scriptores antiqui docent, nosque vidimus), ineuntes proelia viri summates[3] vehi exsultantes solent, quos Nesaeos appellant. 31. Abundat itaque[4] civitatibus ditibus[5] Media, et vicis in modum oppidorum exstructis, et multitudine incolarum. Utque absolute dicatur, uberrimum est habitaculum regum.

32. In his tractibus Magorum agri sunt fertiles, super quorum secta studiisque, quoniam huc incidimus, pauca conveniet expediri. Magiam opinionum insignium auctor amplissimus Plato, hagistiam[6] esse verbo mystico docet, divinorum incorruptissimum cultum, cuius scientiae saeculis priscis multa ex Chaldaeorum arcanis Bactrianus addidit Zoroastres, deinde Hystaspes rex pruden-

[1] *et*, added in g (Sephanus' ed. of Gelanius); V omits. [2] *edunt*, Gardt.; *fovent*, Novák, cf. xvii. 12, 3, etc.; *dent*, V. [3] *summates*, Haupt; *summa vi*, BG; *summa*, V. [4] *abundat itaque*, Madvig, Novák; *a. aeque*, G; *abundantia que*, V. [5] *ditibus*, Haupt; *pinguibus*, Damsté; *insignibus*, Walter; *quibus*, V, del. Novák. [6] *hagistiam*, Wagner; *machagistiam*, V.

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[1] All these are branches of Mt. Taurus.

[2] In Parthia. [3] Polyb. v. 44, 1.

[4] Cf. Herodotus, vii. 40; Strabo, xi. 13, 7; 14, 9. Others say that they were used only for the kings' chariots.

[5] *Ax.* 371, D; Isoc. ii. 28, 227 A.

as a whole dwell in a most spacious country, overhung by very lofty mountains, which they call Zagrus, Orontes, and Iasonius.[1] 29. Those who dwell on the western side of the lofty mountain Coronus[2] abound in fields of grain and vineyards,[3] enjoy the fertility of a productive soil, and are rich in rivers and clear springs. 30. Their green meadows produce a noble breed of horses, on which their chiefs (as the writers of old say, and as I myself have seen) when entering battle are wont to ride full of courage. These horses they call Nesaean.[4] 31. Therefore Media abounds in rich cities, in villages built up like towns, and in a great number of inhabitants; it is (to speak briefly) the richest residence of the kings.

32. In these parts are the fertile fields of the Magi, about whose sects and pursuits—since we have chanced on this point—it will be in place to give a few words of explanation. According to Plato,[5] the most eminent author of lofty ideas, magic, under the mystic name of *hagistia*,[6] is thepurest worship of the gods. To the science of this, derived from the secret lore of the Chaldaeans, in ages long past the Bactrian Zoroaster[7] made many contributions, and after him the wise king Hystaspes,[8] the father of Darius.

[6] *ἁγιστεία*, "ritual," "holy rites."

[7] For Zarathustra, the founder of the Perso-Iranian native religion, which prevailed from 559 B.C. to A.D. 636. The Greek and Roman writers assign his birth to various places, into which his religion was introduced; it was probably Bactria, or western Iran. His date is also uncertain; Aristotle put it 6000 years before the death of Plato (Pliny, *N.H.* xxx. 3), others 1000 B.C.

[8] Hystaspes was not king. Others regard a much earlier Hystaspes as the teacher of magic.

tissimus, Darei pater. 33. Qui cum superioris Indiae secreta fidentius penetraret, ad nemorosam quandam venerat solitudinem, cuius tranquillis silentiis praecelsa Brachmanorum ingenia potiuntur, eorumque monitu, rationes mundani motus et siderum, purosque sacrorum ritus (quantum colligere potuit) eruditus, ex his, quae didicit, aliqua sensibus magorum infudit, quae illi cum disciplinis praesentiendi futura, per suam quisque progeniem, posteris aetatibus tradunt. 34. Ex eo per saecula multa ad praesens, una eademque prosapia, multitudo creata deorum cultibus dedicatur. Feruntque (si iustum est credi), etiam ignem caelitus lapsum apud se sempiternis foculis custodiri, cuius portionem exiguam (ut faustam) praeisse quondam Asiaticis regibus dicunt. 35. Huius originis apud veteres numerus erat exilis, eiusque ministeriis Persicae potestates in faciendis rebus divinis sollemniter utebantur. Eratque piaculum aras adire, vel hostiam contrectare, antequam magus, conceptis precationibus, libamenta diffunderet praecursoria. Verum aucti paulatim, in amplitudinem gentis solidae concesserunt et nomen, villasque inhabitantes, nulla murorum firmitudine communitas, et legibus suis uti permissi, religionis respectu sunt honorati. 36. Ex hoc magorum semine septem post mortem Cambysis, regnum inisse Persidos

[1] Their priesthood was hereditary, handed on from father to son.

[2] I.e. without walls.

33. When Zoroaster had boldly made his way into the unknown regions of Upper India, he reached a wooded wilderness, whose calm silence the lofty intellects of the Brahmins control. From their teaching he learned as much as he could grasp of the laws regulating the movements of the earth and the stars, and of the pure sacrificial rites. Of what he had learned he communicated something to the understanding of the Magi, which they, along with the art of divining the future, hand on from generation to generation to later times. 34. From that time on for many ages down to the present a large class of men of one and the same descent have devoted themselves to the service of the gods.[1] The Magi also say (if it is right to believe them) that they guard on ever-burning braziers a fire sent down from heaven in their country, and that a small portion of it, as a good omen, used to be carried before the Asiatic kings. 35. The number of Magi of this origin in old times was very small, and the Persian potentates made regular use of their services in the worship of their gods. And it was sin to approach an altar, or touch a sacrificial victim, before one of the Magi, with a set form of prayer, poured the preliminary libations. But they gradually increased in number and became a strong clan, with a name of their own; they possessed country residences, which were protected by no great walls,[2] and they were allowed to live in accordance with their own laws, and through respect for religion were held in high esteem. 36. From this seed of the Magi, as the ancient records relate, seven men after the death of Cambyses mounted the Persian

antiqui memorant libri, docentes eos Darei factione oppressos, imperitandi initium equino hinnitu sortiti.

37. In hac regione oleum conficitur Medicum, quo illitum telum, si emissum lentius laxiore arcu (nam ictu exstinguitur rapido) haeserit usquam, tenaciter cremat,[1] et si aqua voluerit obruere [2] quisquam, aestus excitat acriores incendiorum, nec remedio ullo quam iactu pulveris consopitur. 38. Paratur autem hoc modo. Oleum usus [3] communis herba quadam infectum, condiunt harum rerum periti, ad [4] diuturnitatem servantes et coalescens, dum [5] ex materia venenatur. Alia [6] similis oleo crassiori species [7] gignitur apud Persas, quam (ut diximus) naptham [8] vocabulo appellavere gentili.

39. Per haec loca civitates dispersae sunt plures, quis omnibus praestant Zombis et Patigran et Gazaca. Inter quas opibus et magnitudine moenium conspicuae sunt Heraclia et Arsacia et Europos et Cyropolis et Ecbatana, sub Iasonio monte in

[1] *cremat*, frag. M begins with this word; for numerous additional variants see Clark's ed., pp. 317 ff. [2] *obruere*, Salmasius from Solinus, p. 241; *abluere*, MV. [3] *usus*, M; *usue*, V. [4] *periti ad*, C²EAG; *peritia ad*, MV. [5] *dum*, Her.; *durant*, G; *duri*, MV. [6] *venenatur. alia*, Clark; *venae naturalis*, G; *bene* (from *uene*, m. 1) *naturalia*, M; *bene* (*uene*, V²) *naturalia* (*ra* written above *tu* by m. 1). [7] *crassiori species*, T²BbA; *crassiori: quae species*, G; *crassiorispecies*, M; *crassioris pecies*, V (corrected). [8] *naptham*, Clark; *naitham*, MV (*napitham*, V²).

[1] The "seven men" were those who conspired against the usurper Smerdis in 512 B.C., one of whom was Darius.

throne, but (we are told), they were overthrown by the party of Darius, who made himself king by the neighing of a horse.[1]

37. In this neighbourhood the Medic oil is made. If a missile is smeared with this oil and shot somewhat slowly from a loosened bow (for it is extinguished by a swift flight), wherever it lands it burns persistently; and if one tries to put it out with water, he makes it burn the more fiercely, and it can be quelled in no other way than by throwing dust upon it.[2] 38. Now, the oil is made in this way. Those who are skilled in such matters take oil of general use, mix it with a certain herb, and let it stand for a long time and thicken, until it gets magic power from the material. Another kind, like a thicker sort of oil, is native to Persia, and (as I have said) [3] is called in that language naphtha.

39. In these lands are many scattered cities; greater than all the rest are Zombis, Patigran and Gazaca.[4] Conspicuous for their wealth and their mighty walls are Heraclia, Arsacia, Europos,[5] Cyropolis and Ecbatana,[6] all situated at the foot of

They agreed that the one whose horse neighed first should be king. By a trick of his groom Oebares, Darius was chosen and reigned until 485 B.C. None of the other six mounted the throne. See Hdt. iii. 70 ff.

[2] Cf. 4, 15, above, where Ammianus uses similar language of the *malleoli*; and 6, 16.

[3] 6, 16, above.

[4] Called Gaza by Strabo and Pliny, the capital of Atropatene.

[5] According to Strabo, xi. 13, 6, Arsacia and Europos were the same city, also called Khaga or Khagae.

[6] Cf. Hdt. i. 98; to-day Hamadan.

terris sitae Syromedorum. 40. Amnes has regiones praetereunt multi quorum maximi sunt Choaspes et Gyndes et Amardus et Charinda et Cambyses et Cyrus, cui magno et specioso, Cyrus ille superior rex amabilis, abolito vetere, id vocabulum dedit, cum ereptum ire regna Scythica festinaret, quod et fortis est (ut ipse etiam ferebatur), et vias sibi ut ille impetu ingenti molitus in Caspium delabitur[1] mare.

41. Per tractus meridianos expansa post haec confinia litoribus proxima Persis habitatur antiqua, minutis frugibus dives et palmite, aquarumque copia iucundissima. Amnes quippe multi per eam ante dictum influunt[2] sinum, quorum maximi sunt Batradites et Rogomanius et Brisoana atque Bagrada. 42. Oppida vero mediterranea sunt ampliora—incertum enim qua ratione per oras maritimas nihil condiderunt insigne—inter quae Persepolis est clara et Ardea et Habroatis atque Tragonice. Insulae vero visuntur ibi tres tantum, Tabiana et Fara et Alexandria.

43. His propinquant Parthyaei, siti sub aquilone, colentes nivales terras et pruinosas, quorum regiones Choatres fluvius interscindit ceteris abundantior: et haec potiora residuis sunt oppida: Oenunia, Moesia,

[1] *delabitur*, vulgo; *dilabitur*, MV. [2] *influunt*, vulgo; *defluunt*, Novák; *fluunt*, MV.

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[1] The part of Media which lies before Persia.
[2] This river is in Syria, not in Media.

Mount Iasonius in the land of the Syromedi.[1] 40. Many streams flow through this country, of which the greatest are the Choaspes, Gyndes,[2] Amardus, Charinda, Cambyses, and Cyrus. To this last, a great and beautiful river, the elder Cyrus, that lovable king, when he was hastening on his way to seize the realms of the Scythians, gave that name in place of its older one, because it is valiant, as he himself also was said to be, and forcing its way with the exercise of great power, as he did, flows into the Caspian Sea.

41. Beyond these tracts, but extending farther to the south, next to the seacoast lies Old Persia, rich in small fruits,[3] date-palms, and an abundance of excellent water. For many rivers flow through it into the above-mentioned gulf, the greatest of which are the Batradites,[4] Rogomanius, Brisoana, and Bagrada. 42. But the inland cities are the greater—and it is uncertain for what reason they built nothing conspicuous along the seacoast—notable among which are Persepolis,[5] Ardea, Habroatis, and Tragonice. But only three islands are to be seen there: Tabiana, Fara, and Alexandria.

43. Near these to the north are the Parthians, dwelling in lands abounding in snow and frost. Their land is cut by Choatres river, more copious than the rest, and the following cities are more important than the others: Oenunia, Moesia,

[3] Fruits and leguminous vegetables.
[4] Unknown; apparently the Arosis in Susiana.
[5] With striking ruins; the other cities are unknown. Ammianus omits Pasargada, the second city after Persepolis, unless Ardea is a corruption of this.

Charax, Apamia, Artacana et Hecatompylos a cuius finibus per Caspai litora ad usque portarum angustias stadia quadraginta numerantur et mille. 44. Feri sunt[1] illic habitatores pagorum omnium atque pugnaces, eosque ita certamina iuvant et bella, ut iudicetur inter alios omnes beatus, qui in proelio profuderit animam. Excedentes enim e vita morte fortuita conviciis insectantur ut degeneres et ignavos.

45. Quibus ab orientali australique plaga Arabes beati conterminant, ideo sic appellati quod frugibus iuxta et fetibus et palmite odorumque suavitate multiplici sunt locupletes, magnaeque eorum partes mare rubrum a latere dextro contingunt, laeva Persico mari collimitant, elementi utriusque potiri bonis omnibus[2] assueti. 46. Ubi et stationes et portus tranquilli sunt plures, et emporia densa, et diversoria regum ambitiosa nimium et decora, aquarumque suapte natura calentium saluberrimi fontes et rivorum fluminumque multitudo perspicua, sospitalisque temperies caeli, ut recte spectantibus nihil eis videatur ad felicitatem deesse supremam. 47. Ac licet abundet urbibus mediterraneis atque maritimis, campisque copiosis et vallibus, has tamen civitates habet eximias: Geapolim et Nascon et

[1] *feri sunt*, tr. by Her.; *sunt fere*, MV (repeating *sunt* after *habitatores*; del V[2]). [2] *omnibus*, frag. M ends with this word.

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[1] Founded by the Greeks.

Charax, Apamia,[1] Artacana, and Hecatompylos,[2] from which place one reckons along the Caspian Sea to the Caspian Gates 1040 stadia. 44. There the inhabitants of all the districts are savage and warlike, and take such pleasure in war and conflict, that one who loses his life in battle is regarded as happy beyond all others. For those who depart from this life by a natural death they assail with insults, as degenerate and cowardly.

45. On the south-eastern border of these are the "Happy" Arabs,[3] so-called because they are rich in the fruits of the field, as well as in cattle, dates, and many varieties of perfumes. A great part of their lands border to the right on the Red Sea, and on the left form the boundary of the Persian Sea, and the people know how to avail themselves of all the advantages of both elements. 46. On that coast there are both many anchorages and numerous safe harbours, trading cities in an uninterrupted line, uncommonly splendid and richly adorned residences of their kings, natural hot springs of remarkable curative powers, a conspicuous abundance of brooks and rivers, and a very salubrious climate; so that to men of good judgement they evidently lack nothing for supreme happiness. 47. And while they have an abundance of towns, inland and on the coast, as well as fruitful plains and valleys, yet the choicest cities are Geapolis and Nascos,

[2] The capital and residence of Arsaces, so-named from the number of roads that come thither from all quarters.

[3] Arabia did not belong to Persia, and is not mentioned above among the provinces. Arabia Felix (Yemen) is contrasted with Arabia Deserta and Arabia Petraea, in the northern part of the peninsula.

Baraba, itidemque Nagara et Maephen[1] et Taphra et Dioscurida. Insulas autem complures habet per utrumque proximas mare, quas dinumerare non refert. Insignior tamen aliis Turgana[2] est, in qua Serapidis maximum esse dicitur templum.

48. Post huius terminos gentis, Carmania maior verticibus celsis erigitur, ad usque Indicum pertinens mare, fructuariis arboreisque fetibus culta, sed obscurior Arabum terris multo et minor. Fluminibus tamen ipsa quoque non minus abundans, caespiteque ubere iuxta fecunda. 49. Amnes autem sunt hic ceteris notiores, Sagareus et Saganis et Hydriacus. Sunt etiam civitates, licet numero paucae, victu tamen et cultu perquam copiosae, inter quas nitet Carmana omnium mater et Portospana et Alexandria et Hermupolis.

50. Interius vero pergenti occurrunt Hyrcani, quos eiusdem nominis alluit mare. Apud quos glebae macie internecante[3] sementes, ruris colendi cura est levior, sed vescuntur venatibus, quorum varietate immane quantum exuberant. Ubi etiam tigridum milia multa cernuntur, feraeque bestiae plures, quae cuiusmodi solent capi commentis, dudum nos meminimus rettulisse. 51. Nec ideo tamen stivam ignorant, sed seminibus teguntur aliquae partes, ubi solum est pinguius, nec arbusta desunt in locis

[1] *Maefen*, Clark; *Maepham*, Gardt. from Ptol.; *mefre*, V[2] (from *inefre*, V). [2] *Turgana*, V, Clark; *Organa*, Gardt. [3] *macie internecante*, Salmasius; *intermicantes ementes*, V.

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[1] This is the island of Socotra well away from the Arabian coast.
[2] Modern Ormuz. [3] A part of the Caspian.

Baraba, and also Nagara, Maephe, Taphra, and Dioscuris.[1] Moreover, in both seas, and near to the shore, there are many islands, which it is not worth while to enumerate. The most prominent among them is Turgana,[2] on which there is said to be a great temple of Serapis.

48. Beyond the frontier of this people Greater Carmania rises with lofty peaks, extending as far as the Indian Sea, supplied with products of the soil and fruit trees, but far inferior in fame and in extent to the lands of the Arabs; however, the country is no less rich in rivers, and equally blest with a fertile soil. 49. The rivers better known than the rest are the Sagareus, Saganis, and Hydriacus. There are also cities which, though few in number, are very rich in all that contributes to the maintenance and enjoyment of life. Conspicuous among them are Carmana, mother city of them all, Portospana, Alexandria, and Hermupolis.

50. Proceeding inland, one meets with the Hyrcanians, whose coast the sea of the same name washes.[3] Among them, since the leanness of their soil kills the seeds, less attention is given to agriculture, but they live upon game, of which there is a monstrous great variety and abundance. There are also many thousand tigers, and numerous other wild beasts, and by what kind of devices they are usually taken I recall that I gave an account long ago.[4] 51. But for all that, they are not unacquainted with the plough-tail, but some districts, where the soil is richer, are covered over with sown fields. Groves of trees,

[4] In a lost book. Cf. Mela, iii. 5, 43; Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 66; Ambros., *Hexam.* vi. 4.

habilibus ad plantandum, et marinis mercibus plerique sustentantur. 52. Hic amnes duo pervulgat sunt nominis, Oxus et Maxera, quos urgente inedia, superantes natatu, aliquotiens tigres improvisae finitima populantur. Habent etiam civitates inter minora municipia validas, duas quidem maritimas, Socanda [1] et Saramanna, mediterraneas alias Asmurnam [2] et Salen et his nobiliorem Hyrcanam.

53. Contra hanc gentem sub aquilone dicuntur Abii versari, genus piissimum, calcare cuncta mortalia consuetum, quos (ut Homerus fabulosius canit) Iuppiter ab Idaeis montibus contuetur.

54. Sedes vicinas post Hyrcanos sortiti sunt Margiani, omnes paene collibus altis undique circumsaepti, ideo a mari discreti. Et quamquam pleraque sunt ibi deserta soli aquarum penuria,[3] quaedam tamen habent oppida; sed Iasonion et Antiochia et Nigaea sunt aliis notiora.

55. Proximos his limites possident Bactriani, natio antehac bellatrix et potentissima, Persisque semper infesta, antequam circumsitos populos omnes ad dicionem gentilitatemque traheret nominis sui, quam rexere veteribus saeculis etiam Arsaci for-

[1] *Socanda*, Gardt.; *Socunda*, BG; *soconda* (second *o* added by V^3 in an erasure), V. [2] *Asmurnam*, Gardt.; *Azmornam* G; *azmorna* (*m* added by V^2) V. [3] *soli aquarum penuria*, tr. by Gardt.; *paenuria soli quaedam*, V (*soli* omitted by BG); lac. after *quaedam*, Eyssen.

too, are not lacking in places suited for planting them, and many people support themselves by commerce on the sea.[1] 52. Here are two rivers well known by name, the Oxus and the Maxera, over which tigers, driven by hunger, sometimes swim and unexpectedly cause great losses to the neighbouring places. They also have some strong cities, among lesser towns; two are on the sea, Socanda and Saramanna, and others inland, Asmurna, Sale, and, better known than these, Hyrcana.

53. Over against this people to the north the Abii are said to dwell, a most kindly race, accustomed to trample on all mortal things, on whom, as Homer sings as part of his tale, Jupiter looks with favour from the mountains of Ida.[2]

54. Next after the Hyrcanians the Margiani have found homes, a people all but wholly surrounded by lofty hills, and thus separated from the sea. And although the greater part of their soil, from dearth of water, is a desert, they nevertheless have some towns; but Iasonion, Antiochia,[3] and Nigaea [4] are better known than the others.

55. The lands next to these the Bactriani possess, a nation formerly warlike and very powerful, and always at odds with the Persians, until they reduced all the peoples about them to submission and incorporated them under their own name. In ancient times they were ruled by kings who were

[1] Traders came from Parthia by way of the Caspian Gates.
[2] Cf. *Iliad*, xiii. 6, quoted in § 62.
[3] Founded by Antiochus, son of Seleucus.
[4] Modern Herat.

midabiles reges. 56. Eius pleraeque partes ita ut Margiana, procul a litoribus sunt disparatae, sed humi gignentium fertiles, et pecus quod illic per campestria loca vescitur et montana, membris est magnis compactum et validis, ut indicio sunt cameli, a Mithridate exinde perducti, et primitus in obsidione Cyzicena visi Romanis.[1] 57. Gentes eisdem Bactrianis oboediunt plures, quas exsuperant Tochari, et ad Italiae speciem crebris fluminibus inundantur, E quibus Artamis et Zariaspes ante sibi consociati, itidemque Ochus et Orgomanes, iuncti convenis aquis augent immania Oxi fluenta. 58. Sunt et hic civitates, quas amnes diversi perstringunt, his cedentes ut melioribus, Chatracharta[2] et Alicodrae et Astatiae et Menapilae et Bactris ipsis, unde regnum et vocabulum nationis est institutum.

59. Hinc Sogdiani agunt[3] sub imis montium pedibus, quos appellant Sogdios, inter quos amnes duo fluunt navium capacissimi, Araxates et Dymas, qui per[4] iuga vallesque praecipites, in campestrem planitiem fluvii decurrentes, Oxiam nomine paludem efficiunt, late longeque diffusam. Hic inter alia oppida celebrantur Alexandria et Cyreschata et Drepsa metropolis.

[1] *a Romanis visi*, tr. by BG; *vii Romanis*, V. [2] *Chatracharta*, Gardt.; *chatra et charte*, V. [3] lac. indicated by Val. who added *hinc S. agunt*. [4] lac. ind. by Clark; *qui* added by G, *per* by BG.

[1] Justin, xli. 4, 5, says that the Bactrian kingdom was founded shortly before the Parthian by Diodotus. In xli. 4, 7, he calls it a realm of a thousand cities. After many battles it was finally brought under the Parthian yoke.

formidable even to Arsaces.[1] 56. Many parts of this land, like Margiana, are widely separated from the coast, but rich in vegetation; and the herds which graze on their plains and mountains are thick-set, with strong limbs, as appears from the camels brought from there by Mithridates and seen for the first time by the Romans at the siege of Cyzicus.[2] 57. Several peoples are subject to these same Bactrians, notably the Tochari, and like Italy the country is watered by many rivers. Of these, the Artamis and Zariaspes first unite, as well as the Ochus and Orgomanes, and when joined they increase the mighty flow of the Oxus with their combined[3] waters. 58. There are also cities here which are laved by other rivers, but they recognise these as their betters: namely, Chatracharta, Alicodra, Astatia, Menapila, and Bactra itself, from which the kingdom and the nation have derived their name.

59. Next the Sogdiani dwell at the foot of the mountains which they call the Sogdii, through whose territories two rivers flow which are navigable by ships, the Araxates[4] and the Dymas. These streams rush headlong over mountains and valleys into a level plain and form a lake, Oxia by name, which is both long and broad. Here among other towns Alexandria, Cyreschata,[5] and the metropolis, Drepsa, are famous.

[2] Sallust, *Hist.* iii. 42, Maur.; but cf. Plut., *Lucull.* 11, 4, Σαλλουστίου δὲ θαυμάζω τότε πρῶτον ὦφθαι Ῥωμαίοις καμήλους λέγοντος. [3] Cf. xv, 5, 25.

[4] Probably for Iaxartes; Curtius, vii. 6, 19-21.

[5] By others called Cyropolis, destroyed by Alexander the Great; cf. Arrian, *Anab*, iv. 2, 2 f.

60. His contigui sunt Sacae natio fera, squalentia incolens loca, solum[1] pecori fructuosa, ideo nec civitatibus culta. Cui Ascanimia mons imminet et Comedus. Praeter quorum radices et vicum, quem Lithinon pyrgon appellant, iter longissimum patet, mercatoribus pervium, ad Seras subinde commeantibus.

61. Circa defectus et crepidines montium, quos Imavos et Apurios vocant, Scythae sunt varii,[2] intra Persicos fines Asianis contermini Sarmatis, Halanorumque latus tangentes extremum. Qui velut agentes quodam secessu, coalitique solitudine, per intervalla dispersi sunt longa, assueti victu vili et paupertino. 62. Et gentes quidem variae hos incolunt tractus, quas nunc recensere, alio properans, superfluum puto. Illud tamen sciendum est, inter has nationes paene ob asperitatem nimiam inaccessas homines esse quosdam mites et pios, ut Iaxartae sunt et Galactophagi, quorum meminit vates Homerus in hoc versu

γλακτοφάγων Ἀβίων τε δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων.

63. Inter flumina vero multa, quae per has terras vel potioribus iungit natura, vel lapsu ipso[3] trahit in mare, Rhymmus celebris est et Iaxartes, et Daicus. Civitates autem non nisi tres solas habere noscuntur, Aspabota et Chauriana et Saga.

[1] *solum*, Clark ; *soli*, Gardt. ; *solos*, V. [2] *varii*, Her. ; *a uespera(ura)*, Löfstedt ; *aura*, V. [3] *ipso*, Kellerbauer ; *proprio*, Bent., Novák ; *suopte*, Kell., Madvig ; *post*, V.

[1] The Stone Tower. [2] Milk-eaters. [3] *Iliad*, xiii. 6

60. Next to these are the Sacae, a tribe of savages, inhabiting a rough country rich only for cattle, and hence without cities. It is overhung by the mountains Ascanimia and Comedus, along the base of which and through a village, which they call Lithinos Pyrgos,[1] a very long road extends, which is the route taken by the traders who journey from time to time to the land of the Seres.

61. Along the slopes and at the foot of the mountains which they call Imavi and Apurii, various Scythian tribes dwell within the Persian territories, bordering on the Asiatic Sarmatians and reaching to the outermost side of the Halani. These, as if living in a nook of the world, and brought up in solitude, are widely scattered, and are accustomed to common and poor food. 62. And various other tribes dwell in these parts, which at present I think it superfluous to enumerate, since I am hastening on to another topic. It is necessary only to know, that among these nations, which because of the extreme roughness of their land are almost inaccessible, there are some mild and kindly folk, such as the Iaxartae and the Galactophagi,[2] whom the bard Homer mentions in this verse[3]:

"Of the Galactophagi and Abii, righteous men."

63. Now, among the many rivers of this land, which nature either joins with larger streams or by their own flow carries on to the sea, the Rhymmus, Iaxartes and Daicus are celebrated. But there are only three cities which the region is known to have, namely, Aspabota, Chauriana, and Saga.

64. Ultra haec utriusque Scythiae loca, contra orientalem plagam in orbis speciem consertae, celsorum aggerum summitates ambiunt Seras, ubertate regionum et amplitudine circumspectos, ab occidentali latere Scythis annexos, a septentrione et orientali nivosae [1] solitudini cohaerentes: qua meridiem spectant ad usque Indiam porrectos et Gangen. Appellantur autem ibidem [2] montes Anniba et Nazavicium [3] et Asmira et Emodon et Opurocorra.[4] 65. Hanc itaque planitiem undique prona declivitate praeruptam, terrasque lato situ distentas, duo famosi nominis flumina Oechartis et Bautis lentiore meatu percurrunt. Et dispar est tractuum diversorum ingenium: hic patulum alibi molli devexitate subductum, ideoque satietate frugum et pecoribus et arbustis exuberat. 66. Incolunt autem fecundissimam glebam variae gentes, e [5] quibus Anthropophagi [6] et Anibi et Sizyges et Chardi aquilonibus obiecti sunt et pruinis. Exortum vero solis suspiciunt Rabannae et Asmirae, et Essedones omnium splendidissimi, quibus Athagorae [7] ab occidentali parte cohaerent et Aspacarae.[8] Baetae vero australi celsitudine montium inclinati, urbibus licet non multis, magnis tamen celebrantur et opulentis, inter quas maximae Asmira et Essedon et Asparata et Sera nitidae sunt et notissimae.

[1] *nivosae*, G; *vastae*, E; *pruinosae*, Her.; *vosae*, V. [2] *ibidem*, Mannert; *idem*, V. [3] *Nazavicium*, V; *Auzacium*, Gardt. from Ptolemy. [4] *Opurocarra*, V; *Oporocorra*, Gardt. [5] *e*, G; V omits. [6] *Anthropophagi*, Haupt; *Alitrophagi*, EG, Her.; *alitro fagi*, V. [7] *Athagorae*, V; *Athagurae*, Gardt. from Ptol. [8] *Aspacarae*, N²b; *Asparata*, V; *Aspacara*, Gardt., cf. Ptol.

64. Beyond these lands of both Scythias,[1] towards the east, the summits of lofty walls [2] form a circle and enclose the Seres,[3] remarkable for the richness and extent of their country. On the west they are bounded by the Scythians, and on the north and the east they extend to a snowclad waste; on the south they reach India and the Ganges. There are mountains there, called Anniba, Nazavicium, Asmira, Emodon, and Opurocorra. 65. Through this land, consisting of a plain of wide extent,[4] surrounded on all sides by precipitous cliffs, two rivers of famous name, the Oechartis and the Bautis,[5] flow in a somewhat slow course. The nature of the various tracts is unlike, being now open and flat and now descending in gentle slopes; and therefore the land overflows in grain, flocks, and orchards. 66. On this very fruitful soil dwell various peoples, of which the Anthropophagi, Anibi, Sizyges and Chardi lie towards the north and the snows. Towards the rising sun are the Rabannae, Asmirae, and the Essedones, the most famed of all; close to them, on the west, are the Athagorae, and the Aspacarae. In the south are the Baetae, dwelling on the slopes of high mountains. They are famed for cities which, though not numerous, are large and prosperous; the greatest of these, Asmira, Essedon, Asparata,

[1] European and Asiatic.
[2] Doubtless including the famous Chinese Wall.
[3] The Chinese.
[4] For *situ*, "structure," "form," cf. Horace, *Odes*, iii. 30, 2, *regalique situ pyramidum altius*. As this meaning seems not to occur elsewhere, this may be a reminiscence; cf. *bene nummatum*, xiv. 6, 12, note.
[5] The Selenga and the Hoang Ho.

67. Agunt autem ipsi quietius Seres, armorum semper et proeliorum expertes, utque hominibus sedatis et placidis otium [1] est voluptabile, nulli finitimorum molesti. Caeli apud eos iucunda salubrisque temperies, aeris facies munda, leniumque ventorum commodissimus flatus, et abunde silvae sublucidae, a quibus arborum fetus aquarum asperginibus crebris, velut quaedam vellera molientes, ex lanugine et liquore mixtam subtilitatem tenerrimam pectunt, nentesque subtegmina conficiunt sericum, ad usus nobilium antehac,[2] nunc etiam infimorum sine ulla discretione proficiens. 68. Ipsi praeter alios frugalissimi pacatioris vitae cultores, vitantes reliquorum mortalium coetus. Cumque ad coemenda fila vel quaedam alia fluvium transierint advenae, nulla sermonum vice propositarum rerum pretia solis oculis aestimantur, et ita sunt abstinentes, ut apud se tradentes gignentia, nihil ipsi comparent adventicium.

69. Ariani vivunt post Seras, Boreae obnoxii flatibus, quorum terras amnis vehendis sufficiens navibus, Arias perfluit nomine, faciens lacum ingentem, eodem vocabulo dictitatum. Abundat autem haec eadem Aria oppidis, inter quae sunt celebria Vitaxa Sarmatina et Sotira et Nisibis et Alexandria, unde naviganti ad Caspium mare quingenta stadia numerantur et mille.

[1] *est otium*, V; tr. by BG. [2] *nobilium antehac*, transposui, c.o.

and Sera, are beautiful and well known. 67. The Seres themselves live a peaceful life, for ever unacquainted with arms and warfare; and since to gentle and quiet folk ease is pleasurable, they are troublesome to none of their neighbours. Their climate is agreeable and healthful, the sky is clear, the winds gentle and very pleasant. There is an abundance of well-lighted woods, the trees of which produce a substance which they work with frequent sprinkling, like a kind of fleece; then from the wool-like material, mixed with water, they draw out very fine threads, spin the yarn, and make sericum,[1] formerly for the use of the nobility, but nowadays available even to the lowest without any distinction. 68. The Seres themselves are frugal beyond all others, live a quiet life, and avoid intercourse with the rest of mortals. And when strangers, in order to buy threads or anything else, cross the river, their wares are laid out and with no exchange of words their value is estimated by the eye alone; [2] and they are so abstemious, that they hand over their own products without themselves getting any foreign ware in return.

69. Beyond the Seres live the Ariani, exposed to the blasts of the north wind; through their lands flows a river called the Arias, large enough to carry ships, which forms a great lake called by the same name. Moreover, this same Aria has many cities, among which the following are renowned: Vitaxa Sarmatina, Sotira, Nisibis, and Alexandria, from which the voyage to the Caspian Sea is reckoned as fifteen hundred stadia.

[1] Silk. [2] Cf. Hdt. iv. 196.

70. His locis Paropanisadae sunt proximi, Indos ab oriente, Caucasumque ab occidentali latere prospectantes, ipsi quoque montium defectibus inclinati, quos residuis omnibus maior, Gordomaris[1] interluit fluvius a Bactrianis exsurgens. Habent autem etiam civitates aliquas, quibus clariores sunt Agazaca et Naulibus et Ortospana,[2] unde litorea navigatio ad usque Mediae fines, portis proximos Caspiis stadiorum sunt duo milia et ducenta.

71. Ante dictis continui sunt Drangiani collibus cohaerentes, quos flumen alluit[3] Arabium nomine ideo appellatum, quod inde exoritur, interque alia duobus municipiis exultantes, Prophthasia et Ariaspe, ut opulentis et claris.

72. Post quos exadversum Arachosia visitur, dextrum vergens in latus, Indis obiecta, quam ab Indo fluviorum maximo (unde regiones cognominatae sunt) amnis multo minor exoriens, aquarum alluit amplitudine, efficitque paludem quam[4] Arachotoscrenen appellant. Hic quoque civitates sunt inter alias viles, Alexandria et Arbaca et Choaspa.

73. At in penitissima parte Persidos, Gedrosia est dextra terminos contingens Indorum, inter minores alios Artabio uberior flumine, ubi montes deficiunt Arbitani, quorum ex pedibus imis emer-

[1] *Gordomaris*, Her. (deleting *orto* as a corr. of *Orthospana*); *ortogordomaris*, V. [2] *Orthospana*, V. [3] *quos flumen alluit*, added by Val.; *coherentes Arabium*, V. [4] *quam*, added by Clark.

[1] Or, Paropamisadae, named from Mt. Paropamisus (Hindu Kush confused with Caucasus). Their country formed the route from Persia to India.

70. Neighbours to these places are the Paropanisadae,[1] facing the Indi on the east, and the Caucasus on the west; they themselves also dwell on the slopes of the mountains and through their country (besides some smaller rivers) flows the Gordomaris, rising in Bactria. And they also have some cities, of which the better-known are Agazaca, Naulibus, and Ortospana, from which the distance along the bank of the river to the frontiers of Media next to the Caspian Gates is 2200 stadia.

71. Joining the aforesaid are the Drangiani, connected with them by hills. Their land is washed by the river Arabius, so-called from the place of its rise.[2] Among other towns they are proud of two, Prophthasia and Ariaspe, because of their wealth and fame.

72. Then, opposite to these, we see Arachosia, on the right facing the Indi. From a much smaller river,[3] flowing out from the mighty Indus, from which the whole region takes its name, Arachosia receives an abundance of water; this river forms a lake, called Arachotoscrene.[4] Here also among insignificant cities, are Alexandria,[5] Arbaca, and Choaspa.

73. Now far within Persia lies Gedrosia, on the right reaching the frontiers of the Indi; it is made fertile by the Artabius, in addition to smaller streams. Here the Arbitani mountains come to an

[2] In the country of the Arabi or Arabites, a people of Indian origin.
[3] The Arachotos, which is also the name of their capital city.
[4] *Ἀράχωτος κρήνη*. [5] Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* vi. 92.

gentes alii fluvii Indo miscentur, amittentes nomina magnitudine potioris. Civitates autem etiam hic sunt inclytae[1] praeter insulas, sed Ratira[2] et Gynaecon limen meliores residuis aestimantur.

74. Ne igitur orae maritimae spatia alluentia Persidos[3] extremitates per minutias demonstrantes, a proposito longius aberremus, id sufficiet dici, quod mare praetentum a Caspiis montibus per borium latus ad usque memoratas angustias, novem milium stadiorum, australe vero ab ostiis Nili fluminis ad usque principia Carmanorum, quattuordecim milium stadiorum numero definitur.

75. Per has nationes dissonas et multiplices, hominum quoque diversitates sunt ut locorum. Sed ut[4] generaliter corpora describamus, et mores,[5] graciles paene sunt omnes, subnigri vel livido colore pallentes, caprinis oculis torvi, et superciliis in semiorbium speciem curvatis iunctisque, non indecoribus barbis, capillisque promissis hirsuti, omnes tamen promisce vel inter epulas festosque dies gladiis cincti cernuntur. Quem Graecorum veterum morem abiecisse primos Athenienses, Thucydides est auctor amplissimus. 76. Effusius plerique soluti in venerem, aegreque contenti multitudine pelicum, puerilium stuprorum expertes, pro opibus

[1] *inclutae*, Günther; *inter civitates*, G; *incivitate* (third *i* del. V[2]), V. [2] *sed Ratira*, Schneider; *Sedratyra*, BG, V. [3] *Persidos*, Clark; *Persidis*, EBG; *persidus*, V. [4] *ut*, BG; *ne*, V; lac. after *ne* indic. Pet. [5] *et mores*, BG; *primores*, Gardt.; *ut priores*, Momm.; *et priores*, V.

end, and from their bases flow other rivers, which mingle with the Indus, losing their names through the size of the greater stream. But here, too, there are famous cities, in addition to islands; but Ratira and Gynaecon limen[1] are more highly esteemed than the rest.

74. But we would not give a detailed account of the seacoast at the extremities of Persia, and wander too far from our subject. So it will be enough to say that the sea extending from the Caspian mountains along the northern side to the above-mentioned strait is 9000 stadia;[2] but the southern frontier, from the mouths of the river Nile to where Carmania begins, is reckoned at 14,000 stadia.

75. Among these many men of differing tongues there are varieties of persons, as well as of places. But, to describe their bodily characteristics and their customs in general, they are almost all slender, somewhat dark, or of a leaden pallor, with eyes grim as goats', eyebrows joined and curved in the form of a half-circle, not uncomely beards, and long, shaggy hair. All of them without exception, even at banquets and on festal days, appear girt with swords; an old Greek custom which, according to the trustworthy testimony of Thucydides,[3] the Athenians were the first to abandon. 76. Most of them are extravagantly given to venery, and are hardly contented with a multitude of concubines;[4] they are

[1] *Γυναικῶν λιμήν*, "the Women's Port"; the origin of the name is unknown.

[2] See Strabo, xi. 7 ff., who, however, does not give the distance.

[3] i. 6, 1-3.

[4] Cf. Hdt. i. 135.

quisque adsciscens matrimonia plura vel pauca. Unde apud eos per libidines varias caritas dispersa torpescit, munditias conviviorum et luxum maximeque potandi aviditatem vitante ut luem. 77. Nec apud eos extra regales mensas hora est praestituta prandendi, sed venter uni cuique velut solarium est, eoque monente quod inciderit editur, nec quisquam post satietatem superfluos sibi ingerit cibos. 78. Inmane quantum restricti et cauti, ut inter hostiles hortos gradientes non numquam et vineta, nec cupiant aliquid nec contingant, venenorum et secretarum artium metu. 79. Super his nec stando mingens nec ad requisita naturae secedens, facile visitur Persa: ita observantius haec aliaque pudenda declinant. 80. Adeo autem dissoluti sunt et artuum laxitate, vagoque incessu se iactitantes, ut effeminatos existimes, cum sint acerrimi bellatores, sed magis artifices quam fortes, eminusque terribiles, abundantes inanibus verbis, insanumque loquentes et ferum, magnidici et graves ac taetri, minaces iuxta in adversis rebus et prosperis, callidi superbi crudeles, vitae necisque potestatem in servos et plebeios vindicantes obscuros: cutes vivis hominibus detrahunt, particulatim vel solidas, nec ministranti apud eos famulo mensaeque adstanti, hiscere vel

[1] So also Curt. x. 1, 26, but according to Hdt. (*l.c.*), they acquired this vice from the Greeks.
[2] Cf. Sallust, *Jug.* 80, 6-7, on the Numidians.
[3] Xenophon and Athenaeus do not agree with this.
[4] Cf. the parasite in the comedy *Boeotia;* Gell. iii. 3, 6.
[5] Cf. Hdt. i. 133.
[6] Cf. Hdt. i. 133; Xenophon, *Cyrop.* viii. 8, 11.

free from immoral relations with boys.[1] Each man according to his means contracts many or few marriages, whence their affection, divided as it is among various objects, grows cold.[2] They avoid as they would the plague splendid and luxurious banquets, and especially, excessive drinking.[3] 77. Except for the kings' tables, they have no fixed hours for meal-times, but every man's belly is, as it were, his sundial;[4] when this gives the call, they eat whatever is at hand, and no one, after he is satisfied, loads himself with superfluous food.[5] 78. They are immensely moderate and cautious, so much so that they sometimes march through an enemy's gardens and vineyards without coveting or touching anything, through fear of poison or magic arts. 79. Besides this, one seldom sees a Persian stop to pass water or step aside in response to a call of nature;[6] so scrupulously do they avoid these and other unseemly actions. 80. On the other hand, they are so free and easy, and stroll about with such a loose and unsteady gait, that one might think them effeminate; but, in fact, they are most gallant warriors, though rather crafty than courageous, and to be feared only at long range. They are given to empty words, and talk madly and extravagantly. They are boastful, harsh and offensive, threatening in adversity and prosperity alike, crafty, haughty, cruel, claiming the power of life and death over slaves and commons. They flay men alive, either bit by bit or all at once, and no servant who waits upon them, or stands at table, is allowed to open his mouth, either to speak or to spit; to such a degree,

loqui licet vel spuere: ita praestratis[1] pellibus labra omnium vinciuntur. 81. Leges apud eos impendio formidatae, inter quas diritate exsuperant latae contra ingratos et desertores, et abominandae aliae per quas ob noxam unius, omnis propinquitas perit. 82. Ad iudicandum autem usu rerum spectati destinantur et integri, parum alienis consiliis indigentes, unde nostram consuetudinem rident, quae interdum facundos, iurisque publici peritissimos, post indoctorum collocat terga. Nam quod supersidere corio damnati ob iniquitatem iudicis, iudex alius cogebatur, aut finxit vetustas, aut olim recepta consuetudo cessavit. 83. Militari cultu ac disciplina proludiisque continuis rei castrensis et armaturae, quam saepe formavimus,[2] metuendi vel exercitibus maximis, equitatus virtute confisi, ubi desudat nobilitas omnis et splendor. Pedites enim in speciem murmillonum contecti, iussa faciunt ut calones. Sequiturque semper haec turba, tamquam addicta perenni servitio, nec stipendiis aliquando fulta nec donis. Et gentes plurimas praeter eas quas abunde perdomuit, sub iugum haec natio miserat, ita audax et ad pulveres Martios erudita,

[1] *praestratis*, Her. (cf. Virg., *Aen*. vii. 88); *praestrictis*, Haupt; *prostrati*, BG; *prostratis*, V. [2] *formavimus*, V; *firmavimus*, B; *formidavimus*, Gardt.

[1] Over the couches at the table, at the beginning of a meal; these skins were handsomely adorned and highly prized. For the Parthian leather, see xxii. 4, 8, note.

[2] For example, when a king is assassinated.

[3] To prompt them.

[4] See Hdt. v. 25; Val. Max. vi. 3, ext. 3; Diod. Sic. xv. 10.

after the skins are spread,[1] are the mouths of all fettered. 81. They stand in special fear of the laws, among which those dealing with ingrates and deserters are particularly severe; and some laws are detestable, namely, those which provide that because of the guilt of a single person all his relatives are put to death.[2] 82. For the office of judge, upright men of proved experience are chosen, who have little need of advice from others; therefore they ridicule our custom, which at times places eloquent men, highly skilled in public law, behind the backs of judges without learning.[3] But that one judge was forced to take his seat on the skin of another who had been condemned to death for injustice[4] is either a fiction of antiquity, or, if once customary, has long since been given up. 83. Through military training and discipline, through constant exercise in warfare and military manœuvres, which we have often described, they cause dread even to great armies; they rely especially on the valour of their cavalry, in which all the nobles and men of rank undergo hard service; for the infantry are armed like the *murmillones*,[5] and they obey orders like so many horse-boys. The whole throng of them always follows in the rear, as if doomed to perpetual slavery, without ever being supported by pay or gifts. And this nation, so bold and so well trained for the dust of Mars, would have brought many other peoples under the yoke in addition to those whom they fully subdued, were they not

[5] A kind of gladiator, see xvi. 12, 49, note. They were armed in the Gallic manner with a small oblong buckler, but without greaves or arm-guard.

ni bellis civilibus externisque assidue vexarentur. 84. Indumentis plerique eorum ita operiuntur lumine colorum fulgentibus vario, ut (licet sinus lateraque dissuta relinquant flatibus agitari ventorum) inter calceos tamen et verticem nihil videatur intectum. Armillis uti monilibusque aureis, et gemmis, praecipue margaritis, quibus abundant, assuefacti post Lydiam victam et Croesum.

85. Restat ut super ortu lapidis huius, pauca succinctius explicentur. Apud Indos et Persas, margaritae reperiuntur in testis marinis robustis et candidis, permixtione roris anni tempore praestituto conceptae. Cupientes enim velut coitum quendam, humores ex lunari aspergine capiunt, densius oscitando. Exindeque gravidulae, edunt minutas binas aut ternas, vel uniones, ideo sic appellatas quod evisceratae conchulae singulas aliquotiens pariunt, sed maiores. 86. Idque indicium est aetheria potius derivatione, quam saginis pelagi hos oriri fetus et vesci, quod guttae matutini roris eisdem infusae, claros efficiunt lapillos et teretes, vespertini vero flexuosos contra et rutilos et maculosos interdum. Minima autem vel magna pro qualitate haustuum figurantur, casibus variatis.

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[1] 546 B.C. [2] I.e. pearls.

[3] *Uniones* is applied to large pearls, of which only one is found in a single shell. Pliny, *N.H.* ix. 112, says that they are called *uniones* because one never finds two pearls of such similarity that they cannot be told from each other. Solinus, 53, 27, end, says it is because one never finds two of them together. But Aelian, *Hist. Anim.* x. 13, says that in one shell sometimes one such pearl is found,

constantly plagued by domestic and foreign wars. 84. Most of them are so covered with clothes gleaming with many shimmering colours, that although they leave their robes open in front and on the sides, and let them flutter in the wind, yet from their head to their shoes no part of the body is seen uncovered. To the use of golden armlets and neck-chains, gems, and especially pearls, of which they possess a great number, they first became accustomed after their victory over Lydia and Croesus.[1]

85. It remains for me to speak briefly about the origin of this gem.[2] Among the Indians and the Persians pearls are found in strong, white sea-shells, being conceived at a definite time of the year by mixture with dew. For at that time they desire, as it were, a kind of copulation, and by often opening and shutting quickly they take in moisture by sprinkling with moonlight. Thereby becoming pregnant, they each bear two or three small pearls, or else *uniones*,[3] so called because the shell-fish, when opened, sometimes yield only one pearl, but in that case they are of greater size. 86. And it is a proof that they are of ethereal origin, rather than that they are conceived and fed from nourishment derived from the sea, that when drops of morning dew fall upon these gems, they make them brilliant and round, but the dew of evening, on the contrary, makes them irregular, red, and sometimes spotted; and they become large or small under varying conditions, according to the quality of what they have taken in. Very often the

sometimes two, sometimes as many as twenty. Cf. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, V. ii. 253, "And in the cup a union shall he throw."

Conclusae vero saepissime metu fulgurum inanescunt, aut debilia pariunt, aut certe vitiis diffluunt abortivis. 87. Capturas autem difficiles et periculosas, et amplitudines pretiorum illa efficit ratio, quod frequentari sueta litora propter piscantium insidias declinantes, ut quidam coniciunt, circa devios scopulos et marinorum canum receptacula delitescunt. 88. Quod genus gemmae etiam in Britannici secessibus maris gigni legique (licet dignitate dispari)[1] non ignoramus.

[1] *dispari*, EBG; *nec simili nec suppari*, Her.; *suppari*, V, *dispari*, V[2].

LIBER XXIIII

1. *Iulianus cum exercitu Assyriam ingreditur, et Anathan castellum ad Euphratem in fidem recipit, et incendit.*

1. Post exploratam alacritatem exercitus, uno parique ardore impetrabilem principem superari non posse, deum usitato clamore testati, Iulianus summae rei finem imponendum maturius credens, restricta[1] quiete nocturna, itinerarium sonare lituos iubet et praestructis[2] omnibus quae difficultates[3] arduae belli poscebant, candente iam luce, Assyrios

[1] *restricta*, Clark; *contracta*, Novák; *extracta*, V.
[2] *et praestructis*, Clark (cf. *e* before *difficultates* (see note 3)); *praestructisque*, G; *praestrictis*, V. [3] *e difficultates*, V; *e* del V[2].

[1] I.e. sharks.
[2] Cf. Tac., *Agr.* 12; Pliny, *N.H.* ix. 116; Solin. 56, 3, 28.

shell-fish close through fear of thunderstorms, and either produce imperfect stones or none at all; or at any rate, it melts away as the result of abortion. 87. Their taking is difficult and dangerous, and their price is high, for the reason that they avoid shores that are usually frequented, to escape the snares of the pearlfishers, as some believe, and hide amid solitary rocks and the lairs of sea-hounds.[1] 88. That this kind of gem is found and gathered in the lonely bays of the Britannic Sea,[2] although of less value than these, is well known to us.

BOOK XXIV

1. *Julian with his army invades Assyria; he receives the fortress of Anathas on the Euphrates into surrender, and destroys it by fire.*[3]

1. After thus testing the spirit of the soldiers,[4] who with unanimous eagerness and the usual acclaim called God to witness that so successful a prince could not be vanquished, Julian, believing that their main purpose must speedily be accomplished, cut short the night's rest[5] and ordered the trumpets to give the signal for the march. And having made every preparation which the difficulties of a dangerous war demanded, just as the clear light of day was appearing he passed the frontiers of

[3] On Julian's campaign see Zosimus, iii. 13 ff.
[4] The narrative is resumed from the end of Julian's speech, xxiii. 5, 24.
[5] The text is uncertain see crit. note.

fines ingressus, celso praeter alios spiritu obequitans ordinibus, aemulatione sui cunctos ad officia fortitudinis incendebat. 2. Utque ductor usu et docilitate firmatus, metuens ne per locorum insolentiam insidiis caperetur occultis, agminibus incedere quadratis exorsus est. Excursatores quidem quingentos et mille sensim praeire disposuit, qui cautius gradientes ex utroque latere, itidemque a fronte, nequis repentinus irrueret, prospectabant. Ipse vero medios pedites regens, quod erat totius roboris firmamentum, dextra legiones aliquas cum Nevitta, supercilia fluminis praestringere iussit Euphratis. Cornu vero laevum cum equitum copiis Arintheo tradidit et Ormisdae, ducendum confertius, per plana camporum et mollia. Agmina vero postrema Dagalaifus cogebat et Victor, ultimusque omnium Osdruenae dux Secundinus.

3. Deinde ut hostibus (si erupissent usquam) vel conspicantibus procul timorem multitudinis maioris incuteret, laxatis cuneis iumenta dilatavit et homines, ut decimo paene lapide postremi dispararentur a signiferis primis, quod arte mira saepe fecisse, Pyrrhus ille rex dicitur Epirotes, opportunis in locis castra metandi, armorumque speciem diffundendi ex industria vel attenuandi perquam scien-

[1] Mentioned as commander of the cavalry in xxv. 5, 2; 7, 7; of the infantry, in xxvii. 5, 4, 9.

[2] Cf. xvi. 10, 16.

[3] Not elsewhere mentioned.

[4] A province of Mesopotamia.

Assyria, riding in a lofty spirit above all others from rank to rank, and firing every man with a desire to rival him in deeds of valour. 2. And being a general trained by experience and study of the art of war, and fearing lest, being unacquainted with the terrain, he might be entrapped by hidden ambuscades, he began his march with his army in order of battle. He also arranged to have 1500 mounted scouts riding a little ahead of the army, who advancing with caution on both flanks, as well as in front, kept watch that no sudden attack be made. He himself in the centre led the infantry, which formed the main strength of his entire force, and ordered Nevitta on the right with several legions to skirt the banks of the Euphrates. The left wing with the cavalry he put in charge of Arintheus[1] and Ormisda,[2] to be led in close order through the level fields and meadows. Dagalaifus and Victor brought up the rear, and last of all was Secundinus,[3] military leader in Osdruena.[4]

3. Then in order to fill the enemy (if they should burst out anywhere), even when they saw him from afar, with fear of a greater force than he had, by a loose order he so extended the ranks of horses and men, that the hindermost were nearly ten miles distant from the standard-bearers in the van. This is the wonderful device that Pyrrhus, the famous king of Epirus, is said often to have used; for he was most skilful in choosing suitable places for his camp,[5] and able to disguise the look

[5] Cf. Livy, xxxv. 14, 9; Frontinus, *Strat.* iv. 1, 14. Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, viii. 2, says that he wrote a book on the art of war.

tissimus, ut ubi convenisset[1] plures aestimarentur aut pauci.

4. Sarcinas vero et calones et apparationem imbellem, impedimentorumque genus omne inter utrumque latus instituit procedentium ordinatim, nequa vi subita raperentur (ut saepe contigit) improtecta. Classis autem licet per flumen ferebatur assiduis flexibus tortuosum, nec residere nec praecurrere sinebatur.

5. Emenso itaque itinere bidui, prope civitatem venimus Duram desertam, marginibus amnis impositam. In quo loco greges cervorum plures inventi sunt, quorum alii confixi missilibus, alii ponderibus inlisi[2] remorum, ad satietatem omnes paverunt; pars maxima natatu assueta veloci, alveo penetrato, incohibili cursu evasit ad solitudines notas.

6. Exin dierum quattuor itinere levi peracto vespera incedente, cum expeditis mille impositis navibus, Lucillianus comes imperatu[3] principis mittitur Anathan munimentum expugnaturus, quod (ut pleraque alia) circumluitur fluentis Euphratis. Et navibus (ut praeceptum est) per opportuna dispersis, insula obsidebatur[4] nebulosa nocte obumbrante impetum clandestinum. 7. Sed postquam advenit lux certa, aquatum quidam egressus, visis subito hostibus, ululabili clamore sublato, excitos tumultuosis vocibus propugnatores armavit. Et

[1] *convenisset*, Her.; *usu venisset*, Val.; *ubi venisset*, V.
[2] *inlisi*, Her.; *elisi*, G; *insae*, V.
[3] *imperatu*, Novák, Her.; *imperio*, Val.; *imperiti a = principis*, V.
[4] *insula obsidebatur*, transposui; *obs. ins.*, Clark, with lac. after *obs.* c.c.

of his forces so that the enemy might think them greater or fewer as it suited him.

4. His packs, servants, unarmed attendants, and every kind of baggage he placed between two divisions of the rank and file, in order that they might not be carried off (as often happens) by a sudden attack, if they were left unprotected. The fleet, although the river along which it went winds with many a bend, was not permitted to lag behind or get ahead.

5. After making a march of two days in this manner, we approached the deserted city of Dura, situated on the river bank. Here so many herds of deer were found, some of which were slain with arrows, others knocked down with heavy oars, that all ate to satiety; but the greater number of the animals, accustomed to rapid swimming, leaped into the river and with a speed that could not be checked escaped to their familiar deserts.

6. Then, after completing a leisurely march of four days, just as evening was coming on Count Lucillianus, with a thousand light-armed troops embarked in ships, was sent, by the emperor's order, to capture the fortress of Anatha,[1] which, like many others, is girt by the waters of the Euphrates. The ships, according to orders, took suitable positions and blockaded the island, while a misty night hid the secret enterprise. 7. But as soon as daylight appeared, a man who went out to fetch water, suddenly catching sight of the enemy, raised a loud outcry, and by his excited shouts called the defenders to

[1] In Mesopotamia.

mox a[1] specula quadam altissima explorato situ castrorum, quam ocissime cum duarum praesidio navium, amnem supermeat imperator, pone sequentibus navigiis multis, quae obsidionales machinas advehebant. 8. Iamque muris propinquans, cum non absque discriminibus multis consideraret esse certandum, sermone cum leni tum aspero et minaci, hortabatur ad deditionem defensores, qui ad colloquium petito Ormizda, promissis eius et iuramentis illecti, multa sibi de lenitudine Romana spondebant. 9. Denique prae se bovem coronatum agentes, quod est apud eos susceptae pacis indicium, descendere suppliciter, et statim munimento omni incenso, Pusaeus eius praefectus, dux Aegypti postea, honore tribunatus affectus est. Reliqui vero cum caritatibus suis et supellectili,[2] humaniore cultu ad Syriacam civitatem Chalcida transmissi sunt. 10. Inter hos miles quidam, cum Maximianus perrupisset quondam Persicos fines, in his locis aeger relictus, prima etiam tum lanugine iuvenis, ut aiebat, uxores sortitus gentis ritu complures cum numerosa subole tunc senex incurvus, exultans, proditionisque auctor, ducebatur ad nostra, testibus affirmans et praescisse se olim et praedixisse, quod centenario iam contiguus, sepelietur in solo Romano. Post quae Saraceni procursatores partis cuiusdam[3]

[1] *a*, added by C. F. W. M.; *ex*, by Her.; V omits.
[2] *supellectili*, Clark; *supellectile*, BG; *supellectio*, V.
[3] *partis cuiusdam*, Kellerbauer, Eyssen.; *partis quidam*, V.

arms. Then the emperor, who from an elevated point had been looking for a site for a camp, with all possible haste crossed the river, under the protection of two ships, followed by a great number of boats carrying siege-artillery. 8. But on drawing near the walls he considered that a battle must be accompanied by many dangers, and accordingly, partly in mild terms, partly in harsh and threatening language, he urged the defenders to surrender. They asked for a conference with Ormizda, and were induced by his promises and oaths to expect much from the mercy of the Romans. 9. Finally, driving before them a garlanded ox, which with them indicates the acceptance of peace, they came down in suppliant guise. At once the whole fortress was set on fire; Pusaeus, its commander, later a general in Egypt, was given the rank of tribune. As for the rest, they were treated kindly, and with their families and possessions were sent to Chalcis, a city of Syria. 10. Among them was a soldier who, when in former times Maximianus made an inroad into the Persian territory, had been left in these parts because of illness; he was then a young man, whose beard was just beginning to grow. He had been given several wives (as he told us) according to the custom of the country, and was on our arrival a bent old man with numerous offspring. He was overjoyed, having advised the surrender, and when taken to our camp, he called several to witness that he had known and declared long ago that he, when nearly a hundred years old, would find a grave on Roman soil. After this the Saracens, to the emperor's great delight, brought in some skirmishers belonging to a division

hostium obtulere laetissimo principi, et munerati ad agenda similia sunt remissi.

11. Acciderat aliud postridie dirum. Ventorum enim turbo exortus, pluresque vertigines concitans, ita confuderat omnia, ut [1] tabernacula multa conscinderentur, et supini plerique milites sternerentur vel proni, venti spiritu [2] stabilitatem vestigii subvertente. Nec minus eodem die aliud periculosum evenit. Amne enim repente extra margines evagato, mersae sunt quaedam frumentariae naves, cataractis avulsis, ad defundendas reprimendasque aquas rigare suetas opere saxeo structis: quod utrum per insidias an magnitudine acciderit fluentorum, sciri non potuit.

12. Post perruptam incensamque urbem omnium primam, et captivos transmissos, certiore iam spe provectus exercitus ad fiduciam, elatis vocibus in favores principis consurgebat, adfore sibi etiam deinde dei caelestis [3] existimans curam.

13. Et cui [4] per regiones ignotas de obscuris erat suspectior cura, astus gentis et ludificandi varietas timebatur. Ideoque imperator nunc antesignanus nunc agminibus cogendis insistens, cum expeditis velitibus, nequid lateret abstrusum, frutecta squalida vallesque scrutabatur, licentiores militum per longinqua discursus affabilitate nativa prohibendo vel

[1] *ut tabernacula*, Her.; *tecta ut t.*, W[2]BG; *tecta t.*, B; *tecta uernacula* (= *ber-*, V[3]), V. [2] *venti spiritu*, Novàk; *dispiritu*, V. [3] *dei caelestis*, Her.; *deinde caelestes*, V. [4] *cui*, Clark; *quia*, G; *quae*, b; *qui*, V.

of the enemy, and after receiving rewards were sent back to engage in like activities.

11. On the following day another thing happened, this time a disaster. For a hurricane arose, which stirred up numerous whirlwinds and caused such general confusion, that many tents were rent asunder and numerous soldiers were prevented by the force of the gale from keeping a firm footing and were hurled to the ground on their faces or on their backs. On that same day another equally dangerous thing happened. For the river suddenly overflowed its banks and some grain-ships were sunk, since the sluices built of masonry, which served to hold in or let out the water used for irrigating the fields, were broken through; but whether this was a device of the enemy or was due to the weight of the waters could not be learned.

12. After storming and burning the first city to which we had come, and moving the prisoners to another place, the hopes of the army were raised to fuller confidence and with loud shouts they rose to praise the prince, convinced that even now the protection of the god of heaven would be with them.

13. And for one who was traversing unknown regions greater precautions against hidden dangers were necessary, since the craft and many wiles of the nation were to be feared. Therefore the emperor, with light-armed skirmishers, now took his place at the head of the army, and now brought up the rear; and in order that no hidden danger might escape his notice, he scanned the rough thickets and valleys, using either his native affability or threats to keep his men from scattering too loosely or too far.

minis. 14. Hostiles tamen agros omni frugum genere divites, cum segetibus et tuguriis inflammari permisit, ita demum cum usui necessaria abunde sibi quisque collegisset, et hoc modo sauciabatur salus hostium nesciorum. 15. Bellatores enim libenter quaesitis dextris propriis utebantur, alia virtutis suae horrea repperisse existimantes, et laeti quod vitae [1] subsidiis affluentes, alimenta servabant, quae navigiis vehebantur. 16. Hic vino gravis quidam temerarius miles ad ulteriorem ripam nullo urgente transgressus, in conspectu nostro ab hostilibus [2] captus, occisus est.

2. *Imperator, castellis et oppidis aliis intentatis, aliis quae deserta erant incensis, Pirisaboram in deditionem accipit succenditque.*

1. Quibus tali casu patratis, ad castra pervenimus nomine Thilutha, in medio fluminis sita, locum immenso quodam vertice tumescentem, et potestate naturae, velut manu circumsaeptum humana, cuius ad deditionem incolae temptati mollius (ut decebat), quoniam asperitas edita vim superabat armorum, intempestivam tunc defectionem esse firmabant. Sed hactenus responderunt, quod cum interiora occupaverint protinus gradientes Romani, se quoque utpote regnorum sequellas, victoribus accessuros. 2. Et post haec praetermeantes moenia ipsa, naves

[1] *quod vitae quoque*, G (*quoque* deleted by Pet. as dittogr.); *quod vitae quod*, V. [2] *hostilibus*, Clark; *hostibus*, EAG; *hominibus*, V.

[1] I.e. sources of supply.

14. However, he allowed the enemy's fields, abounding in fruits of every kind, to be set on fire with their crops and huts, but only after each man had fully supplied himself with everything that he needed; and in this way the safety of their foes was impaired before they knew it. 15. For the warriors gladly made use of what they had won with their own hands, thinking that their valour had found new granaries; [1] and they were delighted to have an abundance of provisions and at the same time save the food that was carried in the ships. 16. At this place a drunken soldier, who had rashly and without orders crossed to the opposite bank, was seized by the enemy before our eyes and killed.

2. *The emperor, after passing by some fortresses and towns and burning others, that had been abandoned, receives the surrender of Pirisabora and destroys it by fire.*

1. After these successful operations we reached a fortress called Thilutha, situated in the middle of the river, a place rising in a lofty peak and fortified by nature's power as if by the hand of man. Since the difficulty and the height of the place made it impregnable, an attempt was made with friendly words (as was fitting) to induce the inhabitants to surrender; but they insisted that such defection then would be untimely. But they went so far as to reply, that as soon as the Romans by further advance had got possession of the interior, they also would go over to the victors, as appendages of the kingdom. 2. After this, as our ships went by under

nostras verecunda[1] quiete spectabant immobiles. Quo transito cum ad munimentum aliud Achaiachala nomine venissemus, fluminis circumitione vallatum, arduumque transcensu, refutati pari responso discessimus. Alia postridie castra ob muros invalidos derelicta, praetereuntur incensa.[2] 3. Postera igitur et insequenti die stadiis ducentis emensis, ventum est ad locum Baraxmalcha. Unde amne transito miliario septimo disparata, Diacira invaditur civitas, habitatoribus vacua, frumento et salibus nitidis plena, in qua templum alti culminis arci vidimus superpositum, qua incensa caesisque mulieribus paucis, quae repertae sunt, traiecto fonte scatenti bitumine, Ozogardana occupavimus oppidum, quod formidine advenientis exercitus itidem deseruere cultores. In quo principis Traiani tribunal ostendebatur. 4. Hac quoque exusta, biduo ad refectionem corporum dato, prope extremum noctis quae secundum diem secuta est, Surena post regem apud Persas promeritae dignitatis, et Malechus Podosacis nomine, phylarchus Saracenorum Assanitarum, famosi nominis latro, omni saevitia per nostros limites diu grassatus, structis Ormizdae insidiis, quem ad speculandum exiturum (incertum

[1] *verecunda*, Haupt; *cum verecundia*, BG; *nostra uasere cundia*, V. [2] *incensa*, EG; *a nobis inoffensa*, Novák; *censa*, V.

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[1] In Ptolemy, Idikara; to-day, Hit; known to Hdt. (i. 179).

[2] Perhaps a memorial to the dead emperor (cf. Tac., *Ann.* ii. 83, where the meaning is uncertain); here perhaps the reference is to a structure built by Trajan while alive.

[3] An official title, something like grand vizier.

their very walls, they looked on in respectful silence without making any move. After passing this place we came to another fortress, Achaiachala by name, also protected by the encircling river, and difficult of ascent; there too we received a similar refusal and went on. The next day another castle, which because of the weakness of its walls had been abandoned, was burned in passing. 3. Then during the following two days we covered 200 stadia and arrived at a place called Baraxmalcha. From there we crossed the river and entered the city of Diacira,[1] seven miles distant. This place was without inhabitants, but rich in grain and fine white salt; there we saw a temple, standing on a lofty citadel. After burning the city, and killing a few women whom we found, we passed over a spring bubbling with bitumen and took possession of the town of Ozogardana, which the inhabitants had likewise deserted through fear of the approaching army. Here a tribunal of the emperor Trajan was to be seen.[2] 4. After burning this city also, and taking two days' rest, towards the end of the night which followed the second day, the Surena,[3] who among the Persians has won the highest rank after the king, and the Malechus,[4] Podosaces by name, phylarch of the Assanitic Saracens, a notorious brigand, who with every kind of cruelty had long raided our territories,[5] laid an ambuscade for Ormizda, who, as they had learned (one knew not from what source), was

[4] Also an official title; the Saracens were divided into twelve *phylae*, or tribes, each presided over by a phylarch, or malechus; an emir.

[5] For *limites*, in this sense, see xxiii. 6, 55, above.

unde) praesenserant, ideo sunt temptamento frustrati, quod angusta fluminis interluvies et praealta transiri vado non potuit. 5. Et primo lucis exordio, cum essent hostes iam in contuitu, visi tunc primitus corusci galeis et horrentes indutibus rigidis,[1] milites in procinctum impetu veloci tendentes, eos involavere fortissime. Et quamvis arcus validis viribus flecterentur, et splendor ferri intermicans, Romanorum metum augeret, ira tamen acuente virtutem, clipeorum densitate contecti, ne possint emittere, coegerunt. 6. Animatus his vincendi primitiis, miles ad vicum Macepracta pervenit, in quo semiruta murorum vestigia videbantur, qui priscis temporibus in spatia longa protenti, tueri ab externis incursibus Assyriam dicebantur. 7. Hinc pars fluminis scinditur, largis aquarum agminibus ducens ad tractus Babylonos[2] interiores, usui agris futura et civitatibus circumiectis, alia Naarmalcha nomine, quod fluvius regum interpretatur, Ctesiphonta praetermeat, cuius in exordio turris in modum Phari celsior surgit. Hanc peditatus omnis pontibus caute digestis, transivit. 8. Equites vero cum iumentis armati, clementiores gurgites fluminis obliquati transnarunt, pars flumine absumpta in-

[1] *rigidis*, W²BG; *perrigidis* Eyssen.; *praer-*, Pet.; *aere rigidis*, Her.; *rerigidis*, V. [2] *Babylonos*, V, restored by Clark; *Babilonios*, EBG (*-byl-*, BG).

[1] Xenophon saw these walls, which enclose a canal (*Anab.* i. 7, 15 f.).
[2] Cf. xxiii. 6, 25.

on the point of setting out to reconnoitre. But their attempt failed, because the river at that point is narrow and very deep, and hence could not be forded. 5. At daybreak the enemy were already in sight, and we then saw them for the first time in their gleaming helmets and bristling with stiff coats of mail; but our soldiers rushed to battle at quick step, and fell upon them most valiantly. And although the bows were bent with strong hand and the flashing gleam of steel added to the fear of the Romans, yet anger whetted their valour, and covered with a close array of shields they pressed the enemy so hard that they could not use their bows. 6. Inspired by these first-fruits of victory, our soldiers came to the village of Macepracta, where the half-destroyed traces of walls[1] were seen; these in early times had a wide extent, it was said, and protected Assyria from hostile inroads. 7. Here a part of the river is drawn off by large canals which take the water into the interior parts of Babylonia, for the use of the fields and the neighbouring cities; another part, Naarmalcha[2] by name, which being interpreted means "the kings' river," flows past Ctesiphon. Where it begins, a tower of considerable height rises, like the Pharos.[3] Over this arm of the river all the infantry crossed on carefully constructed bridges. 8. But the cavalry with the pack-animals swam across in full armour where a bend in the river made it less deep and rapid; some of them were carried off by the current and drowned, others were

[3] That is, it is a lighthouse; the Pharos at Alexandria (see xxii. 16, 9) became a general term for such structures.

terierunt, alia[1] multitudine subita petiti telorum hostilium. Quos egressi auxiliares ad cursum[2] levissimi, fugientiumque cervicibus insistentes, laniatu avium prostraverunt.

9. Quo negotio itidem gloriose perfecto, ad civitatem Pirisaboram ventum est, amplam et populosam, ambitu insulari circumvallatam. Cuius obequitans moenia imperator et situm, obsidium omni cautela coeptabat, quasi sola formidine oppidanos a propugnandi studio summoturus. Quibus per colloquia saepe temptatis, cum nec promissis quisquam flecteretur nec minis, suscipitur oppugnandi exordium, et armatorum triplici corona circumdatis muris, a[3] die primo ad usque noctis initium, missilibus certabatur. 10. Tum defensores animo praestantes et viribus, per[4] propugnacula ciliciis undique laxius pansis, quae telorum impetus cohiberent, obtecti scutis vimine firmissimo textis et crudorum tergorum densitate vestitis, validissime resistebant, ferrea nimirum facie omni: quia lamminae singulis membrorum lineamentis cohaerenter aptatae, fido operimento, totam hominis speciem contegebant. 11. Et aliquotiens Ormizdae ut[5] indigenae et regalis colloquia petentes obnixe, propinquantem probris atque conviciis ut male fidum incessebant et desertorem. Hac lenta cavillatione diei maxima parte exempta, tenebrarum silentio primo, multiformes admotae sunt machinae, coeptaque altitudo

[1] *pars . . . alia*, Her.; *alia*, without lac., V. [2] *cursum*, Clark; *cursuram*, BG; *cursurum*, V. [3] *a*, added by Günther; V omits. [4] *per*, added by G; V omits. [5] *ut*, C. F. W. M.; *indigenae*, G; *omni zadas et indignae*, V.

assailed by the enemy with a sudden shower of arrows; but a troop of auxiliaries, very lightly equipped for running, sallied forth, followed hard on the backs of the flying foe, and like so many birds of prey, struck them down.

9. When this undertaking also had been accomplished with glory, we came to the large and populous city of Pirisabora, surrounded on all sides by the river. The emperor, after riding up and inspecting the walls and the situation, began the siege with all caution, as if he wished by mere terror to take from the townsmen the desire for defence. But after they had been tried by many conferences, and not one could be moved either by promises or by threats, the siege was begun. The walls were surrounded by a triple line of armed men, and from dawn until nightfall they fought with missiles. 10. Then the defenders, who were strong and full of courage, spread over the ramparts everywhere loose strips of haircloth to check the force of the missiles, and themselves protected by shields firmly woven of osier and covered with thick layers of rawhide, resisted most resolutely. They looked as if they were entirely of iron; for the plates exactly fitted the various parts of their bodies and fully protecting them, covered them from head to foot. 11. And again and again they earnestly demanded an interview with Ormizda, as a fellow countryman and of royal rank, but when he came near they assailed him with insults and abuse, as a traitor and a deserter. This tedious raillery used up the greater part of the day, but in the first stillness of night many kinds of siege-engines were brought to bear and

complanari fossarum. 12. Quae vixdum ambigua luce, defensores intentius contemplati, eo accedente quod angularem turrim ictus foravit arietis violentior, relictis civitatis duplicibus muris, continentem occupant arcem, asperi montis interrupta planitie superpositam, cuius medietas in sublime consurgens, tereti ambitu Argolici scuti speciem ostendebat, nisi quod e[1] septemtrione, id quod[2] rotunditati defuerat,[3] in Euphratis fluenta proiectae cautes eminentius tuebantur, in qua excellebant minae murorum, bitumine et coctilibus laterculis fabricatae, quo aedificii genere nihil esse tutius constat. 13. Iamque ferocior miles, pervasa urbe quam viderat vacuam, adversus oppidanos ab arce multimoda tela fundentes, acri contentione pugnabat. Cum enim idem prohibitores catapultis nostrorum urgerentur atque ballistis, ipsi quoque ex edito arcus erigebant fortiter tensos, quibus panda utrimque surgentia cornua ita lentius flectebantur, ut nervi digitorum acti pulsibus violentis, harundines ferratas emitterent, quae corporibus illisae contrariis, letaliter figebantur. 14. Dimicabatur nihilo minus utrubique saxorum manualium nimbis, et[4] neutrubi inclinato momento, proelium atrox a lucis ortu ad initium noctis destinatione magna protractum, pari sorte diremptum est. Proinde die secuto, cum certaretur asperrime, multique

[1] *e*, Clark; *a*, EG; *aeseptem trioni*, V. [2] *quod*, added in G; V omits. [3] *defuerat*, Clark; *deerat*, G; *idem erat*, V. [4] *et*, added by G; V omits.

[1] This was round and of large size.

the deep trenches began to be filled up. 12. When the defenders, who were watching intently, made this out by the still uncertain light, and besides, that a mighty blow of the ram had breached a corner tower, they abandoned the double walls of the city and took possession of the citadel connected with them, which stood on a precipitous plateau at the top of a rough mountain. The middle of this mountain rose to a lofty height, and its rounded circuit had the form of an Argolic shield,[1] except that on the north side, where its roundness was broken, cliffs which descended into the current of the Euphrates still more strongly protected it. On this stronghold, battlements of walls rose high, and were built of bitumen and baked brick, a kind of structure (as is well known) than which nothing is safer. 13. And now the soldiers with greater confidence rushed through the city, seeing it deserted, and fought fiercely with the inhabitants, who from the citadel showered upon them missiles of many kinds. For although those same defenders were hard pressed by our catapults and ballistae, they in turn set up on the height strongly stretched bows, whose wide curves extending on both sides were bent so pliably that when the strings were let go by the fingers, the iron-tipped arrows which they sent forth in violent thrusts crashed into the bodies exposed to them and transfixed them with deadly effect. 14. Nevertheless both armies fought with clouds of stones thrown by hand; neither side gave way, but the hot fight continued with great determination from dawn until nightfall, and ended indecisively. Then, on the following day, they continued the

funderentur altrinsecus, et aequi vigores[1] gesta librarent, imperator omnes aleae casus inter mutuas clades experiri festinans, cuneatim stipatus, densetisque clipeis ab ictu sagittarum defensus, veloci saltu comitantibus promptis, prope portam venit hostilem, crasso ferro crustatam. 15. Et licet saxis et glande, ceterisque telis, cum periculi sociis[2] premeretur, fodicare tamen paratos valvarum latera ut aditum patefacerent, vocibus increpans crebris, non ante discessit, quam telorum congerie, quae superiaciebantur, se iam cerneret obruendum. 16. Evasit cum omnibus tamen, paucis levius vulneratis, ipse innoxius, verecundo rubore suffusus. Legerat enim Aemilianum Scipionem, cum historiarum conditore Polybio, Megalopolitano Arcade, et triginta militibus,[3] portam Carthaginis impetu simili subfodisse. Sed fides recepta scriptorum veterum recens factum defendit. 17. Aemilianus enim testudine lapidea tectam successerat portam, sub qua tutus et latens, dum moles saxeas detegunt hostes, urbem nudatam irrupit, Iulianus vero locum patentem aggressus, obumbrata caeli facie fragmentis montium et missilibus aegre repulsus, abscessit.

[1] *vigores*, Corn.; *vires*, G; *viores*, V. [2] *periculi sociis*, Clark; *periculo salutis*, G; *periculis acus* (*acrius*, V^{2}), V. [3] *militibus*, Lind.; *milibus*, V.

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[1] This is not mentioned in Polybius, or elsewhere.

[2] That is, Julian's exploit, incredible as it may seem, is vouched for by one equally incredible; in fact, as he goes on to say, Julian's was greater and more difficult.

[3] The projecting arch above the gate.

battle most fiercely, many fell on both sides, and their equal strength held the victory in balance. Whereupon the emperor, hastening to try every lucky throw amid the mutual slaughter, surrounded by a band in wedge-formation, and protected from the fall of arrows by shields held closely together, in swift assault with a company of vigorous warriors, came near the enemy's gate, which was heavily overlaid with iron. 15. And although he and those who shared in his peril were assailed with rocks, bullets from slings, and other missiles, nevertheless he often cheered on his men as they tried to break in the leaves of the folding gates, in order to affect an entrance, and he did not withdraw until he saw that he must soon be overwhelmed by the volleys that were being hurled down upon him. 16. After all, he got back with all his men; a few were slightly wounded, he himself was unhurt, but bore a blush of shame upon his face. For he had read that Scipio Aemilianus, accompanied by the historian Polybius[1] of Megalopolis in Arcadia and thirty soldiers, had undermined a gate of Carthage in a like attack. But the admitted credibility of the writers of old upholds the recent exploit.[2] 17. For Aemilianus had come close up to the gate, and it was protected by an arch of masonry, under which he was safely hidden while the enemy were trying to lift off the masses of stone[3]; and he broke into the city when it was stripped of its defenders. But Julian attacked an exposed place, and was forced to retreat only when the face of heaven was darkened by fragments of mountains and other missiles showered upon him; and then with difficulty.

18. His raptim ac tumultuarie agitatis, cum operositas vinearum et aggerum impeditissima[1] ceteris urgentibus cerneretur, machinam quae cognominatur helepolis, iussit expeditius fabricari, qua (ut supra docuimus) rex[2] usus Demetrius, superatis oppidis pluribus, Poliorcetes appellatus est. 19. Ad hanc molem ingentem, superaturam celsarum turrium minas, prohibitores oculorum aciem intentius conferentes, itidemque instantiam obsidentium perpensantes, subito vertuntur ad preces, circumfusique per turres ac moenium minas, et fidem Romanam pansis manibus protestantes, vitam cum venia postulabant. 20. Cumque cessasse opera et munitores nihil temptare viderent ulterius, quod quietis erat indicium certum, copiam sibi dari conferendi sermonis cum Ormizda poscebant. 21. Hocque impetrato, Mamersides praesidiorum praefectus, demissus per funem, ductusque ad imperatorem (ut obsecravit), vita cum impunitate sibi consortibusque suis firmiter pacta, redire permissus est. Gestisque nuntiatis, plebs omnis utriusque sexus ad sententiam suam cunctis acceptis, pace foederata cum religionum consecrationibus fidis, patefactis egreditur portis, salutarem genium affulsisse sibi clamitans Caesarem, magnum et lenem. 22. Numerata sunt autem dediticiorum duo milia et quingenti; nam cetera

[1] *inpaeditissima a*, V; *a* omitted by G. [2] *rex*, G; *est*, WB (deleted by Novák); *ex*, V (*est*, V[2]).

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[1] City-taker, described in xxiii. 4, 10–13.
[2] "Besieger of Cities."

18. These actions went on in haste and confusion, and since it was evident that the construction of mantlet-sheds and mounds was greatly interfered with by other pressing matters, Julian gave orders that the engine called helepolis[1] should quickly be built, by the use of which, as I have said above, King Demetrius overcame many cities and won the name of Poliorcetes.[2] 19. To this huge mass, which would rise above the battlements of the lofty towers, the defenders turned an attentive eye, and at the same time considering the resolution of the besiegers, they suddenly fell to their prayers, and standing on the towers and battlements, and with outstretched hands imploring the protection of the Romans, they craved pardon and life. 20. And when they saw that the works were discontinued, and that those who were constructing them were attempting nothing further, which was a sure sign of peace, they asked that an opportunity be given them of conferring with Ormizda. 21. When this was granted, and Mamersides, commander of the garrison, was let down on a rope and taken to the emperor, he obtained (as he besought) a sure promise of life and impunity for himself and his followers, and was allowed to return. When he reported what he had accomplished, all the people of both sexes, since everything that they desired had been accepted, made peace with trustworthy religious rites. Then the gates were thrown open and they came out, shouting that a potent protecting angel had appeared to them in the person of a Caesar great and merciful. 22. The prisoners numbered only 2500; for the rest of the population, in anticipation of a siege, had

multitudo obsidium ante suspectans, navigiis parvis permeato amne discessit. In hac arce armorum alimentorumque copia reperta est maxima, unde necessariis sumptis, reliqua cum loco ipso exussere victores.

3. *Iulianus Augustus ob rem bene gestam centenos viritim militibus promittit, et exiguum donativum dedignantes modesta oratione ad sanitatem revocat.*

1. Postera die quam haec acta erant, perfertur ad imperatorem, cibos per otium capientem, nuntius gravis, Surenam Persicum ducem, procursatorum partis nostrae tres turmas inopinum aggressum paucissimos trucidasse, inter quos strato tribuno, unum rapuisse vexillum. 2. Statimque concitus ira immani, cum armigera manu, festinatione ipsa tutissimus pervolavit, et grassatoribus foeda consternatione depulsis, residuos duos tribunos sacramento solvit (ut desides et ignavos): decem vero milites ex his qui fugerant, exauctoratos, capitali addixit supplicio, secutus veteres leges.

3. Incensa denique urbe (ut memoratum est), constructo tribunali insistens, actis gratiis exercitui convocato, cunctos ad paria facienda deinceps hortabatur, et argenteos nummos centenos viritim pollicitus, cum eos parvitate promissi percitos

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[1] See xxiv. 2, 4.

[2] If the reference is to decimation, Ammianus does not express himself clearly.

[3] I.e. *denarii*.

crossed the river in small boats and made off. In this citadel there was found a great abundance of arms and provisions; of these the victors took what they needed and burned the rest along with the place itself.

3. *Julianus Augustus promises the soldiers a hundred denarii each, as a reward for their good services, and when they express contempt for so small a gift, he recalls them to their senses in a temperate address.*

1. The day after these events the serious news came to the emperor, while he was quietly at table, that the Persian leader called the Surena[1] had unexpectedly attacked three squadrons of our scouting cavalry, had killed a very few of them, including one of their tribunes, and carried off a standard. 2. At once roused to furious anger, Julian hurried forth with an armed force,—his safest course lay in his very speed—and routed the marauders in shameful confusion; he cashiered the two surviving tribunes as inefficient and cowardly, and following the ancient laws, discharged and put to death ten[2] of the soldiers who had fled from the field.

3. Then, after the city was burned (as has been told), Julian mounted a tribunal erected for the purpose and thanked the assembled army, urging them all to act in the same way in the future, and promised each man a hundred pieces of silver.[3] But when he perceived that the smallness of the promised sum

tumultuare[1] sensisset, ad indignationem plenam gravitatis erectus:

4. "En" inquit "Persae, circumfluentes rerum omnium copiis: ditare vos poterit opimitas gentis, si unum spirantibus animis fortiter fecerimus. Ex immensis opibus egentissima est—tandem credite—Romana res publica, per eos qui (ut augerent divitias) docuerunt principes auro quietem[2] a barbaris redemptare. 5. Direptum[3] aerarium est, urbes exinanitae, populatae provinciae: mihi nec facultates nec propinquitas generis suppetit, quamvis ortus sim nobilis, praeter pectus omni liberum metu: nec pudebit imperatorem, cuncta bona in animi cultu ponentem, profiteri paupertatem honestam. Nam et Fabricii familiari re pauperes, rexere bella gravissima, gloria locupletes. 6. Haec vobis cuncta poterunt abundare, si imperterriti deo meque (quantum humana ratio patitur), caute ductante, mitius egeritis: sin resistitis ad seditionum revoluti dedecora pristinarum, iam[4] pergite. 7. Ut imperatorem decet, ego solus confecto tantorum munerum cursu, moriar stando, contempturus animam quam mihi febricula eripiet una, aut certe discedam; nec enim ita vixi, ut non possim aliquando esse privatus. Praeque me fero et laetor, ductores

[1] *tumultuari*, Lind.; *tumultuare*, V. [2] *quietem*, V (restored by Günther); *quiete*, G. [3] *redemptare. direptum*, Günther; *redempta* (mark over *a*) *redire imptum*, V. [4] *iam*, added by Fletcher, c.c.; *perite* (for *pergite*) suggested by Clark.

excited a mutinous uproar, he was roused to deep indignation and spoke as follows:

4. "Behold the Persians," said he, "abounding in wealth of every kind. The riches of this people can enrich you, if we show ourselves brave men of united purpose. But from endless resources (believe me, pray) the Roman empire has sunk to extremest want through those men who (to enrich themselves) have taught princes to buy peace from the barbarians with gold.[1] 5. The treasury has been pillaged, cities depopulated, provinces laid waste. I have neither wealth nor family connections (although I am of noble birth), only a heart that knows no fear; and an emperor who finds his sole happiness in the training of his mind will feel no shame in admitting an honourable poverty. For the Fabricii too, though poor in worldly goods, conducted serious wars and were rich in glory. 6. All this you may possess in abundance, if you fearlessly follow God's lead and your general's, who will be careful (so far as human foresight can provide), and if you act with moderation; but if you oppose me and repeat the shameful scenes of former revolts, go to it now! 7. I alone, as becomes a commander, having reached the end of a career of great deeds, will die standing on my feet, indifferent to a life which one little fever may take from me; or at any rate I will abdicate, since I have not lived such a life that I cannot some time be a private citizen. And I may say with pride and joy that we

[1] This had been done since Domitian's time by all the emperors of his sort.

spectatissimos esse nobiscum, perfectos bellicarum omni genere doctrinarum."

8. Hac modesta imperatoris oratione, inter secunda et aspera medii, miles pro tempore delenitus, assumpta cum meliorum exspectatione fiducia, regibilem se fore pollicitus et morigerum, cunctorum adspirante consensu, auctoritatem eius sublimitatemque cordis extollebat in caelum, quod cum vere atque ex animo dicitur, solet armorum crepitu leni monstrari. 9. Repetitis post haec tentoriis, pro copia rei praesentis victu se recreavit et quiete nocturna. Animabat autem Iulianus exercitum, cum non per caritates, sed per inchoatas negotiorum magnitudines deieraret assidue: "Sic sub iugum mitteret Persas, ita quassatum recrearet orbem Romanum." Ut Traianus fertur aliquotiens iurando dicta consuesse firmare "Sic in provinciarum speciem redactam videam Daciam; sic pontibus Histrum et Euphratem,[1] superem," et similia plurima.

10. Post haec decursis milibus passuum quattuordecim, ad locum quendam est ventum arva aquis abundantibus fecundantem, quo itinere nos ituros Persae praedocti, sublatis cataractis undas evagari fusius permiserunt. 11. Itaque humo late stagnante, altero die militi requie data, imperator ipse praegressus, constratis periculis multis ex utribus

[1] *et Euphratem,* ABG (*-ten,* G), Bent.; *glacie perfidum,* Her. (cf. Flor. iii. 4, 5); *ut Aufidum,* Clark; *aufidum,* V.

have with us thoroughly tried generals, perfect in their knowledge of every kind of warfare."

8. By this address of an emperor self-contained amid prosperity and adversity the soldiers were quieted for the time, and, gaining confidence through the anticipation of better days, they promised to be obedient and compliant. With unanimous applause they lauded his leadership and high spirit to the skies; and when such utterances are sincere and come from the heart, it is usually shown by a slight clashing of shields. 9. After this they retired to their tents and (so far as the circumstances allowed) refreshed themselves with food and sleep. It gave courage to the army besides that Julian constantly took oath, not by those dear to him, but by the great deeds that he planned, saying: "As I hope to send the Persians under the yoke"; "As I hope to restore the shattered Roman world." Just as Trajan is said sometimes to have emphasized a statement by the oaths: "As I hope to see Dacia reduced to the form of a province"; "As I hope to cross the Hister and the Euphrates on bridges"; and many other oaths of the same kind.

10. Next, after a march of fourteen miles, we came to a place where the fields are made fertile by an abundance of water; but the Persians, having learned in advance that we should take that route, had broken the dykes and allowed the water to flow everywhere without restraint. 11. Therefore, as the ground was covered far and wide with standing pools, the emperor gave the soldiers another day of rest, and went on himself; and after overcoming many dangers, he made such bridges

pro copia pontibus, itidemque navibus confectis e [1] palmarum trabibus exercitum non sine difficultate traduxit.

12. In his regionibus agri sunt plures, consiti vineis varioque pomorum genere,[2] ubi oriri arbores assuetae palmarum, per spatia ampla ad usque Mesenen et mare pertinent magnum, instar ingentium nemorum. Et quaqua incesserit quisquam, termites et spadica cernit assidua, quorum ex fructu mellis et vini conficitur abundantia, et maritari palmae ipsae dicuntur facileque sexus posse discerni. 13. Additur etiam generare feminas seminibus illitas marium, feruntque eas amore mutuo delectari, hocque inde clarere, quod contra se vicissim nutantes, ne turgidis quidem flatibus avertuntur. Et si ex more femina maris non illita fuerit semine, abortus vitio fetus amittit intempestivos.[3] Et siqua femina cuius arboris amore perculsa sit ignoretur, unguento ipsius inficitur truncus, et arbor alia naturaliter odoris dulcedinem concipit, hisque indiciis velut coeundi quaedam proditur fides.

[1] *periculis . . . confectis e*, Her. (cf. xxiii. 3, 9); *periculis multis et utribus et proci anavibus itidemque consectis*, V. [2] *genere* with lac., Clark, c.c.; without lac., V. [3] *intempestivos*, EA; *intempestuosos*, WG; *intempestiosos*, V.

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[1] For this work there was a special corps, the *utricularii*; see Index II., vol. i.

[2] Apamia, cf. xxiii. 6, 43.

[3] The Caspian.

[4] See Gellius, ii. 26, 10; iii. 9, 9, *palmae termes ex arbore cum fructu "spadix" dicitur*. Ammianus alone uses the form *spadicum* (n.).

as he could from bladders,[1] as well as boats from the trunks of palm trees, and so got his army across, though not without difficulty.

12. In these regions there are many fields, planted with vineyards and various kinds of fruits. Here too palm trees are wont to grow, extending over a wide expanse as far as Mesene [2] and the great sea,[3] in mighty groves. And wherever anyone goes, one constantly sees palm branches with and without fruit,[4] and from their yield an abundance of honey and wine is made.[5] The palms themselves are said to couple, and the sexes may easily be distinguished.[6] 13. It is also said that the female trees conceive when smeared with the seeds of the male, and they assert that the trees take pleasure in mutual love, and that this is evident from the fact that they lean towards each other, and cannot be parted even by gales of wind. And if the female tree is not smeared in the usual way with the seed of the male, it suffers abortion and loses its fruit before it is ripe. And if it is not known with what male any female tree is in love, her trunk is smeared with her own perfume,[7] and the other tree by a law of nature is attracted by the sweet odour.[8] It is from these signs that the belief in a kind of copulation is created.

[5] Cf. Hdt. i. 193.

[6] Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* xiii. 34 f. Herodotus, i. 193, thinks that an insect carries the seed from the male to the female tree.

[7] That is, the blossoms of the female tree.

[8] The tree to which the female tree is attracted is drawn to her by the perfume of her blossoms. The perfume was carried by insects; cf. Hdt. i. 193.

14. Qua cibi copia satur exercitus, plures praetergressus est insulas, et ubi formidabatur inopia, ibi timor saginae gravis incessit. Sagittariorum denique hostilium impetu latenti temptatus, neque inultus, prope locum venit ubi pars maior Euphratis in rivos dividitur multifidos.

4. Oppidum Maiozamalcha expugnatum a Romanis atque excisum.

1. In hoc tractu civitas ob muros humiles ab incolis Iudaeis deserta, iratorum manu militum conflagravit. Quibus actis pergebat ulterius imperator, placida ope numinis (ut arbitrabatur), erectior. 2. Cumque Maiozamalcham venisset, urbem magnam et validis circumdatam moenibus, tentoriis fixis providit sollicite, ne castra repentino equitatus Persici turbarentur accursu, cuius fortitudo in locis patentibus, immane quantum gentibus est formidata. 3. Et hoc disposito stipatus velitibus paucis, ipse quoque pedes civitatis situm diligenti inquisitione exploraturus, in perniciosas praecipitatus insidias, ex ipso vitae discrimine tandem emersit. 4. Namque per latentem oppidi portam, Persae decem armati degressi, imaque clivorum pervadentes, poplitibus subsidendo, repentino impetu nostros aggressi sunt. E quibus duo conspectiorem habitu

14. Abundantly supplied with food of that kind, our army passed by several islands, and where formerly there was dread of scarcity there was now serious danger of over-eating. Finally, they were assailed by a hidden attack of the enemy's archers, but not unavenged; and came to a place where the main body of the Euphrates is divided into many small streams.

4. The town of Maiozamalcha is stormed and sacked by the Romans.

1. In this tract a city which, because of its low walls, had been abandoned by its Jewish inhabitants, was burned by the hands of the angry soldiers. This done, the emperor went on farther, still more hopeful because of the gracious aid of the deity, as he interpreted it. 2. And when he had come to Maiozamalcha, a great city surrounded by strong walls, he pitched his tents and took anxious precautions that the camp might not be disturbed by a sudden onset of the Persian cavalry, whose valour in the open field was enormously feared by all peoples. 3. After making this provision, attended by a few light-armed soldiers and himself also marching on foot, Julian planned to make a careful examination of the position of the city; but he fell into a dangerous ambuscade, from which he escaped only with difficulty and at the risk of his life. 4. For through a secret gate of the town ten armed Persians came out, and after crossing the lower slopes on bended knees made a sudden onslaught on our men. Two with drawn swords

principem gladiis petiere districtis, sed occurrit ictibus erectum altius[1] scutum, quo contectus magna elataque fiducia unius lateri ferrum infixit, alterum stipatores multiplicatis ictibus occiderunt. Residuis e quibus vulnerati sunt aliqui, disiectis in fugam, spoliatisque ambobus, reducens incolumes socios, cum exuviis remeavit ad castra, omnium laetitia magna susceptus. 5. Sustulit in hoste prostrato aureum colli monile Torquatus, fudit confidentissimum Gallum alitis propugnatione Valerius, postea cognomento Corvinus, hacque gloria posteritati sunt commendati; non invidemus: accedat hoc quoque monumentis veteribus facinus pulchrum.

6. Constratis postridie pontibus, exercituque travecto, et metatis alibi salubrius castris, vallo duplici circumductis, quoniam (ut diximus) timebantur solitudines planae, oppidi suscepit obsidium, periculosum fore existimans, si gradiens prorsus, a tergo relinqueret quos timeret.

7. Haec dum magno molimine comparantur, Surena hostium dux iumenta adortus, quae in lucis palmaribus vescebantur, a cohortibus nostris repulsoriis[2] cum paucorum exitio habitus frustra discessit. 8. Et duarum incolae civitatum, quas amnes amplexi faciunt insulas, parva sui fiducia

[1] *Altius*, E; *elatius*, suggested by Clark; *magna elataque*, W²G; *magnae lataque*, V. [2] *repulsus ocius*, Corn.; *repulsoriis*, V.

[1] T. Manlius Torquatus; see Gellius, ix. 13.
[2] M. Valerius Maximus Corvinus; see Gellius, ix. 11.

attacked the emperor, whose bearing made him conspicuous, but he met their strokes by lifting up his shield. Thus protected, with great and lofty courage he plunged his sword into the side of one assailant, while his followers with many a stroke cut down the other. The rest, of whom some were wounded, fled in all directions. After stripping the two of their arms, Julian returned to the camp with the spoils, bringing back his companions uninjured, and was received by all with great joy. 5. Torquatus[1] once took from a prostrate foe his golden neck-chain; Valerius,[2] afterwards surnamed Corvinus, laid low a bold and bragging Gaul with the aid of a crow, and by these glorious deeds they gained fame with posterity. We do not begrudge the praise; let this fine exploit also be added to the records of the past.

6. On the following day bridges were built and the army led across, and a camp was measured off in another and more advantageous place and girt by a double palisade, since (as I have said) Julian feared the open plains. Then he began the siege of the town, thinking that it would be dangerous to advance farther, and leave behind him an enemy whom he feared.

7. While great preparations were being made for the siege, the Surena, who was in command of the enemy, made an attack on the pack-animals, which were grazing in the palm-groves; but he was met by our scouting-cohorts, and after loss of a few of the men, was baffled by our forces and withdrew. 8. The inhabitants of two cities, which were on islands made by the winding river, alarmed

trepidi, ad Ctesiphontis moenia se contulerunt, pars per[1] silvarum densa, alii per paludes vicinas, alveis arborum cavatarum invecti, ad unicum auxilium et potissimum itineris longi, quod supererat, dilabuntur, ulteriora petituri terrarum. 9. E quibus resistentes aliquos nostri milites trucidabant, ipsi quoque lintribus et cymbis per varia discurrentes, captivos alios subinde perducebant. Id enim erat librata ratione dispositum, ut, dum copiae pedestres muros oppugnant, equestres turmae divisae per globos, abigendis insisterent praedis: hocque proviso, nullo provincialium damno, miles visceribus hostium pascebatur.

10. Iamque imperator munitum[2] muris duplicibus oppidum, ordine circumdatum trino scutorum, spe patrandi incepti, maximis viribus oppugnabat. Sed ut erat necessarius appetitus, ita effectu res difficillima. Nam accessus undique rupibus anfractu celsiore discissis, flexuosisque excessibus ob periculum anceps, adeundi copiam denegabat, maxime quoniam[3] turres crebritate et altitudine formidandae, montem saxeum arcis naturaliter editum, aequabant, et proclivis planities flumini imminens, propugnaculorum firmitate muniebatur. 11. Accedebat his haut levius malum, quod lecta manus et copiosa (quae obsidebatur) nullis ad

[1] *pars per*, G; *pars*, EB; *par siluarum*, V. [2] *munitum*, added by Pet.; V omits. [3] *quoniam*, G; *cum*, V.

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[1] I.e. troops; cf. xix. 2, 2.

and distrustful of their strength, tried to make their way to the walls of Ctesiphon; some of them slipped off through the thick woods, others crossed the neighbouring pools in their boats made from hollowed trees, thinking this their only hope and the best means for making the long journey which confronted them, if they were to reach that distant land. 9. Some of them, who offered resistance, were slain by our troops, who also rushed about everywhere in skiffs and boats and from time to time brought in others as prisoners. For Julian had provided with balanced care, that while the infantry were besieging the town, the cavalry forces, divided into detachments, should give their attention to driving off booty; and through this arrangement the soldiers, without burdening the provincials at all, fed upon the vitals of the enemy.

10. And now the emperor, having surrounded, with a triple line of shields,[1] the town, which had a double wall about it, assailed it with all his might, in the hope of gaining his end. But necessary as the attack was, so was it very difficult to bring it to a successful issue. For on every side the approaches were surrounded by high and precipitous cliffs and many windings made them doubly perilous and the town inaccessible, especially since the towers, formidable for both their number and their height, rose to the same elevation as the eminence of natural rock which formed the citadel, while the sloping plateau overlooking the river was fortified with strong battlements. 11. Added to this was an equally serious disadvantage, in that the large and carefully chosen force of the besieged could not by

deditionem illecebris flectebatur, sed tamquam superatura, vel devota cineribus patriae, resistebat. Adversus eam aegre[1] retentabatur, inferens se protervius miles, et pugnam vel aequo campo, iustoque proelio poscens, cumque receptui caneretur, assidue animosis hostem urgendi conatibus urebatur.

12. Vicit tamen nostrorum consilium contentionem virium maximam, divisisque operibus, officia quisque distributa capessit ocissime. Hinc enim ardui suggestus erigebantur, inde fossarum altitudines alii complanabant, terrarum latibula concava oblongis tramitibus alibi struebantur, locabant etiam artifices tormenta muralia, in funestos sonitus proruptura, 13. Et cuniculos quidem cum vineis, Nevitta et Dagalaifus curabant, ineundis autem conflictibus, et defendendis ab incendio vel eruptionibus machinis, praeerat imperator.

Cumque apparatu omni excindendae urbis labore multiplici consummato, pugna flagitaretur, Victor nomine dux reversus est ad usque Ctesiphonta, itineribus exploratis, nulla obstacula nuntians offendisse. 14. Quo efferati gaudio milites omnes, elatique firmioribus animis, ad certandum signum operiebantur armati.

15. Iamque clangore Martio sonantibus tubis, strepebant utrimque partes, et primi Romani hostem undique lamminis ferreis in modum tenuis

[1] *adversus eam aegre*, Momm., *adversis iam aegre*, G; *aduersus eamaegrae*, V.

any enticements be led to surrender, but resisted as though resolved either to be victorious or to die amid the ashes of their native city. But our soldiers could with difficulty be kept from the attack, mutinously pressing on and demanding a pitched battle even in the open field; and when the trumpet sounded the recall, they continually tormented themselves with spirited attempts to assail the enemy.

12. However, the judgement of our leaders overcame their extreme violence; the work was divided, and each man undertook with all speed the task assigned him. For here lofty embankments were being raised, there others were filling up the deep ditches; elsewhere long passages were being constructed in the bowels of the earth, and those in charge of the artillery were setting up their hurling engines, soon to break out with deadly roar. 13. Nevitta and Dagalaifus had charge of the mines and mantelets; the opening of the attack, and the protection of the artillery from fire or sallies was undertaken by the emperor in person.

And when all the preparations for destroying the city had been completed with much painful toil, and the soldiers demanded battle, the general named Victor, who had reconnoitred the roads as far as Ctesiphon, returned and reported that he had found no obstacles. 14. Upon this all the soldiers were wild with joy, and aroused to greater confidence awaited under arms the signal for battle.

15. And now, as the trumpets sounded their martial note, both sides raised a loud shout. The Romans were the first with repeated onslaughts and

plumae contectum, fidentemque, quod tela rigentis ferri lapsibus impacta resiliebant, crebris procursationibus et minaci murmure lacessebant: non numquam compage scutorum, qua velut testudine infigurabilium[1] fornicum operiebantur aptissime, assiduis motibus laxius dehiscente. Contra Persae muris obstinatius adhaerentes, quantum facere nitique poterant, eludere et frustrari exitiales impetus conabantur. 16. Verum ubi vimineas crates prae se ferentes, oppugnatores iam moenia perurgerent, cum sagittariis funditores, alii quin etiam saxa volventes ingentia, cum facibus et malleolis eos longius propulsabant, tum aptatae ligneis sagittis ballistae, flexus stridore[2] torquebantur, creberrima spicula funditantes, et scorpiones quocumque manus peritae duxissent, rotundos lapides evibrabant. 17. Iterum deinde ac saepe geminatis congressibus, aestus in meridiem crescens, effervescente vaporatius sole, apparatu operum et studio proeliandi intentos, cunctos revocaverat fatigatos et sudore perfusos.

18. Eodem mentis proposito, secuto quoque die, per varia certaminum genera controversae partes dimicantes instanter, aequis manibus et pari fortuna discedunt. Verum in omne discrimen armatis proximus princeps civitatis urgebat excidium, ne circa muros diu excubans, omitteret maiora quae

[1] *infigurabilium*, V; *infrangibilium*, Bent.; *in figuram mobilium*, Pet. [2] *flexus stridore*, Momm.; *flexu stridore*, V.

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[1] See xxiii. 4, 14. [2] See xxiii. 4, 4–5.

threatening roars to attack the foe, who were covered with plates of iron as if by a thin layer of feathers, and were full of confidence since the arrows flew back as they struck the folds of the hard iron; but at times the covering of joined shields, with which our men skilfully covered themselves as if by the protection of irregularly shaped arches, because of their continual movements yawned apart. The Persians, on the other hand, obstinately clinging to their walls, tried with every possible effort to avoid and baffle the death-dealing attacks. 16. But when the besiegers, carrying before them hurdles of wicker work, were already threatening the walls, the enemy's slingers and archers, others even rolling down huge stones, with torches and fiery shafts[1] tried to keep them at a distance; then ballistae adapted for wooden arrows were bent and plied with screaming sound, sending forth showers of missiles; and scorpions, hauled to various places by skilled hands, hurled round stones.[2] 17. But after renewed and repeated contests, as the heat increased towards the middle of the day and the sun burnt like fire, both sides, though intent upon the preparation of the siege-works and eager for battle, were forced to retire worn out and drenched with sweat.

18. With the same fixity of purpose, the contending parties on the following day also carried on the battle persistently with contests of various kinds, and separated on equal terms and with indecisive result. But in the face of every danger, the emperor, in closest company with combatants, urged on the destruction of the city, lest by lingering too long about its walls, he should be forced to abandon his greater

temptabat. 19. Sed in districtis necessitatibus, nihil tam leve est quod non interdum etiam contra sperata, rerum adferat momenta magnarum. Cum enim (ut saepe) discessurae partes levius concertarent, abusive incusso ariete, qui paulo ante erat admotus, sternitur residuis omnibus altior turris, latere coctili firmissime structa, cuius ruina muri contiguum latus secum immani fragore protraxit. 20. Ibi tum varietate casuum obsidentium labor, obsessorumque industria vicissim facinoribus speciosis inclaruit. Nihil enim asperum ira et dolore succenso militi videbatur, nihil prohibitoribus[1] erat pro salute concurrentibus,[2] metuendum aut dirum. Nam cum anceps proelium[3] diutius fervens, sanguine utrimque multis caedibus fuso, diei finisset occasus, tum[4] fatigationi consulitur.

21. Dumque haec luce agerentur ac palam, nuntiatur imperatori, pervigili cura distento, legionarios milites, quibus cuniculorum erant fodinae mandatae, cavatis tramitibus subterraneis, sublicibusque[5] suspensis, ima penetrasse fundamentorum, iam (si ipse disposuerit) evasuros. 22. Cum itaque noctis plerumque processisset, aeneatorum accentu, signo dato

[1] *prohibitoribus*, Momm.; *munitoribus*, V, deleted by Kellebauer as a gloss. [2] *concurrentibus*, Madvig; *currentibus*, V; *certantibus*, Damsté. [3] *proelium*, Her.; *pugnae*, sugg. by Clark; *pugna*, V; *opus*, Damsté. [4] *tum*, Kiessling; *tandem*, G; *vixdum*, Pet.; *dum*, V. [5] *sublicibusque*, Lind.; *subliciisque*, BG; *supplicibusque*, V.

projects. 19. But in case of dire necessity nothing is so trifling that it may not at times, even contrary to expectation, tip the balance in some great undertaking. For when, as often, the combatants were on the point of separating and the fighting slackened, a more violent blow from a ram which had shortly before been brought up shattered a tower which was higher than all the rest and strongly built of kiln-dried brick; and in its fall it carried with it amid a tremendous crash the adjacent side of the wall. 20. Thereupon, according to changes of the situation, the vigour of the besiegers and in turn the energy of the besieged was shown by splendid deeds. For nothing seemed too hard for our soldiers, inflamed as they were with wrath and resentment, nothing was formidable or terrible in the eyes of the defenders as they joined issue for their lives. For it was not until the fight had raged for a long time without result and blood had been shed in much slaughter on both sides, that the close of the day brought it to an end and the combatants then yielded to fatigue.

21. While this was going on in the light of day and before the eyes of all, it was reported to the emperor, who kept a watchful eye on everything, that the legionary soldiers to whom the laying of the mines had been assigned, having completed their underground passages and supported them by beams, had made their way to the bottom of the foundations of the walls, and were ready to sally out when he himself should give the word. 22. Therefore, although the night was far advanced, the trumpets sounded, and at the given signal for

progrediendi ad pugnam, ad arma concursum est: et consulto murorum invaduntur utrimque frontes, ut dum propulsaturi pericula, defensores ultro citroque discurrunt, nec proxima fodientis audiretur ferri tinnitus, nec quoquam intrinsecus obsistente, cunicularioruin subito manus emergat. 23. Quibus ita (ut convenerat) ordinatis, et occupatis prohibitoribus, patefactisque latebris, evolat Exsuperius, de Victorum numero miles, post quem Magnus tribunus, et Iovianus notarius, quos audax multitudo secuta, his prius confossis, quos in aede per quam in lucem prodierant, invenerunt, suspensis gradibus procedentes obtruncarunt vigiles omnes, ex usu moris gentici iustitiam felicitatemque regis sui canoris vocibus extollentes. 24. Existimabatur Mars ipse (si misceri hominibus numina maiestatis iura permittunt), adfuisse castra Lucanorum invadenti Luscino. Hocque ideo creditum est quod in congressu flagranti, scalas vehens visus formidandae vastitatis armatus, postridie cum recenseretur exercitus, praecipuo studio quaesitus, reperiri non potuit, cum se ultro offerret, si miles fuisset, memorabilis conscius facti. Sed ut tunc qui esset pulchri facinoris auctor penitus est ignoratum, ita nunc enituerunt hi qui fecere fortissime,

[1] C. Fabricius Luscinus relieved the people of Thurii, when they were besieged by the Brutii and the Lucanians under Stenius Statilius, and slew 20,000 of the enemy; cf. Val. Max. i. 8, 6 (who gives the name as Statius Statilius).

entering battle they rushed to arms. And, as had been planned, the fronts of the wall were attacked on two sides in order that while the defenders were rushing here and there to avert the danger, the clink of the iron tools digging at the parts close by might not be heard, and that with no hindrance from within, the band of sappers might suddenly make its appearance. 23. When these matters were arranged as had been determined, and the defenders were fully occupied, the mines were opened and Exsuperius, a soldier of a cohort of the Victores, leaped out; next came Magnus, a tribune and Jovianus, a notary, followed by the whole daring band. They first slew those who were found in the room through which they had come into daylight; then advancing on tiptoe they cut down all the watch, who, according to the custom of the race, were loudly praising in song the justice and good fortune of their king. 24. It was thought that Mars himself (if it is lawful for the majesty of the gods to mingle with mortals) had been with Luscinus,[1] when he stormed the camp of the Lucanians; and this was believed because in the heat of battle an armed warrior of formidable size was seen carrying scaling-ladders, and on the following day, when the army was reviewed, could not be found, although he was sought for with particular care; whereas, if he had been a soldier, from consciousness of a memorable exploit he would have presented himself of his own accord. But although then the doer of that noble deed was wholly unknown, on the present occasion those who had fought valiantly were made conspicuous

obsidionalibus coronis donati, et pro contione laudati, veterum more.

25. Tandem nudata, reseratis aditibus multis, lapsura invaditur civitas, et sine sexus discrimine vel aetatis, quicquid impetus repperit, potestas iratorum absumpsit, alii exitii imminentis timore, cum hinc ignis inde mucrones urgerent, ultimum flentes, e muris acti sua sponte praecipites, membrisque omnibus infirmati, vitam morte funestiorem paulisper, dum caederentur egerunt. 26. Extractus est autem vivus cum satellitibus octoginta Nabdates, praesidiorum magister, quem oblatum sibi cum aliis servari iussit intactum, serenus imperator et clemens.

Divisa itaque perpensis meritis et laboribus praeda, ipse (ut erat parvo contentus), mutum puerum oblatum sibi suscepit gesticularium, multa quae callebat, nutibus venustissimis explicantem, e tribus aureis nummis,[1] partae victoriae praemium iucundum (ut existimabat) et gratum. 27. Ex virginibus autem, quae speciosae sunt captae ut in Perside, ubi feminarum pulcritudo excellit, nec contrectare

[1] *e tribus aureis nummis*, Pet.; *tris aureos nummos*, Haupt; *et tribus a.n.*, V.

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[1] Mural crowns (*coronae murales*) would have been more appropriate; the siege-crown was given to the general who relieved a beleagured city; cf. Gellius, v. 6, 8-9 and 16.

[2] Text and meaning are uncertain. Perhaps he paid three *aurei* for the boy, or perhaps that was his estimated value.

by gifts of siege-crowns,[1] and according to the ancient custom were commended in the presence of the assembled army.

25. At last the city, stripped of its defenders, laid open with many breaches and on the point of falling, was entered, and the violence of the enraged soldiers destroyed whatever they found in their way, without distinction of age or sex; others, in fear of imminent death, being threatened on one side by fire, on the other by the sword, shedding their last tears voluntarily hurled themselves headlong from the walls, and with all their limbs shattered endured for a time a life more awful than death, until they were put out of their misery. 26. Nabdates, however, the commandant of the garrison, with eighty followers, was dragged out alive, and when he was brought before the emperor, who was happy and inclined to mercy, orders were given that he be spared unharmed with the others and kept in custody.

Then when the booty was divided according to the estimate of merit and hard service, the emperor, being content with little, took only a dumb boy who was offered to him, who was acquainted with sign-language and explained many things in which he was skilled by most graceful gestures, and was valued at three pieces of gold;[2] and this he considered a reward for the victory that he had won that was both agreeable and deserving of gratitude. 27. But as to the maidens who were taken prisoners (and they were beautiful, as is usual in Persia, where the women excel in that respect) he refused to touch a single one or even to look on her, following the example of

aliquam voluit nec videre, Alexandrum imitatus et Africanum, qui haec declinabant, ne frangerentur cupiditate, qui se invictos a laboribus ubique praestiterunt.

28. Inter haec certamina nostrae partis architectus, cuius nomen non suppetit, post machinam scorpionis forte assistens, reverberato lapide quem artifex titubanter aptaverat fundae, obliso pectore supinatus, profudit animam disiecta compage membrorum, adeo ut ne signa quidem totius corporis noscerentur.

29. Exin profecturo [1] imperatori, index nuntiaverat certus, circa muros subversi oppidi fallaces foveas et obscuras, quales in tractibus illis sunt plurimae, subsedisse manum insidiatricem latenter, ut improviso inde exorta, agminis nostri terga feriret extrema. 30. Confestimque ad extrahendam eam missi sunt compertae fortitudinis pedites. Qui cum neque pervadere foraminum aditus, nec amendatos intus prolicere possent ad decernendum, collectam stipulam et sarmenta specuum faucibus aggesserunt. Unde fumus angustius penetrans, ideoque spissior, quosdam vitalibus obstructis necavit, alios ignium afflatu semustos,[2] prodire in perniciem coegit abruptam, et ita omnibus ferro incendioque consumptis, ad signa repedavit ocius miles. Hoc modo civitas ampla et populosa

[1] *profecturo*, Bent.; *profecto*, V. [2] *adflatu semustos*, Günther; *adflatus immissus*, Val.; *adflatus emistus* (-*ssus*, V[3]), V.

Alexander and Africanus,[1] who avoided such conduct, lest those who showed themselves unwearied by hardships should be unnerved by passion.

28. In the course of these contests a builder on our side, whose name I do not recall, happened to be standing behind a scorpion, when a stone which one of the gunners had fitted insecurely to the sling was hurled backward. The unfortunate man was thrown on his back with his breast crushed, and killed; and his limbs were so torn asunder that not even parts of his whole body could be identified.

29. The emperor was on the point of leaving the spot, when a trustworthy informant reported that in some dark and hidden pits near the walls of the destroyed city, such as are numerous in those parts, a band of the enemy was treacherously lying in wait, intending to rush out unexpectedly and attack the rear of our army. 30. At once a band of foot soldiers of tried valour was sent to dislodge them, and when they could neither force an entrance through the openings nor lure to battle those hidden within, they gathered straw and faggots and piled them before the entrances of the caves. The smoke from this, becoming thicker the narrower the space which it penetrated, killed some by suffocation; others scorched by the blast of fires, were forced to come out and met a swift death; and so, when all had fallen victims to steel or flame, our men quickly returned to their standards. Thus a great and

[1] Cf. Polyb. x. 19, 3 f.; Val. Max. iv. 3, 1; Curt. iii. 12, 21; iv. 10, 24. Cyrus might have been added to the list.

virtute roboris excisa Romani, in pulverem concidit et ruinas.

31. Post quae tam gloriosa, transitis pontibus multorum amnium concursu continuatis, ad munimenta gemina venimus, aedificiis cautis[1] exstructa, ubi Victorem comitem exercitus praevium, a transitu fluminis regis filius progressus a Ctesiphonte, cum optimatibus et multitudine armata, prohibere conatus, catervis sequentium militum visis, abscessit.

5. *Munitissimum situ et opere castellum expugnant Romani ac incendunt.*

1. Pergentes itaque protinus, ad lucos venimus, agrosque pube variorum seminum laetos, ubi reperta regia Romano more aedificata, quoniam id placuerat, mansit intacta. 2. Erat etiam in hac eadem regione extentum spatium et rotundum, loricae ambitu circumclausum, destinatas regiis voluptatibus continens feras, cervicibus iubatis leones, armisque hispidos apros, et ursos (ut sunt Persici) ultra omnem rabiem saevientes, et alia lecta immania corpora bestiarum: quas omnes diffractis portarum obicibus, equites nostri venatoriis lanceis et missilium multitudine confoderunt. 3. Quae loca[2] pinguia[3] satis et[4] cultu, quibus[5] Coche (quam Seleuciam nominant) haut longius disparatur, ubi

[1] *cavatis*, BG; *cautis*, V[2] (from *caucis*, V); *lautis*, Val. [2] *quae loca*, Lind.; *quo loco*, V. [3] *pinguia*, Petschenig; *pingui*, V. [4] *satis et*, Her.; *situ et*, G; *sitas et*, V. [5] *qui . . . . bus*, G; *quibus*, V; *dives*, Momm.

populous city, destroyed by Roman strength and valour, was reduced to dust and ruins.

31. After these glorious deeds we passed over a series of bridges, made necessary by the union of many streams, and came to two fortresses built with special care. Here a son of the Persian king, who had come from Ctesiphon with some magnates and an armed force, tried to prevent Count Victor, who was leading our van, from crossing the river; but on seeing the throng of soldiers that followed, he retreated.

5. *The Romans capture and burn a stronghold well fortified by its position and by defensive works.*

1. Then going on, we came to groves and fields rich with the bloom of many kinds of fruits; there we found a palace built in Roman style, with which we were so pleased that we left it untouched. 2. There was also in that same region an extensive round tract, enclosed by a strong fence and containing the wild beasts that were kept for the king's entertainment: lions with flowing manes, boars with bristling shoulders, and bears savage beyond all manner of madness (as they usually are in Persia), and other choice animals of enormous size; our cavalry burst the fastenings of the gates and butchered them all with hunting-spears and showers of missiles. 3. This district is fruitful in fields of grain and in cultivation.[1] Not far from it is Coche, which they call Seleucia; there a camp

[1] The text is very uncertain. There was probably a lacuna between *qui* and *bus*.

vallatis opere tumultuario castris, et exercitu omni per aquarum et pabuli opportuna biduo recreato, antegressus cum procursatoribus princeps, et civitatem desertam collustrans, a Caro[1] principe quondam excisam, in qua perpetuus fons stagnum ingens eiectat, in Tigridem defluens, corpora vidit suffixa patibulis multa necessitudinum eius, quem prodidisse civitatem Pirisaboram rettulimus supra. 4. Hic et Nabdates vivus exustus est, quem extractum cum octoginta e[2] latebris expugnatae docui civitatis, eo quod inter[3] exordia obsidii coepti, clam pollicitus prodere, dimicavit acerrime, adeptusque veniam insperatam, ad id proruperat insolentiae, ut Ormisdam[4] laceraret omnibus probris.

5. Itaque aliquantum progressi, tristi percellimur facto. Dum enim tres procursatorum cohortes expeditae cum cuneo Persico decertarent, quem patefactis subito portis, profuderat civitas, proruptores alii ex contraria fluminis ripa, iumenta nos sequentia cum pabulatoribus paucis, licenter palantibus, intercipiunt et obtruncant. 6. Unde profectus imperator iratus et frendens, iamque regionibus Ctesiphontis propinquans, celsum castellum offendit et munitissimum, ad quod explorandum ausus

[1] *a Caro*, Lind.; *a Severo*, Gardt.; *Vero*, Val.; *sacro*, VEBG. [2] *e*, restored by Clark; *octogintae*, V. [3] *latebris . . . inter*, added by another hand in erasure, V. [4] *Ormisdam*, G; *hormia*, V (*omnia*, V[2]).

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[1] M. Aurelius Carus, emperor from 282–283. Cf. Eutropius, ix. 8.
[2] Cf. 2, 21, above.

was hastily fortified, and the entire army because of the convenience of water and fodder rested for two days. But the emperor went on ahead with some light-armed skirmishers, in order to visit a deserted city destroyed in former days by the emperor Carus[1]; in this there is an everflowing spring forming a great pool which empties into the Tigris. There he saw the impaled bodies of many kinsmen of the man who (as I have already said)[2] had surrendered the city of Pirisabora. 4. Here too Nabdates, who (as I have said) was dragged with eighty men from a hiding-place in a captured city,[3] was burned alive, because early in the beginning of the siege he had secretly promised to betray the town, but had fought most vigorously, and after obtaining an unhoped-for pardon had gone to such a pitch of insolence as to assail Ormisda with every kind of insult.

5. We had gone on some distance, when we were shocked by a sad misfortune. For while three cohorts of light-armed skirmishers were fighting with a band of Persians which had burst forth from the suddenly opened gates of a town,[4] others who had sallied forth from the opposite side of the river, cut off and butchered the pack-animals that followed us, along with a few foragers who were carelessly roaming about. 6. The emperor left the spot in a rage, grinding his teeth, and was already nearing the vicinity of Ctesiphon, when he came upon a lofty, well-fortified stronghold. He ventured to approach and examine the place, riding up to the walls with a few followers

[3] Maiozamalcha; see ch. 4, 26, above.
[4] Perhaps Sabatha (Zosimus).

accedere, obscurior (ut ipse rebatur) cum paucis obequitans muros, pauloque avidius intra ictum telorum repertus, latere non potuit: statimque diversorum missilium nube exagitatus oppetisset tormento murali, ni vulnerato armigero, qui lateri eius haerebat, ipse scutorum densitate contectus, evitato magno discrimine, discessisset.

7. Qua causa concitus ira[1] immani, munimentum disposuit obsidere, prohibitoribus acriter ad resistendum intentis, quod loco fidebant, propemodum inaccesso, quodque rex cum ambitiosis copiis passibus citis incedens, propediem affore credebatur. 8. Iamque vineis et residuis omnibus, quae poscebat obsidium, paratis, vigilia secunda praecipiti, cum nox casu tunc lunari nitens splendore,[2] his qui propugnaculis insistebant, aperte cuncta monstraret, repente in unum pondus coacta, multitudo patefactis subito portis erupit, cohortemque nec opinantem adorta nostrorum, cecidit complures, inter quos etiam tribunus peremptus est, periculum propulsare conatus. 9. Quae dum ita aguntur, pari modo ut antea, Persae ex adversa fluminis ripa, partem adorti nostrorum, interfectis quibusdam vivos cepere non nullos. Et timore simul quia venisse in maiorem numerum copiae putabantur hostiles, egere nostri tunc segnius, sed ubi animis in audaciam restitutis, armisque raptis inter tumultum, exercitus cantu

[1] *ira*, added before *concitus* by C. F. W. M.; *inmani* (-*e*, V[2]), V, omitting *ira*. [2] *nitens splendore*, transposuit, Baehrens.

and thinking that he was not recognized; but when with somewhat too great rashness he appeared within arrow-shot, he could not escape recognition, and was at once exposed to a rain of various missiles and all but met death from a mural engine. But only his armour-bearer, who was close at his side, was wounded; he himself was protected by a close array of shields, and so escaped the great danger and went his way.

7. Fearfully enraged because of this, he resolved to besiege the fortress, and its garrison was intent upon a vigorous resistance, trusting to their position, which was all but inaccessible, and believing that the king, who was rapidly advancing with an impressive force, would shortly make his appearance. 8. Already the mantlets and all the other equipment required for a siege were being made ready, when, as the night chanced to be clear and the bright moonlight clearly revealed everything to those who stood upon the battlements, near the end of the second watch a throng quickly gathered and burst from the suddenly opened gates, and falling unawares on one of our cohorts, killed a great number, including also a tribune who tried to avert the danger. 9. While this was going on, the Persians, in the same way as before, attacked a part of our men from the opposite side of the river, killed some, and took a few alive. And from fear, and at the same time because they thought that the enemy had gained greater numbers, our men for a time were held irresolute; but when they had recovered their courage, had armed themselves as well as they could in the confusion, and our army, aroused by the trumpets' blast, was

concitus bucinarum, cum[1] minaci murmure festinaret, eruptores perterriti reverterunt intacti. 10. Et imperator ira gravi permotus, reliquos ex ea cohorte, qui abiecte[2] sustinuerant impetum grassatorum, ad pedestrem compegit militiam (quae onerosior est) dignitatibus imminutis. 11. Flagrans post haec ad eruendum castellum, ubi periclitatus est, operam convertit et curam, nusquam ab antesignanis ipse digrediens, ut inter primos dimicans militi ad[3] fortiter faciendum esset exemplo, spectator probatorque gestorum. Quo inter discriminum vertices diu multumque versato, varietate munitionum atque telorum, et conspiratione oppugnatorum, idem castellum incenditur captum. 12. Post quae consideratis asperitatibus ante gestarum rerum et impendentium, requievit exercitus, labore nimio quassatus, multis victui congruis adfatim distributis. Vallum tamen sudibus densis et[4] fossarum altitudine cautius deinde struebatur, cum a vicina iam Ctesiphonte, repentini excursus et alia formidarentur occulta.

[1] *cum*, omitted by PBG; *cum* (with dot over *m*), V. [2] *abiecte*, E[2]BG; *abiectius*, sugg. by Clark; *abiecta*, V (*-te*, V[2]). [3] *militi ad*, AG; *militia fortiter*, V. [4] *et*, NG; B omits; *effossarum*, V (*ex fossarum*, V[2]).

[1] Cf. *egere segnius*, § 9, above.
[2] *cohors* is commonly used of the infantry, but Ammianus probably refers to the horsemen mingled with the foot-soldiers, who may have been most to blame. Vegetius tells us that each cohort had its horsemen.

hastening to the spot with threatening cries, the attacking force retreated in terror, though without loss. 10. The emperor, roused to bitter anger, reduced the surviving members of the cohort, who had shown no spirit[1] in resisting the marauders' attack, to the infantry service[2] (which is more burdensome) with loss of rank. 11. This set him afire to destroy the fortress before which he had been so endangered,[3] and he devoted his energies and thoughts to that end, never himself leaving the van, in order that by fighting among the foremost he might by his personal example rouse the soldiers to deeds of valour, as the witness and judge of their conduct. And so when he had exposed himself valiantly and long to extreme peril, after using every kind of attack[4] and weapons, through the unanimous valour of the besiegers that same fortress was at last taken and destroyed by fire. 12. After this, in consideration of the difficult tasks already performed and those which impended, the army, exhausted by excessive toil, was given a rest and many kinds of provisions were distributed in abundance. However, after that time the palisade of the camp was more carefully constructed with a close array of stakes and a deep moat, since there was fear of sudden sallies and other secret attempts from Ctesiphon, which was now not far distant.

[3] Cf. § 6, above.
[4] An unusual meaning of *munitio*, which commonly implies defence, but cf. xxi. 12, 12, where *munitores*, "besiegers," is contrasted with *prohibitores*, "besieged."

6. *Persarum duobus millibus et quingentis interfectis, et vix LXX suorum amissis, Iulianus multos coronis pro contione donat.*

1. Ventum est hinc ad fossile[1] flumen, Naarmalcha nomine (quod amnis regum interpretatur), tunc aridum. Id antehac Traianus, posteaque Severus, egesto solo fodiri in modum canalis amplissimi, studio curaverat summo, ut aquis illuc ab Euphrate transfusis, naves ad Tigridem commigrarent. 2. Tutissimumque ad omnia visum est, eadem loca purgari, quae quondam similia Persae timentes, mole saxorum obruere multorum. Hacque valle purgata, avulsis cataractis undarum magnitudine classis secura, stadiis triginta decursis,[2] in alveum eiecta est Tigridis, et contextis ilico pontibus transgressus exercitus iter Cochen versus promovit. 3. Utque lassitudini succederet quies opportuna, in agro consedimus opulento, arbustis et vitibus et cupressorum viriditate laetissimo, cuius in medio diversorium opacum est et amoenum, gentiles picturas per omnes aedium partes ostendens, regis bestias venatione multiplici trucidantis; nec enim apud eos pingitur vel fingitur aliud, praeter varias caedes et bella.

[1] *ad fossile*, EG (*-osi—*, E); *protinus ad*, Her.; *pro* (*ad*, V[2]) *fosile*, V. [2] *decursis*, Val.; *depulsa*, EBG; *depulsis* (*-sa*, V[2]), V, def. by Pet.

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[1] Cf. xxiii. 6, 25; xxiv. 2, 7; 6, 1.

[2] A canal from the Euphrates to the Tigris was made by the earliest Assyrian kings (Hdt. i. 193), and a branch of it was carried to Seleucia by Seleucus Nikator, the founder of that city. According to Cassius Dio., lxviii. 28,

ι. After killing 2500 *Persians with the loss of barely seventy of his own men, Julian presents many of his soldiers with crowns in the presence of the assembled army.*

1. Then we came to an artificial river, by name Iaarmalcha, meaning "the kings' river,"[1] which t that time was dried up. Here in days gone by 'rajan, and after him Severus, had with immense ffort caused the accumulated earth to be dug out, nd had made a great canal, in order to let in the 'ater from the Euphrates and give boats and ships ccess to the Tigris.[2] 2. It seemed to Julian in all spects safest to clean out that same canal, which rmerly the Persians, when in fear of a similar inasion, had blocked with a huge dam of stones. As on as the canal was cleared, the dams were swept way by the great flow of water, and the fleet in afety covered thirty stadia and was carried to the channel of the Tigris. Thereupon bridges 'ere at once made, and the army crossed and pushed n towards Coche. 3. Then, so that a timely rest ight follow the wearisome toil, we encamped in a ch territory, abounding in orchards, vineyards, and reen cypress groves. In its midst is a pleasant nd shady dwelling, displaying in every part of the ouse, after the custom of that nation, paintings presenting the king killing wild beasts in various inds of hunting; for nothing in their country is ainted or sculptured except slaughter in divers rms and scenes of war.

rajan's attempt was not successful because the bed of the uphrates was then much higher.

4. Proinde cunctis ex sententia terminatis, Augustus altius iam contra difficultates omnes incedens, tantumque a fortuna sperans nondum afflicta, ut propius temeritatem multa crebro auderet, validiores naves ex his quae alimenta portabant et machinas, deoneratas octogenis implevit armatis, retentoque secum classis robore firmiore, quam in tres diviserat partes, unam cum Victore comite quiete prima noctis emitti disposuit, ut flumine raptim transmisso, ripae occuparentur hostiles. 5. Quod cum acri metu territi duces, concordi precatu fieri prohibere temptarent, neque destinationem flecterent principis, sublato vexillo, ut iussum est, evolant e conspectu quinque subito naves, et cum ripas iam adventarent, facibus et omni materia, qua alitur ignis, petitae assiduis iactibus, cum militibus iam conflagrassent, ni veloci vigore pectoris excitus imperator, signum sibi datum nostros quod margines iam tenerent (ut mandatum est), erexisse proclamans, classem omnem properare citis remigiis adegisset. 6. Quo facto et naves incolumes sunt receptae, et residuus miles, quamquam saxis et varietate telorum ex edito vexaretur, post concertationem acerrimam, praealtas ripas et arduas supergressus, stabat immobilis. 7. Et miratur historia, Rhodanum arma et loricam retinente Sertorio, transnatatum, cum

[1] See Plut. *Sert.* 3, 1.

4. Since thus far everything had resulted as he desired, the Augustus now with greater confidence strode on to meet all dangers, hoping for so much from a fortune which had never failed him that he often dared many enterprises bordering upon rashness. He unloaded the stronger ships of those which carried provisions and artillery, and manned them each with eight hundred armed soldiers; then keeping by him the stronger part of the fleet, which he had formed into three divisions, in the first quiet of night he sent one part under Count Victor with orders speedily to cross the river and take possession of the enemy's side of the stream. 5. His generals in great alarm with unanimous entreaties tried to prevent him from taking this step, but could not shake the emperor's determination. The flag was raised according to his orders, and five ships immediately vanished from sight. But no sooner had they reached the opposite bank than they were assailed so persistently with firebrands and every kind of inflammable material, that ships and soldiers would have been consumed, had not the emperor, carried away by the keen vigour of his spirit, cried out that our soldiers had, as directed, raised the signal that they were already in possession of the shore, and ordered the entire fleet to hasten to the spot with all the speed of their oars. 6. The result was that the ships were saved uninjured, and the surviving soldiers, although assailed from above with stones and every kind of missiles, after a fierce struggle scaled the high, precipitous banks and held their position unyieldingly. 7. History acclaims Sertorius [1] for swimming across the Rhone with arms

eo momento turbati quidam milites, veritique ne remanerent, post signum erectum, scutis, quae patula sunt et incurva, proni firmius adhaerentes, eaque licet imperite regendo, per voraginosum amnem velocitatem comitati sunt navium.

8. Contra haec Persae obiecerunt instructas cataphractorum equitum turmas, ita[1] confertas, ut lamminis cohaerenter aptati[2] corporum flexus, splendore praestringerent occursantes obtutus, operimentis scorteis equorum multitudine omni defensa, quorum in subsidiis manipuli locati sunt peditum, contecti scutis oblongis et curvis, quae texta vimine et coriis crudis gestantes densius se commovebant. Post hos elephanti gradientium collium specie, motuque immanium corporum, propinquantibus exitium intentabant, documentis praeteritis formidati.

9. Hinc imperator catervis peditum infirmis medium[3] inter acies spatium secundum Homericam dispositionem praestituit, ne locati priores, cedentesque deformiter, cunctos averterent secum, aut postsignani pone omnes reiecti centurias, nullo retinente[4] licentius verterent terga, ipse cum levis armaturae auxiliis, per prima postremaque discurrens.

10. Ergo ubi vicissim contiguae se cernerent partes, cristatis galeis corusci Romani, vibrantesque

[1] *turmas ita*, Clark; *turmas sic*, EBG; *turma sit* (*-as sic*, V[2]), V. [2] *cohaerenter aptati*, Clark; *coaptati*, vulgo; *quas aptati*, V. [3] *infirmis medium*, Lind.; *firmis inmedium*, V. [4] *retinente*, P, Lind.; *renitente*, BG; *recinente*, V.

[1] That is, in crossing the Tigris. Büchele takes it to refer to Sertorius, but in that case there is no contrast.

and cuirass; but on this occasion[1] some panic-stricken soldiers, fearing to remain behind after the signal had been given, lying on their shields, which are broad and curved, and clinging fast to them, though they showed little skill in guiding them, kept up with the swift ships across the eddying stream.

8. The Persians opposed to us serried bands of mail-clad horsemen in such close order that the gleam of moving bodies covered with closely fitting plates of iron dazzled the eyes of those who looked upon them, while the whole throng of horses was protected by coverings of leather. The cavalry was backed up by companies of infantry, who, protected by oblong, curved shields covered with wickerwork and raw hides, advanced in very close order. Behind these were elephants, looking like walking hills, and, by the movements of their enormous bodies, they threatened destruction to all who came near them, dreaded as they were from past experience.

9. Hereupon the emperor, following Homeric tactics,[2] filled the space between the lines with the weakest of the infantry, fearing that if they formed part of the van and shamefully gave way, they might carry off all the rest with them; or if they were posted in the rear behind all the centuries, they might run off at will with no one to check them. He himself with the light-armed auxiliaries hastened now to the front, and now to the rear.

10. So, when both sides were near enough to look each other in the face, the Romans, gleaming

[2] *Iliad*, iv. 297 ff.

clipeos, velut pedis anapaesti praecinentibus modulis, lenius procedebant, et praepilatis missilibus per procursatores principiis pugnae temptatis, excita undique humus rapido turbine portabatur. 11. Et cum undique[1] solito more conclamaretur, virorumque alacritatem sonans classicum[2] iuvaret, hastis et mucronibus strictis, hinc inde comminus pugnabatur: sagittarum periculo[3] miles erat immunis, quantum interiora festinatius occupabat. Inter quae Iulianus pulsos fulcire subsidiis, incitareque tardantes, quasi conturmalis strenuus properabat et rector. 12. Laxata itaque acies prima Persarum, leni ante, dein concito gradu, calefactis armis retrorsus gradiens propinquam urbem petebat, quam sequebatur miles itidem fessus in campis torridis ad usque diei finem a lucis ortu decernens, eiusque occipitiis pertinacius haerens, omnem cum Pigrane et Surena et Narseo, potissimis ducibus, ad usque Ctesiphontis muros egit praecipitem, adversorum feriens suras et terga. 13. Perrupissetque civitatis aditus lapsorum agminibus mixtus, ni dux Victor nomine manibus erectis prohibuisset et vocibus, et[4] ipse umerum sagitta praestrictus, et timens ne intra

[1] *humus . . . undique,* added by G; V omits.
[2] *sonantia classica,* G; *sonans* c., B; *classicum iam iuvaret,* Bent.; *iam* deleted by Clark; *classica iam,* V.
[3] *periculo,* V; *periculis,* vulgo. [4] *et,* put before *ipse* by Kellerbauer; G omits; after *umerum,* V.

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[1] This was especially the Spartan method of advance; see Gell. i. 11, 1-5; Cic. *Tusc.* iii. 2.37; Val. Max. ii. 6, 2.

in their crested helmets and swinging their shields as if to the rhythm of the anapaestic foot,[1] advanced slowly; and the light-armed skirmishers opened the battle by hurling their javelins, while the earth everywhere was turned to dust and swept away in a swift whirlwind. 11. And when the battle-cry was raised in the usual manner by both sides and the trumpets' blare increased the ardour of the men, here and there they fought hand-to-hand with spears and drawn swords; and the soldiers were freer from the danger of the arrows the more quickly they forced their way into the enemy's ranks. Meanwhile Julian was busily engaged in giving support to those who gave way and in spurring on the laggards, playing the part both of a valiant fellow-soldier and of a commander. 12. Finally, the first battle-line of the Persians began to waver, and at first slowly, then at quick step, turned back and made for the neighbouring city with their armour well heated up.[2] Our soldiers pursued them, wearied though they also were after fighting on the scorching plains from sunrise to the end of the day, and following close at their heels and hacking at their legs and backs, drove the whole force with Pigranes, the Surena, and Narseus, their most distinguished generals, in headlong flight to the very walls of Ctesiphon. 13. And they would have pressed in through the gates of the city, mingled with the throng of fugitives, had not the general called Victor, who had himself received a flesh-wound in the shoulder from an arrow, raising his hand and

[2] Or, in hot haste (*armis metonymice pro armatis*), T.L.L.

moenium ambitus rapidus miles inconsulte repertus nullosque inveniens exitus, multitudinis pondere circumveniretur.

14. Sonent Hectoreas poetae veteres pugnas, fortitudinem Thessali ducis extollant, longae loquantur aetates Sophanem et Aminiam et Callimachum et Cynaegirum, Medicorum egregia[1] culmina[2] illa bellorum: non minus illo die quorundam ex nostris inclaruisse virtutem, omnium confessione monstratur.

15. Post timorem depositum, calcatasque ruinas hostilium corporum, iusto sanguine miles etiam tum cruentus, ad imperatoris tentoria congregatus, laudes ei perhibebat et gratias, quod ignoratus ubique dux esset an miles, magis aliorum quam suum respiciens commodum,[3] ita rem prospere gesserat ut caesis Persarum plus minusve duobus milibus et quingentis, septuaginta caderent soli nostrorum. 16. Qui appellans plerosque nominatim, quos stabili mente aliquid clarum fecisse, ipse arbiter perspexit, navalibus donavit coronis et civicis et castrensibus.

17. Abunde ratus post haec prosperitates similis adventare, complures hostias Marti parabat ultori, et ex tauris pulcherrimis decem ad hoc perductis, nondum aris admoti, voluntate sua novem pro-

[1] *egregia*, Her., Novák; *in Graecia*, WBG; *ingentia*, E, Haupt; *ingraeci* (*-genci*, V[2]), V. [2] *aculmina*, V; *fulmina*, Lind. [3] *aliorum . . . commodum*, added by Novák; cf. xvii. 1, 2; xxiii. 5, 24; xxv. 3, 18; etc.

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[1] Achilles.
[2] On these heroes see respectively Hdt. ix. 74, 75; viii. 93; vi. 114; Justin. ii. 9, 16 ff.; Val. Max. iii. 2, 22.

shouting, restrained them; for he feared that the excited soldiers, if they rashly entered the circuit of the walls and could find no way out, might be overcome by weight of numbers.

14. Let the poets of old sing of Hector's battles and extol the valour of the Thessalian leader;[1] let long ages tell of Sophanes, Aminias, Callimachus, Cynaegirus,[2] those glorious high lights of the Medic wars: but not less distinguished was the valour of some of our soldiers on that day, as is shown by the admission of all men.

15. After their fear was past, trampling on the overthrown bodies of their foes, our soldiers, still dripping with blood righteously shed, gathered at their emperor's tent, rendering him praise and thanks because he had won so glorious a victory, everywhere without recognition whether he was leader or soldier, and considering the welfare of others rather than his own. For as many as 2500 Persians had been slain, with the loss of only seventy of our men.[3] 16. Julian addressed many of them by name, whose heroic deeds performed with unshaken courage he himself had witnessed, and rewarded them with naval, civic, and camp crowns.[4]

17. Fully convinced that similar successes would follow these, he prepared to offer many victims to Mars the Avenger; but of ten fine bulls that were brought for this purpose nine, even before they were brought to the altar, of their own accord sank in sadness to the ground; but the tenth broke his bonds

[3] Zosimus, iii. 25, says that 2500 Persians were killed and not more than seventy-five Romans.
[4] See Gell. v. 6.

cubuere tristissimi, decimus vero, qui diffractis vinculis lapsus aegre reductus est, mactatus ominosa signa monstravit. Quibus visis, exclamavit indignatus acriter Iulianus Iovemque testatus est, nulla Marti iam sacra facturum: nec resecravit, celeri morte praereptus.

7. *Imperator a Ctesiphontis obsidione deterritus, cunctas naves suas temere iubet exuri, et a flumine recedit.*

1. Digesto itaque consilio cum primatibus super Ctesiphontis obsidio, itum est in voluntatem quorundam, facinus audax et importunum esse noscentium id aggredi, quod et civitas situ ipso inexpugnabilis defendebatur, et cum metuenda multitudine protinus rex adfore credebatur. 2. Vicit sententia melior, cuius utilitate princeps sollertissimus approbata, Arintheum cum manu peditum expedita,[1] ad populandas regiones circumsitas misit, armentis laetas et frugibus, hostes pari persecuturum industria, quos dispalatos nuper densi tramites et latebrae texere notissimae.[2] 3. Sed ille avidae semper ad ulteriora cupiditatis, parvi habitis vetantium dictis, et increpitis optimatibus, quod ob inertiam otiique desiderium, amitti suaderent prope iam[3] parta regna Persidis, flumine laeva relicto, infaustis

[1] *approbata . . . expedita*, added by G; V omits.
[2] *hinc opulenta* after *notissimae*, V; G omits, with lac. of 3 letters; a greater lac. was suspected by N, Val.
[3] *otiique . . . iam*, added by G; V omits.

and escaped, and after he had been with difficulty brought back and sacrificed, showed ominous signs. Upon seeing these, Julian in deep indignation cried out, and called Jove to witness, that he would make no more offerings to Mars; and he did not sacrifice again, since he was carried off by a speedy death.

7. *The emperor, after being deterred from besieging Ctesiphon, rashly orders all his ships to be burned, and retreats from the river.*

1. Having held council with his most distinguished generals about the siege of Ctesiphon, the opinion of some was adopted, who felt sure that the undertaking was rash and untimely, since the city, impregnable by its situation alone, was well defended; and, besides, it was believed that the king would soon appear with a formidable force. 2. So the better opinion prevailed, and the most careful of emperors, recognizing its advantage, sent Arintheus with a band of light-armed infantry, to lay waste the surrounding country, which was rich in herds and crops; Arintheus was also bidden, with equal energy to pursue the enemy, who had been lately scattered and concealed by impenetrable by-paths and their familiar hiding-places.[1] 3. But Julian, ever driven on by his eager ambitions, made light of words of warning, and upbraiding his generals for urging him through cowardice and love of ease to loose his hold on the Persian kingdom, which he had already all but won;

[1] Here there seems to be an extensive lacuna, since the sending of envoys to Julian by Sapor (Socrat. iii. 19) and other important events are missing; see crit. note.

ductoribus praeviis, mediterraneas vias arripere citato proposuit gradu. 4. Et tamquam funesta face Bellonae subiectis ignibus exuri cunctas iusserat naves, praeter minores duodecim, quas profuturas pangendis pontibus disposuit vehi carpentis, idque putabat utiliter ordinasse, ne relicta classis usui hostibus foret, aut certe (ut ab expeditionis primordio factum est), armatorum fere viginti milia in trahendis occuparentur eisdem navibus et regendis.

5. Dein cum metuens sibi quisque mussaret, monstraretque perspicua veritas, quod repulsus forsitan ariditate vel altitudine montium, ad aquas redire non poterit miles, tortique perfugae aperte faterentur se fefellisse, concursu maximo exstingui iussae sunt flammae. Et quoniam ignis auctus immaniter plerasque consumpsit, duodecim tantum modo naves potuerunt intactae servari, quae ut possint custodiri discretae sunt. 6. Hoc casu classe cum non oporteret abolita, Iulianus consociato fretus exercitu, cum armatorum nulli per diversa distringerentur, numero potior ad interiora tendebat, alimenta adfatim opulentis suggerentibus locis.

7. Quo cognito hostes, ut inedia nos cruciarent, herbas cum adultis segetibus incenderunt, et conflagratione procedere vetiti, stativis castris dum

[1] Gregory Nazianzen says that a Persian, who played the part of Zopyrus (see xviii. 5, 3, note), advised Julian to take this step; cf. Aug. *De Civ. Dei*, iv. 29; v. 21.

[2] See § 4, above.

with the river on his left and with ill-omened guides leading the way, resolved to march rapidly into the interior. 4. And it seemed as if Bellona herself lighted the fire with fatal torch, when he gave orders that all the ships should be burned, with the exception of twelve of the smaller ones, which he decided to transport on wagons as helpful for making bridges. And he thought that this plan had the advantage that the fleet, if abandoned, could not be used by the enemy, or at any rate, that nearly 20,000 soldiers would not be employed in transporting and guiding the ships, as had been the case since the beginning of the campaign.[1]

5. Then, as every man murmured, in fear for his life, and manifest truth made clear, that if the dryness of the country or high mountains made it necessary to retreat, they could not return to the waters; and as the deserters, on being put to the torture, openly confessed that they had used deceit, orders were given to use the greatest efforts of the army to put out the flames. But the frightful spread of the fire had already consumed the greater number of the ships, and only the twelve could be saved unharmed which had been set aside to be kept.[2] 6. By this disaster the fleet was needlessly lost, but Julian, trusting to his united army, since none of the soldiers was distracted by other duties, and now stronger in numbers, advanced into the interior, where the fruitful country furnished an abundance of supplies.

7. On learning this the enemy, in order to torment us with hunger, set fire to the plants and the ripe grain; and we, being prevented from advancing by the conflagration, were forced to stay in a permanent

flammae senescerent tenebamur.[1] Insultantesque nobis longius Persae, nunc de industria se diffundebant, aliquotiens confertius resistentes, ut procul conspicantibus viderentur advenisse iam regis auxilia, ideoque eos aestimaremus erupisse ad audaces excursus, et insolita temptamenta. 8. Maerebat tamen ob haec imperator et miles, quod nec contabulandi pontis erat facultas, amissis navibus temere, nec occurri poterat hostis adventicii motibus, quem adesse coruscus nitor indicabat armorum, arte pro singulis membris inflexus. Hisque accedebat aliud haud exiguum malum, quod nec adminicula quae praestolabamur cum Arsace et nostris ducibus apparebant, ob causas impedita praedictas.

8. *Imperator cum iam nec pontes facere, nec parti copiarum suarum adiungi, per Corduenam reverti statuit.*

1. Has ob res ut solaretur anxios milites princeps, captivos graciles suapte natura, ut omnes paene sunt Persae, et macie iam confectos, iussit in medium duci, nostrosque respiciens, "En" inquit "quos Martia ista pectora viros existimant, deformes illuvie capellas et taetras, utque crebri docuerunt eventus, antequam manus conferant abiectis armis

[1] *tenebamur*, Val.; *nitebantur*, B; *nitebamur*, V.

[1] In the lacuna at the end of § 2; cf. xxiii. 2 and 3. The Roman troops that had remained behind on the other bank of the Tigris made no move, partly from fear and partly because of discord among their generals.

camp until the flames should die down. The Persians, too, began to harass us at long range, now purposely spreading out, sometimes opposing us in close order, so that from a distance it seemed as if the king's aid had already arrived; and we were led to think that it was for that reason that they had made such bold attacks and unusual attempts. 8. Yet the emperor and the soldiers were troubled for this reason—that since the ships had been rashly destroyed, there was no means of making a bridge; and the movements of the advancing enemy could not be halted, whose approach was shown by the bright gleam of their armour, which skilfully fitted every limb. And there was also another great evil, in that the reinforcements that were awaited under Arsaces and our other generals did not appear, being hindered by the reasons already mentioned.[1]

8. *Since the emperor could no longer make bridges nor join the rest of his troops, he decided to return by way of Corduena.*

1. Under these conditions, in order to reassure the anxious soldiers, the emperor gave orders that some of the prisoners, who were naturally slender, as almost all the Persians are, besides being now thin from exhaustion, should be placed before them; then, looking towards our men, he said: "Behold those whom your heroic hearts think to be men, mere ugly she-goats disfigured with filth, who, as abundant experience has shown, throw away their arms and

vertentes semet in fugam." 2. Quibus dictis remotisque captivis, super rerum summa consultabatur. Et multis ultro citroque dictitatis, cum reverti debere per loca qua venimus, plebs vociferaretur imprudens, resistebat intentius princeps, multis cum eo id [1] nequaquam fieri posse monstrantibus, per effusam planitiem pabulo absumpto et frugibus, vicorumque reliquiis exustorum inopia squalentibus ultima: quodque liquentibus iam brumae pruinis, omne immaduerat solum, et ruptis [2] riparum terminis aucti, inhorruere torrentes. 3. Eo [3] etiam ad difficultatem accedente negotii, quod per eas terras vapore sideris calescentes,[4] muscarum et culicum multitudine referta sunt omnia, earumque volatu dies et astrorum noctu micantium facies obumbratur. 4. Et [5] cum nihil humani proficerent sensus, diu fluctuantes et dubii, exstructis aris caesisque hostiis, consulta numinum scitabamur,[6] utrum nos per Assyriam reverti censerent, an praeter radices montium lenius gradientes, Chiliocomum prope Corduenam sitam ex improviso vastare: quorum neutrum extis inspectis, confore dicebatur. 5. Sedit tamen sententia, ut omni spe meliorum succisa, Corduenam arriperemus, et sextum decimum Kalendas Iulias promotis iam signis, progresso

[1] *cum eo id*, Her.; *cum eo*, EG; *cumineo*, V. [2] *ruptis*, vulgo; *raptis*, V. [3] *eo*, Lind.; *ergo*, EBG; *ego*, V. [4] *calescentes*, V; *calescente*, Momm.; *calescentis*, sugg. by Clark. [5] *et*, G omits. [6] *scitabamur*, Lind.; *citabantur*, V.

take to flight before they come to grips." [1] 2. After these words the prisoners were led away, and a council was held to discuss the situation. And after much interchange of opinion, the inexperienced mob crying that we must return by the way we had come, and the emperor steadfastly opposing them, while he and many others pointed out that it was out of the question to go back through a flat country of wide extent where all the fodder and crops had been destroyed, and where what remained of the burnt villages was hideous from the utmost destitution; moreover, since the frosts of winter were now melting the whole soil was soaked, and the streams had passed the bounds of their banks and become raging torrents. 3. Still another difficulty faced the undertaking, in that in those lands heated by the sun's rays, every place is filled with such swarms of flies and gnats that their flight hides the light of day and the sight of the stars that twinkle at night. 4. And since human wisdom availed nothing, after long wavering and hesitation we built altars and slew victims, in order to learn the purpose of the gods, whether they advised us to return through Assyria, or to march slowly along the foot of the mountains and unexpectedly lay waste Chiliocomum, situated near Corduena; but on inspection of the organs it was announced that neither course would suit the signs. 5. Nevertheless it was decided, since all hope of anything better was cut off, to seize upon Corduena. Accordingly, on the sixteenth day of June, camp was

[1] Agesilaus used a similar artifice against the Persians; cf. Xenophon, *Ages.*, i. 28 (p. 73, *L.C.L.*); and Plut. *Ages.*, 9, 5.

imperatore cum lucis exordio, fumus vel vis quaedam turbinata pulveris apparebat, ut opinari daretur asinorum esse greges agrestium, quorum multitudo in tractibus est illis innumera, ideo simul incedens, ut constipatione densa feroces leonum frustrentur assultus. 6. Quidam arbitrabantur, Arsacen ac[1] duces adventare iam nostros, rumoribus percitos, quod imperator Ctesiphonta magnis viribus oppugnaret, non nulli Persas nobis viantibus incubuisse firmabant. 7. Ideo inter haec ita ambigua, nequid adversum accideret, revocantibus agmina classicis, in valle graminea prope rivum, multiplicato scutorum ordine in orbiculatam figuram metatis tutius quievimus castris. Nec enim ad usque vesperam, aere concreto, discerni potuit quidnam esset, quod squalidius videbatur.

LIBER XXV

1. *Persae Romanos iter facientes adorti, fortiter reprimuntur.*

1. Et hanc quidem noctem nullo siderum fulgore splendentem, ut solet in artis rebus et dubiis, exegimus, nec sedere quoquam auso, nec flectere in quietem lumina prae timore. Ubi vero primum dies inclaruit, radiantes loricae limbis circumdatae

[1] *Arsacen et*, Van der Hoeven (*ac*, Kellerbauer, Haupt); *Saracenos*, Val.; *sacenae duces*, V.

broken, and the emperor was on his way at break of day, when smoke or a great whirling cloud of dust was seen; so that one was led to think that it was herds of wild asses, of which there is a countless number in those regions, and that they were travelling together so that pressed body to body they might foil the fierce attacks of lions. 6. Some believed that Arsaces and our generals were coming at last, aroused by the reports that the emperor was besieging Ctesiphon with great forces; and some declared that the Persians had waylaid us. 7. Under such uncertain conditions, in order that no disaster might befall, the trumpets called the ranks together and we encamped in a grassy valley near a stream; and after measuring off a camp we rested in safety behind a multiple row of shields arranged in a circle. For, not until evening, because of the thick dust, could we make out what it was that we saw so dimly.[1]

BOOK XXV

1. *The Persians attack the Romans on their march, but are bravely repulsed.*

1. Now this night, which was lighted by the gleam of no stars, we passed as is usual in difficult and doubtful circumstances, as fear prevented anyone from daring to sit down or to close his eyes in sleep. But no sooner had the first light of day appeared, than the glittering coats of mail, girt with bands of

[1] For this meaning of *squalidius*, cf. xxv. 2, 3, below.

ferreis, et corusci thoraces, longe prospecti, adesse regis copias indicabant. 2. Hocque viso accensum, properantem congredi militem, dirimente fluvio brevi, prohibuit imperator, et non procul a vallo ipso inter excursatores nostros et Persicos, proelio acri conserto, Machameus cecidit, ductor unius agminis nostri. Cui propugnaturus Maurus frater (dux postea Phoenices) cum germani trucidasset interfectorem, obvium quemque perterrens, infirmatus et ipse umerum telo, pallescentem morte propinqua, Machameum extrahere pugna viribus valuit magnis.

3. Et cum fatiscerent vix toleranda aestuum magnitudine, crebrisque congressibus partes, ad ultimum hostiles turmae gravi sunt repulsa discussae. Hinc recedentibus nobis, longius Saraceni secuti sunt et [1] nostrorum metu peditum repedare compulsi, paulo post innexi Persarum multitudini [2] tutius irruebant, Romana impedimenta rapturi, verum viso imperatore, ad alas subsidiarias reverterunt. 4. Qua ex regione profecti ad Hucumbra nomine villam pervenimus, ubi per biduum omnibus ad usum [3] congruis et [4] satietate quaesita frumenti, ultra spem recreati discessimus, et confestim absque his, quae tempus vehi permisit, reliqua flammis exusta sunt.

[1] *Saraceni secuti sunt et*, Clark; *Saraceni nostrorum*, G; *Saraceni sunt et nostrorum*, V. [2] *multitudini*, Momm.; *multitudine totius*, V. [3] *usum*, V; *esum*, vulgo. [4] *congruis et*, BG; *congruis potiti et*, Momm.; *congruisset*, V.

steel, and the gleaming cuirasses, seen from afar, showed that the king's forces were at hand. 2. Our soldiers, inflamed by this sight, since only a small stream separated them from the enemy, were in haste to attack them, but the emperor restrained them; however, a fierce fight took place not far from our very rampart between our outposts and those of the Persians, in which Machameus, general of one of our battalions, fell. His brother Maurus, later a general in Phoenicia, tried to protect him, and after cutting down the man who had killed his brother, he terrified all who came in his way, and although he was himself partly disabled by an arrow through his shoulder, by main strength he succeeded in bringing off Machameus, already pale with approaching death, from the fray.

3. And when, because of the almost unendurable heat and the repeated attacks, both sides were growing weary, finally the enemy's troops were utterly routed and fled in all directions. As we withdrew from the spot, the Saracens followed us for some distance but were forced to retreat through fear of our infantry; a little later they joined with the main body of the Persians and attacked with greater safety, hoping to carry off the Romans' baggage; but on seeing the emperor they returned to the cavalry held in reserve. 4. Leaving this region we came to an estate called Hucumbra, where contrary to our expectation we refreshed ourselves for two days, procuring everything that was useful and an abundance of grain; then we moved on after immediately burning everything except such things as time allowed us to carry off.

5. Postridie exercitu sedatius procedente, extremos qui eo die forte cogendorum agminum officia sustinebant, necopinantes Persae adorti, negotio levi interfecissent, ni proximus equitatus noster hoc citius [1] intellecto, per patulas valles late diffusus, tantam molem discriminis, vulneratis qui supervenerant, reppulisset. 6. In hac cecidit pugna Adaces, nobilis satrapa, legatus quondam ad Constantium principem missus, ac benigne susceptus, cuius exuviis interfector Iuliano oblatis, remuneratus est ut decebat. 7. Eodem die Tertiacorum equestris numerus a legionibus incusatus est, quod cum ipsae hostium adversas irrumperent acies, illi paulatim dilapsi, alacritatem paene totius minuissent exercitus. 8. Unde ad indignationem iustam imperator erectus, ademptis signis hastisque [2] diffractis, omnes eos qui fugisse arguebantur, inter impedimenta et sarcinas et captivos agere iter imposuit, ductore eorum, qui solus fortiter decertarat, aliae turmae apposito, cuius tribunus turpiter proelium deservisse convincebatur. 9. Abiecti sunt autem sacramento etiam alii quattuor ob flagitium simile vexillationum tribuni: hoc enim correctionis moderamine leniori, impendentium consideratione difficultatum, contentus est imperator.

10. Progressi itaque stadia septuaginta,[3] attenuata rerum omnium copia, herbis frumentisque crematis,

[1] *citius*, Clark; *ocius*, G; *acutius*, V. [2] *ademptis signis hastisque*, G; *adeptisque diffractis*, V. [3] *stadia septuaginta*, tr. by PBG.

5. On the following day, as the army was advancing more quietly, the Persians unexpectedly attacked the last division, which on that day chanced to have the duty of bringing up the rear, and would have slain them with little trouble, had not our cavalry, who were near by, quickly noticed this, and, spreading widely over the open valleys, prevented so great a disaster, inflicting wounds on those who came up with them. 6. In this battle Adaces, a distinguished satrap, fell; he had once been sent as an envoy to the emperor Constantius and kindly received. The man who killed him brought his armour to Julian and received the reward which he deserved. 7. On that same day the legions made complaint of the cavalry troop of the Tertiaci, on the ground that just as they themselves were forcing their way into the opposing lines of the enemy, the Tertiaci had gradually given way and so had damped the ardour of almost the entire army. 8. At this the emperor was roused to righteous indignation, had their standards taken from them and their lances broken, and forced all those who were charged with running away to march with the packs, baggage, and prisoners; but their leader, who alone had fought bravely, was given the command of another troop, whose tribune was found guilty of having shamefully left the field. 9. Also four other tribunes of the cavalry were dismissed for similar disgraceful conduct; for in view of the impending difficulties the emperor contented himself with this mild form of punishment.

10. We then advanced for seventy stadia, while every kind of supplies grew less, since the grass

ex flammis ipsis raptas fruges et pabula, ut quisque vehere potuit, conservavit. 11. Hoc etiam loco relicto, cum ad tractum Maranga appellatum, omnis venisset exercitus, prope lucis confinia immensa Persarum apparuit multitudo, cum Merena equestris magistro militiae, filiisque regis duobus, et optimatibus plurimis. 12. Erant autem omnes catervae ferratae, ita per singula membra densis lamminis [1] tectae, ut iuncturae rigentes compagibus artuum convenirent, humanorumque vultuum simulacra, ita capitibus diligenter aptata,[2] ut inbratteatis corporibus solidis, ibi tantum incidentia tela possint haerere, qua per cavernas minutas, et orbibus oculorum affixas, parcius visitur, vel per [3] supremitates narium angusti spiritus emittuntur. 13. Quorum pars contis dimicatura, stabat immobilis, ut retinaculis aereis fixam existimares, iuxtaque sagittarii, cuius artis fiducia ab incunabulis ipsis gens praevaluit maxima, tendebant divaricatis brachiis flexiles arcus, ut nervi mammas praestringerent dexteras, spicula sinistris manibus cohaererent, summaque peritia digitorum pulsibus argutum sonantes, harundines evolabant, vulnera perniciosa portantes. 14. Post hos elephantorum fulgentium formidandam speciem et truculentos hiatus, vix mentes pavidae perferebant, ad quorum stridorem odoremque et

[1] *laminis*, added by G; V omits. [2] *aptata ut*, G; *apta ut*, vulgo; *aptavit inbratteatis*, V. [3] *per*, added by Lind.; *supra* or *infra*, Her.; *ad*, Clark; V omits.

and grain had been burned and every man had to snatch from the very flames whatever produce and fodder he could carry. 11. Leaving this place as well, the whole army had come to a district called Maranga, when near daybreak a huge force of Persians appeared with Merena, general of their cavalry, two sons of the king, and many other magnates. 12. Moreover, all the companies were clad in iron, and all parts of their bodies were covered with thick plates, so fitted that the stiff joints conformed with those of their limbs; and the forms of human faces were so skilfully fitted to their heads, that, since their entire bodies were plated with metal, arrows that fell upon them could lodge only where they could see a little through tiny openings fitted to the circle of the eye, or where through the tips of their noses they were able to get a little breath. 13. Of these some, who were armed with pikes, stood so motionless that you would think them held fast by clamps of bronze. Hard by, the archers (for that nation has especially trusted in this art from the very cradle) [1] were bending their flexible bows with such wide-stretched arms that the strings touched their right breasts, while the arrow-points were close to their left hands; and by a highly skilful stroke of the fingers the arrows flew hissing forth and brought with them deadly wounds. 14. Behind them the gleaming elephants, with their awful figures and savage, gaping mouths could scarcely be endured by the faint-hearted; and their trumpeting, their odour, and their strange aspect alarmed

[1] The Persian boys from the age of five were taught to ride, to use the bow, and to speak the truth (Hdt. i. 136).

insuetum aspectum magis equi terrebantur. 15. Quibus insidentes magistri, manubriatos cultros dexteris manibus illigatos gestabant, acceptae apud Nisibin memores cladis, et si ferociens animal, vires exsuperasset regentis, ne reversum per suos (ut tunc acciderat) collisam sterneret plebem, venam [1] quae caput a cervice disterminat, ictu maximo terebrabant. Exploratum est enim aliquando ab Hasdrubale Hannibalis fratre, ita citius vitam huius modi adimi beluarum. 16. Quibus non sine magno terrore perspectis, stipatus armatarum cohortium globis, cum primatibus fidentissimus imperator, ut flagitabat maior vis et atrocior, lunari acie sinuatisque lateribus, occursuros hosti manipulos instruebat. 17. Et ne sagittariorum procursus nostrorum cuneos disiectaret, illatis concitatius signis, spiculorum impetum fregit, datoque ad decernendum sollemniter signo, denseti Romani pedites confertas hostium frontes, nisu protruserunt acerrimo. 18. Et fervente certaminum mole, clipeorum sonitus et virorum, armorumque lugubre sibilantium fragor, nihil perpetiens iam remissum, campos cruore et corporum strage contexit, effusius cadentibus Persis, quibus saepe languidis in conflictu, artius pes pede collatus, graviter obsistebat, pugnare fortiter eminus con-

[1] *venamque*, V; *vertebram*, BG.

[1] Livy, xxvii. 49, 1 ff.

[2] By reaching the enemy before they could use their bows at all (*ante iactum sagittarum* (Justin, *l.c.*)), or with good effect. Cf. Frontinus, *Strat.* ii. 2, 5, *Ventidius . . . ita procursione subita . . . se admovit, ut sagittas, quibus ex longinquo usus est, comminus adplicitus eluderet.* Similar tactics were used by Miltiades at Marathon; Hdt. vi. 112; Just. ii. 9, 11.

the horses still more. 15. Seated upon these, their drivers carried knives with handles bound to their right hands, remembering the disaster suffered at Nisibis; and if the strength of the driver proved no match for the excited brute, that he might not turn upon his own people (as happened then) and crush masses of them to the ground, he would with a mighty stroke cut through the vertebra which separates the head from the neck. For long ago Hasdrubal, brother of Hannibal, discovered that in that way brutes of this kind could quickly be killed.[1] 16. Although these sights caused no little fear, the emperor, guarded by troops of armed men and with his trustworthy generals, full of confidence, as the great and dangerous power of the enemy demanded, drew up his soldiers in the form of a crescent with curving wings to meet the enemy. 17. And in order that the onset of the bowmen might not throw our ranks into confusion, he advanced at a swift pace, and so ruined the effectiveness of the arrows.[2] Then the usual signal for battle was given, and the Roman infantry in close order with mighty effort drove the serried ranks of the enemy before them. 18. And in the heat of the combat that followed, the clash of shields, the shouts of the men, and the doleful sound of the whirring arrows continued without intermission. The plains were covered with blood and dead bodies, but the Persian losses were greater; for they often lacked endurance in battle and could with difficulty maintain a close contest man to man, since they were accustomed to fight bravely at long range,

suetis, et si inclinatas suorum copias senserint, cedendo in modum imbrium pone versus directis sagittis, hostes a persequendi fiducia deterrere. Pulsis igitur pondere magnarum virium Parthis, miles solis cursu flammeo diu lassatus, signo in receptum dato ex more,[1] in tentoria repedat ad audenda deinceps maiora sublatus.

19. In hoc proelio Persarum maior, ut dictum est, apparuit strages, nostrorum admodum levis. Eminuit tamen inter varios certaminum casus Vetranionis mors viri pugnacis, qui legionem Ziannorum regebat.

2. *Inopia frumenti et pabuli premitur exercitus. Iulianus terretur ostentis.*

1. Post quae triduo indutiis destinato, dum suo quisque vulneri medetur vel proximi, commeatibus nos destitutos inedia cruciabat iam non ferenda: et quoniam frugibus exustis et pabulis, homines in discrimen ultimum venerant et iumenta, ex eo cibo, quem animalia tribunorum vehebant et comitum, imac quoque militum [2] plebi penitus indigenti, pars distributa est magna. 2. Et imperator, cui non cuppediae ciborum, ex regio more, sed sub columellis tabernaculi parvis cenaturo, pultis portio parabatur exigua, etiam munifici fastidienda gregario quicquid

[1] *ex more*, added by Clark, c.c. [2] *et . . . militum* omitted by BG.

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[1] Zosimus, iii. 28, calls him Brettanio. The Zianni were probably a Thracian tribe; see Index II.

but if they perceived that their forces were giving way, as they retreated they would shoot their arrows back like a shower of rain and keep the enemy from a bold pursuit. So by the weight of great strength the Parthians were driven back, and when the signal for retreat was given in the usual manner, our soldiers, long wearied by the fiery course of the sun, returned to their tents, encouraged to dare greater deeds of valour in the future.

19. In this battle (as was said) the loss of the Persians was clearly the greater, while that of our men was very slight. But noteworthy among the various calamities of the combats was the death of Vetranio,[1] a valiant fighter, who commanded the legion of the Zianni.

2. *The army is hard pressed by scarcity of grain and fodder. Julian is alarmed by omens.*

1. After this three days were devoted to a truce, while each man gave attention to his own wound or his neighbour's, but since we were without supplies we were tormented by hunger that was already unendurable; and because grain and fodder had everywhere been burned, and both men and animals experienced extreme danger, a great part of the food which the pack-animals of the tribunes and generals carried was distributed even to the lowest soldiers, who were in dire want. 2. And the emperor, who had no dainties awaiting him, after the manner of princes, but a scant portion of porridge under the low poles of a humble tent—a meal which would have been scorned even by one who served as a common

ad ministeria postulabatur, per contubernia paupertina sui securus egessit.[1] 3. Ipse autem ad sollicitam suspensamque quietem paulisper protractus, cum somno ut solebat depulso, ad aemulationem Caesaris Iulii quaedam sub pellibus scribens, obscuro noctis altitudine sensus cuiusdam philosophi teneretur, vidit squalidius, ut confessus est proximis, speciem illam Genii publici, quam cum ad Augustum surgeret culmen, conspexit in Galliis, velata cum capite [2] Cornucopia per aulaea tristius discedentem. 4. Et quamquam ad momentum haesit stupore defixus, omni tamen superior metu, ventura decretis caelestibus commendabat, relictoque humi strato cubili, adulta iam excitus nocte, et numinibus per sacra depulsoria supplicans, flagrantissimam facem [3] cadenti similem visam, aeris parte sulcata, evanuisse existimavit, horroreque perfusus est, ne ita aperte minax Martis apparuerit sidus.

5. Erat autem nitor igneus iste, quem διαίσσοντα nos appellamus, nec cadens umquam nec terram contingens. Corpora enim qui credit caelitus posse labi, profanus merito iudicatur, et demens. Fit autem hic habitus modis compluribus, e [4] quibus sufficiet pauca monstrare. 6. Scintillas quidam putant ab aetherio candentes vigore, parumque porrectius

[1] *egessit*, BG; *digessit*, Pet.; *egissit*, V. [2] *capite*, omitted by BG. [3] *facem*, added by G; V omits. [4] *e*, added by AG; *de*, E; V omits.

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[1] Contrasted with the *beneficiarius*, who had special privileges; see Veget. ii. 7.
[2] Cf. xx. 5, 10. [3] Cf. xxiv. 6, 17.
[4] ἀστὴρ διαΐσσων, "a shooting star"; cf. *Iliad*, iv. 75-77.

soldier—[1] regardless of himself distributed through the tents of the poorer of his men whatever was demanded for his own needs. 3. Moreover, when he was forced for a time to indulge in an anxious and restless sleep, he threw it off in his usual manner, and, following the example of Julius Caesar, did some writing in his tent. Once when in the darkness of night he was intent upon the lofty thought of some philosopher, he saw somewhat dimly, as he admitted to his intimates, that form of the protecting deity of the state which he had seen in Gaul when he was rising to Augustan dignity,[2] but now with veil over both head and horn of plenty, sorrowfully passing out through the curtains of his tent. 4. And although for a moment he remained sunk in stupefaction, yet rising above all fear, he commended his future fate to the decrees of heaven, and now fully awake, the night being now far advanced, he left his bed, which was spread on the ground, and prayed to the gods with rites designed to avert their displeasure. Then he thought he saw a blazing torch of fire, like a falling star, which furrowed part of the air and disappeared. And he was filled with fear lest the threatening star of Mars had thus visibly shown itself.[3]

5. That fiery brilliance was of the kind that we call διαΐσσων,[4] which never falls anywhere or touches the earth; for anyone who believes that bodies can fall from heaven is rightly considered a layman,[5] or a fool. But this sort of thing happens in many ways, and it will be enough to explain a few of them. 6. Some believe that sparks glowing from

[5] I.e. not versed in astronomy.

tendere sufficientes, exstingui, vel certe radiorum flammas iniectas nubibus densis, acri scintillare contactu, aut cum lumen aliquod cohaeserit nubi. Id enim in stellae speciem figuratum, decurrit quidem, dum viribus ignium sustentatur: amplitudine vero spatiorum exinanitum in aerium solvitur corpus, ad substantiam migrans, cuius attritu incaluit nimio.

7. Confestim itaque ante lucis primitias, Etrusci haruspices accersiti, consultique quid astri species portenderet nova, vitandum esse cautissime responderunt nequid tunc temptaretur: ex Tarquitianis libris in titulo de rebus divinis, id relatum esse monstrantes, quod face in caelo visa committi proelium vel simile quicquam non oportebit. 8. Quo etiam id inter alia multa spernente, orabant haruspices, saltem aliquot horis profectionem differri, et ne hoc quidem sunt adepti, imperatore omni vaticinandi scientia [1] reluctante, sed exorto iam die promota sunt castra.

[1] *scientia*, Her.; *sententia*, VEB.

[1] Cf. Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* ii. 14.

[2] So-called from their author Tarquitius, whom some identify with Tages; cf. xvii. 10, 2; xxi. 1, 10.

the ethereal force, are not strong enough to go very far and then are extinguished; or at least that beams of light are forced into thick clouds, and because of the heavy clash throw out sparks, or when some light has come in contact with a cloud. For this takes the form of a star, and falls downward, so long as it is sustained by the strength of the fire; but, exhausted by the greatness of the space which it traverses, it loses itself in the air, passing back into the substance whose friction gave it all that heat.[1]

7. Accordingly, before dawn the Etruscan soothsayers were hastily summoned, and asked what this unusual kind of star portended. Their reply was, that any undertaking at that time must be most carefully avoided, pointing out that in the Tarquitian books,[2] under the rubric "On signs from heaven" it was written, that when a meteor was seen in the sky, battle ought not to be joined, or anything similar attempted. 8. When the emperor scorned this also, as well as many other signs, the soothsayers begged that at least he would put off his departure for some hours; but even this they could not gain, since the emperor was opposed to the whole science of divination,[3] but since day had now dawned, camp was broken.

[3] I.e. when it opposed his plans. As Montaigne (Book II, ch. 19) rightly says, "he was besotted with the art of divination"; cf. xxii. 1, 1; xxiii. 3, 3; xxv. 4, 17.

3. *Imperator, dum ad repellendos Persas, qui undique instabant, omissa lorica, temere se proeliis inserit, hasta vulneratur, ac in tabernaculum refertur, ubi circumstantes alloquitur, ac post epotam frigidam moritur.*

1. Hinc nos egressos, Persae cum saepe afflicti, peditum stabiles pugnas horrerent, structis insidiis, occulte comitabantur, altrinsecus viantes catervas a celsis collibus explorando, ut id suspicans miles, ad usque perpetuum diem nec vallum erigeret nec sudibus se communiret. 2. Dumque teguntur firmiter latera, et exercitus pro locorum situ quadratis quidem sed laxis incedit agminibus, invasa subito terga pone versus arma cogentium principi indicatur, etiam tum inermi ad speculanda anteriora progresso. 3. Qua concitus clade, oblitus loricae, scuto inter tumultum adrepto,[1] properans ultimis ferre suppetias, revocatur alio metu, qui etiam antesignanos, unde discesserat, paria perpeti nuntiabat. 4. Quae dum sine respectu periculi sui, redintegrare festinat, ex alia parte cataphractorum Parthicus globus centurias adoritur medias, ac sinistro cornu inclinato acriter superfusus, faetorem stridoremque elephantorum impatienter tolerantibus nostris, contis et multiplicatis missilibus decernebat.

[1] *arrepto*, E, Lind.; *abrepto*, V.

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[1] *Arma cogentium* = *agmen cogentium*, with *arma*=*armatos*, as often in Ammianus. Cf. xvi. 2, 10, where *arma cogentes* probably has the same meaning as *arma cogentium* in this passage.

[2] Zonaras (xiii. 13, B) says that he had taken it off because of its weight and the excessive heat.

3. *When the emperor rushed into battle rashly without his coat of mail, in order to drive back the Persians, who were pressing us on all sides, he was wounded by a spear and taken to his tent; there he addresses those who stood about him and after a draught of cold water dies.*

1. When we marched on from this place, the Persians, since their frequent losses made them dread regular battles with the infantry, laid ambuscades, and secretly attended us, from the high hills on both sides watching our companies as they marched, so that the soldiers, suspicious of this, all day long neither raised a palisade nor fortified themselves with stakes. 2. And while the flanks were strongly protected and the army, as the nature of the ground made necessary, advanced in square formation, but with the battalions in open order, it was reported to the emperor, who even then unarmed had gone forward to reconnoitre, that the rear guard[1] had suddenly been attacked from behind. 3. Excited by the misfortune, he forgot his coat-of-mail,[2] and merely caught up a shield in the confusion; but as he was hastening to bring aid to those in the rear, he was recalled by another danger—the news that the van, which he had just left, was just as badly off. 4. While he was hastening to restore order there without regard to his own peril, a Parthian band of mailed cavalry on another side attacked the centre companies, and quickly overflowed the left wing, which gave way, since our men could hardly endure the smell and trumpeting of the elephants, they were trying to end the battle with

5. Verum principe volitante inter prima discrimina proeliorum, exsilivit nostra succinctior armatura, aversorumque Persarum et beluarum, suffragines concidebat et dorsa. 6. Quos cum Iulianus cavendi immemor, diffluxisse trepidos elatis vociferando manibus aperte demonstrans, irasque sequentium excitans, audenter effunderet semet in pugnam, clamabant hinc inde candidati (quos disiecerat terror) ut fugientium molem tamquam ruinam male compositi culminis declinaret, et (incertum unde [1]) subita equestris hasta, cute brachii eius praestricta, costis perfossis, haesit in ima iecoris fibra. 7. Quam dum avellere dextra manu conatur, acuto utrimque ferro digitorum nervos sensit excisos, et provolutus iumento, praesentiumque veloci concursu, relatus in castra, medicinae ministeriis fovebatur. 8. Moxque ubi lenito paulisper dolore, timere desiit, magno spiritu contra exitium certans, arma poscebat et equum, ut reviso proelio suorum fiduciam repararet, ac videretur sui securus, alienae salutis sollicitudine vehementer adstringi: eo vigore, licet in negotio dispari, quo Epaminondas ille dux inclitus letaliter apud Mantiniam saucius et revectus ex acie cura quaerebat sollicita [2] scutum. Quod cum vidisset

[1] *unde*, added by Haupt, Gardt.; V omits. [2] *cura quaerebat sollicita*, Her.; *cum quaerebat, sollicitae*, V.

[1] See Index II., vol. i, s.v. *candidati*; cf. xv. 5, 16.
[2] Libanius said that he was killed by some Christian in his own army, but some other writers agree with Ammianus.

pikes and volleys of arrows. 5. But while the emperor rushed hither and thither amid the foremost ranks of the combatants, our light-armed forces leaped forth upon them, and as the Persians turned in flight, they hacked at their legs and backs, and those of the elephants. 6. Julian, careless of his own safety, shouting and raising his hands tried to make it clear to his men that the enemy had fled in disorder, and, to rouse them to a still more furious pursuit, rushed boldly into the fight. His guards,[1] who had scattered in their alarm, were crying to him from all sides to get clear of the mass of fugitives, as dangerous as the fall of a badly built roof, when suddenly—no one knows whence [2]—a cavalryman's spear grazed the skin of his arm, pierced his ribs, and lodged in the lower lobe of his liver. 7. While he was trying to pluck this out with his right hand, he felt that the sinews of his fingers were cut through on both sides by the sharp steel. Then he fell from his horse, all present hastened to the spot, he was taken to camp and given medical treatment. 8. And soon, as the pain diminished somewhat, he ceased to fear, and fighting with great spirit against death, he called for his arms and his horse in order by his return to the fight to restore the confidence of his men, and troubling nothing about himself, to show that he was filled with great anxiety for the safety of the others; with the same vigour, though under different conditions, with which the famous leader Epaminondas, when mortally wounded at Mantinia and carried from the field, took particular care to ask for his shield.[3] And

[3] Val. Max. iii. 2, ext. 5; Just. vi. 11, 8; cf. Nepos, *Epam.* 9, 3.

propius laetior, vi vulneris interiit, et qui animam intrepidus amittebat, iacturam clipei formidavit. 9. Sed cum vires parum sufficerent voluntati, sanguinisque profluvio vexaretur, mansit immobilis, ideo spe deinceps vivendi absumpta, quod percunctando, Phrygiam appellari locum ubi ceciderat comperit. Hic enim obiturum se praescripta audierat sorte. 10. Sed[1] reducto ad tentoria principe, incredibile dictu est, quo quantoque[2] ardore, miles ad vindictam ira et dolore ferventior involabat, hastis ad scuta concrepans, etiam mori (si tulisset fors) obstinatus. Et quamvis offundebatur oculis altitudo pulveris et aestus calescens officeret alacritati membrorum, tamen velut exauctoratus, amisso ductore, sine[3] parsimonia ruebat in ferrum. 11. Contra animosius Persae sagittarum volantium crebritate, conspectum sui rapiebant oppositis, quos elephanti tardius praecedentes, magnitudine corporum, cristarumque[4] horrore, pavorem iumentis incutiebant et viris. Concursus itaque armatorum, et cadentium gemitus, equorum flatus et tinnitus ferri procul audiebatur, quamdiu satietate vulnerum partibus fessis, nox diremit certamina iam tenebrosa. 13. Quinquaginta tum Persarum optimates et satrapae cum plebe maxima ceciderunt, inter has turbas Merena et Nohodare potissimis

[1] *sed*, added by Clark; V omits. [2] *quo quantoque*, Gardt.; *quo* omitted by V. [3] *sine*, V; *sine sui*, Gardt. [4] *cristarumque*, V; *stridorumque*, Haupt; *crustarumque*, Her.; cf. xix. 2, 3.

[1] He had been told in a dream that he would die in Phrygia; see Zonaras, xiii. 13, A.

when he saw it near him, he died of his terrible wound, happy; for he who gave up his life without fear dreaded the loss of his shield. 9. But since Julian's strength was not equal to his will, and he was weakened by great loss of blood, he lay still, having lost all hope for his life because, on inquiry, he learned that the place where he had fallen was called Phrygia.[1] For he had heard that it was fate's decree that he should die there. 10. But when the emperor had been taken to his tent, the soldiers, burning with wrath and grief, with incredible vigour rushed to avenge him, clashing their spears against their shields, resolved even to die if it should be the will of fate. And although the high clouds of dust blinded the eyes, and the burning heat weakened the activity of their limbs, yet as though discharged[2] by the loss of their leader, without sparing themselves, they rushed upon the swords of the enemy. 11. On the other hand, the exulting Persians sent forth such a shower of arrows that they prevented their opponents from seeing the bowmen. Before them slowly marched the elephants, which with their huge size of body and horrifying crests, struck terror into horses and men. Further off, the trampling of the combatants, the groans of the falling, the panting of the horses, and the ring of arms were heard, until finally both parties were weary of inflicting wounds and the darkness of night ended the battle. 13. On that day fifty Persian grandees and satraps fell, besides a great number of common soldiers, and among them the distinguished generals Merena[3] and Nohodares[4] were

[2] And so released from discipline.
[3] Cf. 1, 11, above. [4] Cf. xviii. 6, 16.

ducibus interfectis. Obstupescat magniloquentia vetustatis diversis in locis proelia viginti Marcelli: Sicinium Dentatum adiciat ornatum militarium multitudine coronarum: miretur super his Sergium, qui viciens et ter vulneratus est in variis pugnis (ut fertur), cuius posteritatis ultimus Catilina claras gloriarum adoreas, sempiternis maculis obumbravit. Deformabat tamen tristitia laetiores eventus. 14. Dum haec enim post discessum ducis ubique aguntur, exercitus cornu dextro defatigato, et Anatolio interfecto, qui tunc erat officiorum magister, Salutius praefectus, actus in exitium praeceps, et opera sui apparitoris ereptus, Phosphorio amisso consiliario, qui ei aderat casu, evasit; palatini[1] quidam militesque per multa discrimina, occupato castelli vicini praesidio, post diem denique tertium, iungi exercitui potuerunt.

15. Quae dum ita aguntur, Iulianus in tabernaculo iacens, circumstantes allocutus est demissos et tristes: "Advenit, o socii, nunc abeundi tempus e vita impendio tempestivum, quam reposcenti naturae, ut debitor bonae fidei redditurus, exulto, non (ut quidam opinantur) afflictus et maerens, philosophorum sententia generali perdoctus, quantum corpore sit beatior animus, et contemplans, quotiens condicio melior a deteriore secernitur, laetandum

[1] *palatini*, Momm. (for *et fuga*); lac. ind. by Her.; *pagani*, Pet.; *fugam quidam*, V.

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[1] Pliny, *N.H.* vii. 92, and Solinus, 1, 107, speak of thirty-nine.

[2] Val. Max. iii. 2, 24; Gell. ii. 11, 2; etc.

slain. The boastfulness of antiquity may view with amazement the twenty battles of Marcellus in various places;[1] it may add Sicinius Dentatus,[2] honoured with a multitude of military crowns; it may besides admire Sergius,[3] who (they say) was wounded twenty-three times in different battles, and whose last descendant Catiline tarnished the glorious renown of these victories with an indelible stain. Yet the joy in our success was marred by sorrow.[4] 14. For while the fight went on everywhere after the withdrawal of the leader, the right wing of the army was exhausted, and Anatolius, at that time chief marshal of the court, was killed. Salutius, the prefect, was in extreme danger, but was saved by the help of his adjutant, and by a fortunate chance escaped death, while Phosphorius, a councillor who chanced to be at his side, was lost. Some of the court officials[5] and soldiers, amid many dangers, took refuge in a neighbouring fortress, and were able to rejoin the army only after three days.

15. While all this was going on, Julian, lying in his tent, addressed his disconsolate and sorrowful companions as follows: "Most opportunely, friends, has the time now come for me to leave this life, which I rejoice to return to Nature, at her demand, like an honourable debtor, not (as some might think) bowed down with sorrow, but having learned from the general conviction of philosophers how much happier the soul is than the body, and bearing in mind that whenever a better condition is severed from a worse,

[3] Cf. Pliny and Solin., *l.c.*

[4] This sentence comes in abruptly: Büchele seems to refer it to what precedes.

[5] Cf. xxv. 6, 11.

esse potius quam dolendum. Illud quoque advertens, quod etiam dii caelestes quibusdam piissimis mortem tamquam summum praemium persolverunt. 16. Munus autem id mihi delatum optime scio, ne difficultatibus subcumberem arduis, neve me proiciam umquam, aut prosternam, expertus quod dolores omnes ut insultant ignavis, ita persistentibus cedunt. 17. Nec me gestorum paenitet aut gravis flagitii recordatio stringit, vel cum in umbram [1] et angustias [2] amendarer, vel post principatum susceptum, animum [3] tamquam a cognatione caelitum defluentem, immaculatum (ut existimo) conservavi et civilia moderatius regens, et examinatis rationibus, bella inferens et repellens, tametsi prosperitas simul utilitasque consultorum non ubique concordent, quoniam coeptorum eventus superae sibi vindicant potestates. 18. Reputans autem iusti esse finem imperii, oboedientium commodum et salutem, ad tranquilliora semper (ut nostis) propensior fui, licentiam omnem actibus meis exterminans,[4] rerum corruptricem et morum, gaudensque abeo,[5] sciens quod [6] ubicumque me [7] velut imperiosa parens consideratis periculis obiecit res publica, steti fundatus, turbines calcare fortuitorum assuefactus. 19. Nec fateri pudebit, interiturum me ferro, dudum didici fide fatidica praecinente. Ideoque sempiternum

[1] *umbram*, Eyssen.; *umbra*, V. [2] *angustias*, N[2], Bent.; *angulis*, EBG; *angustiis*, Gudeman; *angulias*, V. [3] *animum*, added by Momm., punctuating *stringit. vel*; *quem* by Val.; V omits. [4] *propensior . . . exter-*, added in G; *nostis minans*, V. [5] *abeo*, Kellerbauer; *adeo*, V. [6] *sciens quod*, V; *gestiensque*, Haupt. [7] *me*, vulgo; V omits.

one should rather rejoice than grieve. Thinking also of this, that the gods of heaven themselves have given death to some men of the greatest virtue [1] as their supreme reward. 16. But this gift, I know well, was given to me, that I might not yield to great difficulties, nor ever bow down and humiliate myself; for experience teaches me that all sorrows overcome only weaklings, but yield to the steadfast. 17. I do not regret what I have done, nor does the recollection of any grave misdeed torment me; either when I was consigned to the shade and obscurity, or after I attained the principate, I have preserved my soul, as taking its origin from relationship with the gods, stainless (in my opinion), conducting civil affairs with moderation, and making and repelling wars only after mature deliberation. And yet success and well-laid plans do not always go hand in hand, since higher powers claim for themselves the outcome of all enterprises. 18. Considering, then, that the aim of a just rule is the welfare and security of its subjects, I was always, as you know, more inclined to peaceful measures, excluding from my conduct all license, the corrupter of deeds and of character. On the other hand, I depart rejoicing that, so often as the state, like an imperious parent, has exposed me deliberately to dangers, I have stood four-square, accustomed as I am to tread under foot the storms of fate. 19. And I shall not be ashamed to admit, that I learned long ago through the words of a trustworthy prophecy, that I should perish by the sword. And therefore I thank the eternal power that

[1] Probably referring to Cleobis and Biton and Agamedes and Trophonius; Cic. *T.D.* i. 47; 113 f.

veneror numen, quod non clandestinis insidiis, nec longa morborum asperitate, vel damnatorum fine decedo, sed in medio cursu florentium gloriarum, hunc merui clarum ex mundo[1] digressum. Aequo enim iudicio iuxta timidus est et ignavus, qui cum non oportet, mori desiderat, et qui refugiat cum sit opportunum. 20. Hactenus loqui, vigore virium labente sufficiet. Super imperatore vero creando, caute reticeo, ne per imprudentiam dignum praeteream, aut nominatum quem habilem reor, anteposito forsitan alio, ad[2] discrimen ultimum trudam. Ut alumnus autem rei publicae frugi, opto bonum post me reperiri rectorem."

21. Post haec placide dicta, familiares opes iunctioribus velut supremo distribuens stilo, Anatolium quaesivit, officiorum magistrum, quem cum beatum fuisse Salutius respondisset praefectus, intellexit occisum, acriterque amici casum ingemuit, qui elata mente[3] contempserat suum. 22. Et flentes inter haec omnes qui aderant, auctoritate integra etiam tum increpabat, humile esse, caelo sideribusque conciliatum lugeri principem dicens. 23. Quibus ideo iam silentibus, ipse cum Maximo et Prisco philosophis super animorum sublimitate perplexius disputans, hiante latius suffossi lateris

[1] *ex mundo*, Clark; *e medio*, BG; *e mundo*, EA; *et mundo*, V. [2] *ad*, added by Pet.; *in* by N²AG; V omits. [3] *elata mente*, Corn.; *letum ante*, Brakman; *etiam laete*, Pighius; *eletantem*, V.

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[1] Cf. xxii. 7, 3.

[2] After the example of Socrates and others; of Thrasea, cf. Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 34.

I meet my end, not from secret plots, nor from the pain of a tedious illness, nor by the fate of a criminal, but that in the mid-career of glorious renown I have been found worthy of so noble a departure from this world. For he is justly regarded as equally weak and cowardly who desires to die when he ought not, or he who seeks to avoid death when his time has come. 20. So much it will be enough to say, since my vital strength is failing. But as to the choice of an emperor, I am prudently silent, lest I pass over some worthy person through ignorance, or if I name someone whom I consider suitable, and perhaps another is preferred, I may expose him to extreme danger. But as an honourable foster-child of our country, I wish that a good ruler may be found to succeed me."

21. After having spoken these words in a calm tone, wishing to distribute his private property to his closer friends, as if with the last stroke of his pen, he called for Anatolius, his chief court-marshal. And when the prefect Salutius replied "He has been happy," he understood that he had been slain, and he who recently with such courage had been indifferent to his own fate, grieved deeply over that of a friend. 22. Meanwhile, all who were present wept, whereupon even then maintaining his authority, he chided them, saying that it was unworthy to mourn for a prince who was called to union with heaven and the stars. 23. As this made them all silent, he himself engaged with the philosophers Maximus[1] and Priscus in an intricate discussion about the nobility of the soul.[2] Suddenly the wound in his pierced

vulnere, et spiritum tumore cohibente venarum, epota gelida aqua quam petiit, medio noctis horrore, vita facilius est absolutus, anno aetatis altero et tricensimo, natus apud Constantinopolim, a pueritia usque parentis obitu destitutus Constanti, quem post fratris Constantini excessum, inter complures alios turba consumpsit imperii successorum, et Basilina matre iam inde a maioribus nobili.

4. *Virtutes eius et vitia, forma corporis et statura.*

1. Vir profecto heroicis connumerandus ingeniis, claritudine rerum et coalita maiestate conspicuus. Cum enim sint (ut sapientes definiunt), virtutes quattuor praecipuae, temperantia, prudentia, iustitia, fortitudo, eisque accedentes [1] extrinsecus aliae, scientia rei militaris, auctoritas felicitas atque liberalitas, intento studio coluit omnes ut singulas.

2. Et primum ita inviolata castitate enituit, ut post amissam coniugem nihil umquam venereum attigisse eum constaret [2]; illud advertens, quod apud Platonem legitur, Sophoclem tragoediarum scriptorem, aetate grandaevum, interrogatum ecquid adhuc feminis misceretur, negantem, id adiecisse, quod gauderet harum rerum amorem ut rabiosum

[1] *accedentes*, Bent., Wagner; *eiusque accidentes*, V.
[2] *attigisse . . . constaret*, Her.; *agitaret*, vulgo; *augis larens*, V.

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[1] Constantine left the rule to his three sons, but Constantius had all his relatives slain, except Gallus and Julian, who were then children.

[2] She was a daughter of the praetorian prefect Julianus, and died a few years after the birth of her only child.

side opened wide, the pressure of the blood checked his breath, and after a draught of cold water for which he had asked, in the gloom of midnight he passed quietly away in the thirty-second year of his age. Born in Constantinople, he was left alone in childhood by the death both of his father Constantius (who, after the decease of his brother Constantinus, met his end with many others in the strife for the succession to the throne) [1] and of his mother Basilina, who came from an old and noble family.[2]

4. ***Julian's merits and defects, his bodily form and stature.***

1. He was a man truly to be numbered with the heroic spirits, distinguished for his illustrious deeds and his inborn majesty. For since there are, in the opinion of the philosophers, four principal virtues,[3] moderation, wisdom, justice, and courage and corresponding to these also some external characteristics, such as knowledge of the art of war, authority, good fortune, and liberality, these as a whole and separately Julian cultivated with constant zeal.

2. In the first place, he was so conspicuous for inviolate chastity that after the loss of his wife [4] it is well known that he never gave a thought to love: bearing in mind what we read in Plato,[5] that Sophocles, the tragic poet, when he was asked, at a great age, whether he still had congress with women, said no, adding that he was glad that he had escaped from this passion as from some mad and cruel

[3] Cicero, *De Off.* i. 5, 15.
[4] Cf. xxi. 1, 5.
[5] *Rep.* i, 329, B–C; cf. Cic. *De Senec.* 14, 47.

eo momento turbati quidam milites, veritique ne remanerent, post signum erectum, scutis, quae patula sunt et incurva, proni firmius adhaerentes, eaque licet imperite regendo, per voraginosum amnem velocitatem comitati sunt navium.

8. Contra haec Persae obiecerunt instructas cataphractorum equitum turmas, ita[1] confertas, ut lamminis cohaerenter aptati[2] corporum flexus, splendore praestringerent occursantes obtutus, operimentis scorteis equorum multitudine omni defensa, quorum in subsidiis manipuli locati sunt peditum, contecti scutis oblongis et curvis, quae texta vimine et coriis crudis gestantes densius se commovebant. Post hos elephanti gradientium collium specie, motuque immanium corporum, propinquantibus exitium intentabant, documentis praeteritis formidati.

9. Hinc imperator catervis peditum infirmis medium[3] inter acies spatium secundum Homericam dispositionem praestituit, ne locati priores, cedentesque deformiter, cunctos averterent secum, aut postsignani pone omnes reiecti centurias, nullo retinente[4] licentius verterent terga, ipse cum levis armaturae auxiliis, per prima postremaque discurrens.

10. Ergo ubi vicissim contiguae se cernerent partes, cristatis galeis corusci Romani, vibrantesque

[1] *turmas ita*, Clark; *turmas sic*, EBG; *turma sit* (*-as sic*, V²), V. [2] *cohaerenter aptati*, Clark; *coaptati*, vulgo; *quae aptati*, V. [3] *infirmis medium*, Lind.; *firmis inmedium*, V. [4] *retinente*, P, Lind.; *renitente*, BG; *recinente*, V.

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[1] That is, in crossing the Tigris. Büchele takes it to refer to Sertorius, but in that case there is no contrast.

and cuirass; but on this occasion[1] some panic-stricken soldiers, fearing to remain behind after the signal had been given, lying on their shields, which are broad and curved, and clinging fast to them, though they showed little skill in guiding them, kept up with the swift ships across the eddying stream.

8. The Persians opposed to us serried bands of mail-clad horsemen in such close order that the gleam of moving bodies covered with closely fitting plates of iron dazzled the eyes of those who looked upon them, while the whole throng of horses was protected by coverings of leather. The cavalry was backed up by companies of infantry, who, protected by oblong, curved shields covered with wickerwork and raw hides, advanced in very close order. Behind these were elephants, looking like walking hills, and, by the movements of their enormous bodies, they threatened destruction to all who came near them, dreaded as they were from past experience.

9. Hereupon the emperor, following Homeric tactics,[2] filled the space between the lines with the weakest of the infantry, fearing that if they formed part of the van and shamefully gave way, they might carry off all the rest with them; or if they were posted in the rear behind all the centuries, they might run off at will with no one to check them. He himself with the light-armed auxiliaries hastened now to the front, and now to the rear.

10. So, when both sides were near enough to look each other in the face, the Romans, gleaming

[2] *Iliad*, iv. 297 ff.

clipeos, velut pedis anapaesti praecinentibus modulis, lenius procedebant, et praepilatis missilibus per procursatores principiis pugnae temptatis, excita undique humus rapido turbine portabatur. 11. Et cum undique[1] solito more conclamaretur, virorumque alacritatem sonans classicum[2] iuvaret, hastis et mucronibus strictis, hinc inde comminus pugnabatur: sagittarum periculo[3] miles erat immunis, quantum interiora festinatius occupabat. Inter quae Iulianus pulsos fulcire subsidiis, incitareque tardantes, quasi conturmalis strenuus properabat et rector. 12. Laxata itaque acies prima Persarum, leni ante, dein concito gradu, calefactis armis retrorsus gradiens propinquam urbem petebat, quam sequebatur miles itidem fessus in campis torridis ad usque diei finem a lucis ortu decernens, eiusque occipitiis pertinacius haerens, omnem cum Pigrane et Surena et Narseo, potissimis ducibus, ad usque Ctesiphontis muros egit praecipitem, adversorum feriens suras et terga. 13. Perrupissetque civitatis aditus lapsorum agminibus mixtus, ni dux Victor nomine manibus erectis prohibuisset et vocibus, et[4] ipse umerum sagitta praestrictus, et timens ne intra

[1] *humus . . . undique*, added by G; V omits. [2] *sonantia classica*, G; *sonans* c., B; *classicum iam iuvaret*, Bent.; *iam* deleted by Clark; *classica iam*, V. [3] *periculo*, V; *periculis*, vulgo. [4] *et*, put before *ipse* by Kellerbauer; G omits; after *umerum*, V.

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[1] This was especially the Spartan method of advance; see Gell. i. 11, 1-5; Cic. *Tusc.* iii. 2.37; Val. Max. ii. 6, 2.

in their crested helmets and swinging their shields as if to the rhythm of the anapaestic foot,[1] advanced slowly; and the light-armed skirmishers opened the battle by hurling their javelins, while the earth everywhere was turned to dust and swept away in a swift whirlwind. 11. And when the battle-cry was raised in the usual manner by both sides and the trumpets' blare increased the ardour of the men, here and there they fought hand-to-hand with spears and drawn swords; and the soldiers were freer from the danger of the arrows the more quickly they forced their way into the enemy's ranks. Meanwhile Julian was busily engaged in giving support to those who gave way and in spurring on the laggards, playing the part both of a valiant fellow-soldier and of a commander. 12. Finally, the first battle-line of the Persians began to waver, and at first slowly, then at quick step, turned back and made for the neighbouring city with their armour well heated up.[2] Our soldiers pursued them, wearied though they also were after fighting on the scorching plains from sunrise to the end of the day, and following close at their heels and hacking at their legs and backs, drove the whole force with Pigranes, the Surena, and Narseus, their most distinguished generals, in headlong flight to the very walls of Ctesiphon. 13. And they would have pressed in through the gates of the city, mingled with the throng of fugitives, had not the general called Victor, who had himself received a flesh-wound in the shoulder from an arrow, raising his hand and

[2] Or, in hot haste (*armis metonymice pro armatis*), T.L.L.

moenium ambitus rapidus miles inconsulte repertus nullosque inveniens exitus, multitudinis pondere circumveniretur.

14. Sonent Hectoreas poetae veteres pugnas, fortitudinem Thessali ducis extollant, longae loquantur aetates Sophanem et Aminiam et Callimachum et Cynaegirum, Medicorum egregia[1] culmina[2] illa bellorum: non minus illo die quorundam ex nostris inclaruisse virtutem, omnium confessione monstratur.

15. Post timorem depositum, calcatasque ruinas hostilium corporum, iusto sanguine miles etiam tum cruentus, ad imperatoris tentoria congregatus, laudes ei perhibebat et gratias, quod ignoratus ubique dux esset an miles, magis aliorum quam suum respiciens commodum,[3] ita rem prospere gesserat ut caesis Persarum plus minusve duobus milibus et quingentis, septuaginta caderent soli nostrorum. 16. Qui appellans plerosque nominatim, quos stabili mente aliquid clarum fecisse, ipse arbiter perspexit, navalibus donavit coronis et civicis et castrensibus.

17. Abunde ratus post haec prosperitates similis adventare, complures hostias Marti parabat ultori, et ex tauris pulcherrimis decem ad hoc perductis, nondum aris admoti, voluntate sua novem pro-

[1] *egregia*, Her., Novák; *in Graecia*, WBG; *ingentia*, E, Haupt; *ingraeci* (*-genci*, V[2]), V. [2] *aculmina*, V; *fulmina*, Lind. [3] *aliorum . . . commodum*, added by Novák; cf. xvii. 1, 2; xxiii. 5, 24; xxv. 3, 18; etc.

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[1] Achilles.
[2] On these heroes see respectively Hdt. ix. 74, 75; viii. 93: vi. 114; Justin. ii. 9, 16 ff.; Val. Max. iii. 2, 22.

shouting, restrained them; for he feared that the excited soldiers, if they rashly entered the circuit of the walls and could find no way out, might be overcome by weight of numbers.

14. Let the poets of old sing of Hector's battles and extol the valour of the Thessalian leader;[1] let long ages tell of Sophanes, Aminias, Callimachus, Cynaegirus,[2] those glorious high lights of the Medic wars: but not less distinguished was the valour of some of our soldiers on that day, as is shown by the admission of all men.

15. After their fear was past, trampling on the overthrown bodies of their foes, our soldiers, still dripping with blood righteously shed, gathered at their emperor's tent, rendering him praise and thanks because he had won so glorious a victory, everywhere without recognition whether he was leader or soldier, and considering the welfare of others rather than his own. For as many as 2500 Persians had been slain, with the loss of only seventy of our men.[3] 16. Julian addressed many of them by name, whose heroic deeds performed with unshaken courage he himself had witnessed, and rewarded them with naval, civic, and camp crowns.[4]

17. Fully convinced that similar successes would follow these, he prepared to offer many victims to Mars the Avenger; but of ten fine bulls that were brought for this purpose nine, even before they were brought to the altar, of their own accord sank in sadness to the ground; but the tenth broke his bonds

[3] Zosimus, iii. 25, says that 2500 Persians were killed and not more than seventy-five Romans.
[4] See Gell. v. 6.

cubuere tristissimi, decimus vero, qui diffractis vinculis lapsus aegre reductus est, mactatus ominosa signa monstravit. Quibus visis, exclamavit indignatus acriter Iulianus Iovemque testatus est, nulla Marti iam sacra facturum: nec resecravit, celeri morte praereptus.

7. *Imperator a Ctesiphontis obsidione deterritus, cunctas naves suas temere iubet exuri, et a flumine recedit.*

1. Digesto itaque consilio cum primatibus super Ctesiphontis obsidio, itum est in voluntatem quorundam, facinus audax et importunum esse noscentium id aggredi, quod et civitas situ ipso inexpugnabilis defendebatur, et cum metuenda multitudine protinus rex adfore credebatur. 2. Vicit sententia melior, cuius utilitate princeps sollertissimus approbata, Arintheum cum manu peditum expedita,[1] ad populandas regiones circumsitas misit, armentis laetas et frugibus, hostes pari persecuturum industria, quos dispalatos nuper densi tramites et latebrae texere notissimae.[2] 3. Sed ille avidae semper ad ulteriora cupiditatis, parvi habitis vetantium dictis, et increpitis optimatibus, quod ob inertiam otiique desiderium, amitti suaderent prope iam[3] parta regna Persidis, flumine laeva relicto, infaustis

[1] *approbata . . . expedita,* added by G; V omits.
[2] *hinc opulenta* after *notissimae,* V; G omits, with lac. of 3 letters; a greater lac. was suspected by N, Val.
[3] *otiique . . . iam,* added by G; V omits.

and escaped, and after he had been with difficulty brought back and sacrificed, showed ominous signs. Upon seeing these, Julian in deep indignation cried out, and called Jove to witness, that he would make no more offerings to Mars; and he did not sacrifice again, since he was carried off by a speedy death.

7. *The emperor, after being deterred from besieging Ctesiphon, rashly orders all his ships to be burned, and retreats from the river.*

1. Having held council with his most distinguished generals about the siege of Ctesiphon, the opinion of some was adopted, who felt sure that the undertaking was rash and untimely, since the city, impregnable by its situation alone, was well defended; and, besides, it was believed that the king would soon appear with a formidable force. 2. So the better opinion prevailed, and the most careful of emperors, recognizing its advantage, sent Arintheus with a band of light-armed infantry, to lay waste the surrounding country, which was rich in herds and crops; Arintheus was also bidden, with equal energy to pursue the enemy, who had been lately scattered and concealed by impenetrable by-paths and their familiar hiding-places.[1] 3. But Julian, ever driven on by his eager ambitions, made light of words of warning, and upbraiding his generals for urging him through cowardice and love of ease to loose his hold on the Persian kingdom, which he had already all but won;

[1] Here there seems to be an extensive lacuna, since the sending of envoys to Julian by Sapor (Socrat. iii. 19) and other important events are missing; see crit. note.

ductoribus praeviis, mediterraneas vias arripere citato proposuit gradu. 4. Et tamquam funesta face Bellonae subiectis ignibus exuri cunctas iusserat naves, praeter minores duodecim, quas profuturas pangendis pontibus disposuit vehi carpentis, idque putabat utiliter ordinasse, ne relicta classis usui hostibus foret, aut certe (ut ab expeditionis primordio factum est), armatorum fere viginti milia in trahendis occuparentur eisdem navibus et regendis.

5. Dein cum metuens sibi quisque mussaret, monstraretque perspicua veritas, quod repulsus forsitan ariditate vel altitudine montium, ad aquas redire non poterit miles, tortique perfugae aperte fäterentur se fefellisse, concursu maximo exstingui iussae sunt flammae. Et quoniam ignis auctus immaniter plerasque consumpsit, duodecim tantum modo naves potuerunt intactae servari, quae ut possint custodiri discretae sunt. 6. Hoc casu classe cum non oporteret abolita, Iulianus consociato fretus exercitu, cum armatorum nulli per diversa distringerentur, numero potior ad interiora tendebat, alimenta adfatim opulentis suggerentibus locis.

7. Quo cognito hostes, ut inedia nos cruciarent, herbas cum adultis segetibus incenderunt, et conflagratione procedere vetiti, stativis castris dum

[1] Gregory Nazianzen says that a Persian, who played the part of Zopyrus (see xviii. 5, 3, note), advised Julian to take this step; cf. Aug. *De Civ. Dei*, iv. 29; v. 21.

[2] See § 4, above.

with the river on his left and with ill-omened guides leading the way, resolved to march rapidly into the interior. 4. And it seemed as if Bellona herself lighted the fire with fatal torch, when he gave orders that all the ships should be burned, with the exception of twelve of the smaller ones, which he decided to transport on wagons as helpful for making bridges. And he thought that this plan had the advantage that the fleet, if abandoned, could not be used by the enemy, or at any rate, that nearly 20,000 soldiers would not be employed in transporting and guiding the ships, as had been the case since the beginning of the campaign.[1]

5. Then, as every man murmured, in fear for his life, and manifest truth made clear, that if the dryness of the country or high mountains made it necessary to retreat, they could not return to the waters; and as the deserters, on being put to the torture, openly confessed that they had used deceit, orders were given to use the greatest efforts of the army to put out the flames. But the frightful spread of the fire had already consumed the greater number of the ships, and only the twelve could be saved unharmed which had been set aside to be kept.[2] 6. By this disaster the fleet was needlessly lost, but Julian, trusting to his united army, since none of the soldiers was distracted by other duties, and now stronger in numbers, advanced into the interior, where the fruitful country furnished an abundance of supplies.

7. On learning this the enemy, in order to torment us with hunger, set fire to the plants and the ripe grain; and we, being prevented from advancing by the conflagration, were forced to stay in a permanent

flammae senescerent tenebamur.[1] Insultantesque nobis longius Persae, nunc de industria se diffundebant, aliquotiens confertius resistentes, ut procul conspicantibus viderentur advenisse iam regis auxilia, ideoque eos aestimaremus erupisse ad audaces excursus, et insolita temptamenta. 8. Maerebat tamen ob haec imperator et miles, quod nec contabulandi pontis erat facultas, amissis navibus temere, nec occurri poterat hostis adventicii motibus, quem adesse coruscus nitor indicabat armorum, arte pro singulis membris inflexus. Hisque accedebat aliud haud exiguum malum, quod nec adminicula quae praestolabamur cum Arsace et nostris ducibus apparebant, ob causas impedita praedictas.

8. *Imperator cum iam nec pontes facere, nec parti copiarum suarum adiungi, per Corduenam reverti statuit.*

1. Has ob res ut solaretur anxios milites princeps, captivos graciles suapte natura, ut omnes paene sunt Persae, et macie iam confectos, iussit in medium duci, nostrosque respiciens, "En" inquit "quos Martia ista pectora viros existimant, deformes illuvie capellas et taetras, utque crebri docuerunt eventus, antequam manus conferant abiectis armis

[1] *tenebamur*, Val.; *nitebantur*, B; *nitebamur*, V.

[1] In the lacuna at the end of § 2; cf. xxiii. 2 and 3. The Roman troops that had remained behind on the other

camp until the flames should die down. The Persians, too, began to harass us at long range, now purposely spreading out, sometimes opposing us in close order, so that from a distance it seemed as if the king's aid had already arrived; and we were led to think that it was for that reason that they had made such bold attacks and unusual attempts. 8. Yet the emperor and the soldiers were troubled for this reason—that since the ships had been rashly destroyed, there was no means of making a bridge; and the movements of the advancing enemy could not be halted, whose approach was shown by the bright gleam of their armour, which skilfully fitted every limb. And there was also another great evil, in that the reinforcements that were awaited under Arsaces and our other generals did not appear, being hindered by the reasons already mentioned.[1]

8. *Since the emperor could no longer make bridges nor join the rest of his troops, he decided to return by way of Corduena.*

1. Under these conditions, in order to reassure the anxious soldiers, the emperor gave orders that some of the prisoners, who were naturally slender, as almost all the Persians are, besides being now thin from exhaustion, should be placed before them; then, looking towards our men, he said: "Behold those whom your heroic hearts think to be men, mere ugly she-goats disfigured with filth, who, as abundant experience has shown, throw away their arms and

bank of the Tigris made no move, partly from fear and partly because of discord among their generals.

vertentes semet in fugam." 2. Quibus dictis remotisque captivis, super rerum summa consultabatur. Et multis ultro citroque dictitatis, cum reverti debere per loca qua venimus, plebs vociferaretur imprudens, resistebat intentius princeps, multis cum eo id[1] nequaquam fieri posse monstrantibus, per effusam planitiem pabulo absumpto et frugibus, vicorumque reliquiis exustorum inopia squalentibus ultima: quodque liquentibus iam brumae pruinis, omne immaduerat solum, et ruptis[2] riparum terminis aucti, inhorruere torrentes. 3. Eo[3] etiam ad difficultatem accedente negotii, quod per eas terras vapore sideris calescentes,[4] muscarum et culicum multitudine referta sunt omnia, earumque volatu dies et astrorum noctu micantium facies obumbratur. 4. Et[5] cum nihil humani proficerent sensus, diu fluctuantes et dubii, exstructis aris caesisque hostiis, consulta numinum scitabamur,[6] utrum nos per Assyriam reverti censerent, an praeter radices montium lenius gradientes, Chiliocomum prope Corduenam sitam ex improviso vastare: quorum neutrum extis inspectis, confore dicebatur. 5. Sedit tamen sententia, ut omni spe meliorum succisa, Corduenam arriperemus, et sextum decimum Kalendas Iulias promotis iam signis, progresso

[1] *cum eo id*, Her.; *cum eo*, EG; *cumineo*, V. [2] *ruptis*, vulgo; *raptis*, V. [3] *eo*, Lind.; *ergo*, EBG; *ego*, V. [4] *calescentes*, V; *calescente*, Momm.; *calescentis*, sugg. by Clark. [5] *et*, G omits. [6] *scitabamur*, Lind.; *citabantur*, V.

take to flight before they come to grips."[1] 2. After these words the prisoners were led away, and a council was held to discuss the situation. And after much interchange of opinion, the inexperienced mob crying that we must return by the way we had come, and the emperor steadfastly opposing them, while he and many others pointed out that it was out of the question to go back through a flat country of wide extent where all the fodder and crops had been destroyed, and where what remained of the burnt villages was hideous from the utmost destitution; moreover, since the frosts of winter were now melting the whole soil was soaked, and the streams had passed the bounds of their banks and become raging torrents. 3. Still another difficulty faced the undertaking, in that in those lands heated by the sun's rays, every place is filled with such swarms of flies and gnats that their flight hides the light of day and the sight of the stars that twinkle at night. 4. And since human wisdom availed nothing, after long wavering and hesitation we built altars and slew victims, in order to learn the purpose of the gods, whether they advised us to return through Assyria, or to march slowly along the foot of the mountains and unexpectedly lay waste Chiliocomum, situated near Corduena; but on inspection of the organs it was announced that neither course would suit the signs. 5. Nevertheless it was decided, since all hope of anything better was cut off, to seize upon Corduena. Accordingly, on the sixteenth day of June, camp was

[1] Agesilaus used a similar artifice against the Persians; cf. Xenophon, *Ages.*, i. 28 (p. 73, *L.C.L.*); and Plut. *Ages.*, 9, 5.

imperatore cum lucis exordio, fumus vel vis quaedam turbinata pulveris apparebat, ut opinari daretur asinorum esse greges agrestium, quorum multitudo in tractibus est illis innumera, ideo simul incedens, ut constipatione densa feroces leonum frustrentur assultus. 6. Quidam arbitrabantur, Arsacen ac[1] duces adventare iam nostros, rumoribus percitos, quod imperator Ctesiphonta magnis viribus oppugnaret, non nulli Persas nobis viantibus incubuisse firmabant. 7. Ideo inter haec ita ambigua, nequid adversum accideret, revocantibus agmina classicis, in valle graminea prope rivum, multiplicato scutorum ordine in orbiculatam figuram metatis tutius quievimus castris. Nec enim ad usque vesperam, aere concreto, discerni potuit quidnam esset, quod squalidius videbatur.

LIBER XXV

1. *Persae Romanos iter facientes adorti, fortiter reprimuntur.*

1. Et hanc quidem noctem nullo siderum fulgore splendentem, ut solet in artis rebus et dubiis, exegimus, nec sedere quoquam auso, nec flectere in quietem lumina prae timore. Ubi vero primum dies inclaruit, radiantes loricae limbis circumdatae

[1] *Arsacen et*, Van der Hoeven (*ac*, Kellerbauer, Haupt); *Saracenos*, Val.; *sacenas duces*, V.

broken, and the emperor was on his way at break of day, when smoke or a great whirling cloud of dust was seen; so that one was led to think that it was herds of wild asses, of which there is a countless number in those regions, and that they were travelling together so that pressed body to body they might foil the fierce attacks of lions. 6. Some believed that Arsaces and our generals were coming at last, aroused by the reports that the emperor was besieging Ctesiphon with great forces; and some declared that the Persians had waylaid us. 7. Under such uncertain conditions, in order that no disaster might befall, the trumpets called the ranks together and we encamped in a grassy valley near a stream; and after measuring off a camp we rested in safety behind a multiple row of shields arranged in a circle. For, not until evening, because of the thick dust, could we make out what it was that we saw so dimly.[1]

BOOK XXV

1. *The Persians attack the Romans on their march, but are bravely repulsed.*

1. Now this night, which was lighted by the gleam of no stars, we passed as is usual in difficult and doubtful circumstances, as fear prevented anyone from daring to sit down or to close his eyes in sleep. But no sooner had the first light of day appeared, than the glittering coats of mail, girt with bands of

[1] For this meaning of *squalidius*, cf. xxv. 2, 3, below.

ferreis, et corusci thoraces, longe prospecti, adesse regis copias indicabant. 2. Hocque viso accensum, properantem congredi militem, dirimente fluvio brevi, prohibuit imperator, et non procul a vallo ipso inter excursatores nostros et Persicos, proelio acri conserto, Machameus cecidit, ductor unius agminis nostri. Cui propugnaturus Maurus frater (dux postea Phoenices) cum germani trucidasset interfectorem, obvium quemque perterrens, infirmatus et ipse umerum telo, pallescentem morte propinqua, Machameum extrahere pugna viribus valuit magnis.

3. Et cum fatiscerent vix toleranda aestuum magnitudine, crebrisque congressibus partes, ad ultimum hostiles turmae gravi sunt repulsa discussae. Hinc recedentibus nobis, longius Saraceni secuti sunt et [1] nostrorum metu peditum repedare compulsi, paulo post innexi Persarum multitudini [2] tutius irruebant, Romana impedimenta rapturi, verum viso imperatore, ad alas subsidiarias reverterunt. 4. Qua ex regione profecti ad Hucumbra nomine villam pervenimus, ubi per biduum omnibus ad usum [3] congruis et [4] satietate quaesita frumenti, ultra spem recreati discessimus, et confestim absque his, quae tempus vehi permisit, reliqua flammis exusta sunt.

[1] *Saraceni secuti sunt et*, Clark; *Saraceni nostrorum*, G; *Saraceni sunt et nostrorum*, V. [2] *multitudini*, Momm.; *multitudine totius*, V. [3] *usum*, V; *esum*, vulgo. [4] *congruis et*, BG; *congruis potiti et*, Momm.; *congruisset*, V.

steel, and the gleaming cuirasses, seen from afar, showed that the king's forces were at hand. 2. Our soldiers, inflamed by this sight, since only a small stream separated them from the enemy, were in haste to attack them, but the emperor restrained them; however, a fierce fight took place not far from our very rampart between our outposts and those of the Persians, in which Machameus, general of one of our battalions, fell. His brother Maurus, later a general in Phoenicia, tried to protect him, and after cutting down the man who had killed his brother, he terrified all who came in his way, and although he was himself partly disabled by an arrow through his shoulder, by main strength he succeeded in bringing off Machameus, already pale with approaching death, from the fray.

3. And when, because of the almost unendurable heat and the repeated attacks, both sides were growing weary, finally the enemy's troops were utterly routed and fled in all directions. As we withdrew from the spot, the Saracens followed us for some distance but were forced to retreat through fear of our infantry; a little later they joined with the main body of the Persians and attacked with greater safety, hoping to carry off the Romans' baggage; but on seeing the emperor they returned to the cavalry held in reserve. 4. Leaving this region we came to an estate called Hucumbra, where contrary to our expectation we refreshed ourselves for two days, procuring everything that was useful and an abundance of grain; then we moved on after immediately burning everything except such things as time allowed us to carry off.

5. Postridie exercitu sedatius procedente, extremos qui eo die forte cogendorum agminum officia sustinebant, necopinantes Persae adorti, negotio levi interfecissent, ni proximus equitatus noster hoc citius [1] intellecto, per patulas valles late diffusus, tantam molem discriminis, vulneratis qui supervenerant, reppulisset. 6. In hac cecidit pugna Adaces, nobilis satrapa, legatus quondam ad Constantium principem missus, ac benigne susceptus, cuius exuviis interfector Iuliano oblatis, remuneratus est ut decebat. 7. Eodem die Tertiacorum equestris numerus a legionibus incusatus est, quod cum ipsae hostium adversas irrumperent acies, illi paulatim dilapsi, alacritatem paene totius minuissent exercitus. 8. Unde ad indignationem iustam imperator erectus, ademptis signis hastisque [2] diffractis, omnes eos qui fugisse arguebantur, inter impedimenta et sarcinas et captivos agere iter imposuit, ductore eorum, qui solus fortiter decertarat, aliae turmae apposito, cuius tribunus turpiter proelium deseruisse convincebatur. 9. Abiecti sunt autem sacramento etiam alii quattuor ob flagitium simile vexillationum tribuni: hoc enim correctionis moderamine leniori, impendentium consideratione difficultatum, contentus est imperator.

10. Progressi itaque stadia septuaginta,[3] attenuata rerum omnium copia, herbis frumentisque crematis,

[1] *citius*, Clark; *ocius*, G; *acutius*, V. [2] *ademptis signis hastisque*, G; *adeptisque diffractis*, V. [3] *stadia septuaginta*, tr. by PBG.

5. On the following day, as the army was advancing more quietly, the Persians unexpectedly attacked the last division, which on that day chanced to have the duty of bringing up the rear, and would have slain them with little trouble, had not our cavalry, who were near by, quickly noticed this, and, spreading widely over the open valleys, prevented so great a disaster, inflicting wounds on those who came up with them. 6. In this battle Adaces, a distinguished satrap, fell; he had once been sent as an envoy to the emperor Constantius and kindly received. The man who killed him brought his armour to Julian and received the reward which he deserved. 7. On that same day the legions made complaint of the cavalry troop of the Tertiaci, on the ground that just as they themselves were forcing their way into the opposing lines of the enemy, the Tertiaci had gradually given way and so had damped the ardour of almost the entire army. 8. At this the emperor was roused to righteous indignation, had their standards taken from them and their lances broken, and forced all those who were charged with running away to march with the packs, baggage, and prisoners; but their leader, who alone had fought bravely, was given the command of another troop, whose tribune was found guilty of having shamefully left the field. 9. Also four other tribunes of the cavalry were dismissed for similar disgraceful conduct; for in view of the impending difficulties the emperor contented himself with this mild form of punishment.

10. We then advanced for seventy stadia, while every kind of supplies grew less, since the grass

ex flammis ipsis raptas fruges et pabula, ut quisque vehere potuit, conservavit. 11. Hoc etiam loco relicto, cum ad tractum Maranga appellatum, omnis venisset exercitus, prope lucis confinia immensa Persarum apparuit multitudo, cum Merena equestris magistro militiae, filiisque regis duobus, et optimatibus plurimis. 12. Erant autem omnes catervae ferratae, ita per singula membra densis lamminis[1] tectae, ut iuncturae rigentes compagibus artuum convenirent, humanorumque vultuum simulacra, ita capitibus diligenter aptata,[2] ut inbratteatis corporibus solidis, ibi tantum incidentia tela possint haerere, qua per cavernas minutas, et orbibus oculorum affixas, parcius visitur, vel per[3] supremitates narium angusti spiritus emittuntur. 13. Quorum pars contis dimicatura, stabat immobilis, ut retinaculis aereis fixam existimares, iuxtaque sagittarii, cuius artis fiducia ab incunabulis ipsis gens praevaluit maxima, tendebant divaricatis brachiis flexiles arcus, ut nervi mammas praestringerent dexteras, spicula sinistris manibus cohaererent, summaque peritia digitorum pulsibus argutum sonantes, harundines evolabant, vulnera perniciosa portantes. 14. Post hos elephantorum fulgentium formidandam speciem et truculentos hiatus, vix mentes pavidae perferebant, ad quorum stridorem odoremque et

[1] *laminis*, added by G; V omits. [2] *aptata ut*, G; *apta ut*, vulgo; *aptavit inbratteatis*, V. [3] *per*, added by Lind.; *supra* or *infra*, Her.; *ad*, Clark; V omits.

and grain had been burned and every man had to snatch from the very flames whatever produce and fodder he could carry. 11. Leaving this place as well, the whole army had come to a district called Maranga, when near daybreak a huge force of Persians appeared with Merena, general of their cavalry, two sons of the king, and many other magnates. 12. Moreover, all the companies were clad in iron, and all parts of their bodies were covered with thick plates, so fitted that the stiff joints conformed with those of their limbs; and the forms of human faces were so skilfully fitted to their heads, that, since their entire bodies were plated with metal, arrows that fell upon them could lodge only where they could see a little through tiny openings fitted to the circle of the eye, or where through the tips of their noses they were able to get a little breath. 13. Of these some, who were armed with pikes, stood so motionless that you would think them held fast by clamps of bronze. Hard by, the archers (for that nation has especially trusted in this art from the very cradle)[1] were bending their flexible bows with such wide-stretched arms that the strings touched their right breasts, while the arrow-points were close to their left hands; and by a highly skilful stroke of the fingers the arrows flew hissing forth and brought with them deadly wounds. 14. Behind them the gleaming elephants, with their awful figures and savage, gaping mouths could scarcely be endured by the faint-hearted; and their trumpeting, their odour, and their strange aspect alarmed

[1] The Persian boys from the age of five were taught to ride, to use the bow, and to speak the truth (Hdt. i. 136).

insuetum aspectum magis equi terrebantur. 15. Quibus insidentes magistri, manubriatos cultros dexteris manibus illigatos gestabant, acceptae apud Nisibin memores cladis, et si ferociens animal, vires exsuperasset regentis, ne reversum per suos (ut tunc acciderat) collisam sterneret plebem, venam[1] quae caput a cervice disterminat, ictu maximo terebrabant. Exploratum est enim aliquando ab Hasdrubale Hannibalis fratre, ita citius vitam huius modi adimi beluarum. 16. Quibus non sine magno terrore perspectis, stipatus armatarum cohortium globis, cum primatibus fidentissimus imperator, ut flagitabat maior vis et atrocior, lunari acie sinuatisque lateribus, occursuros hosti manipulos instruebat. 17. Et ne sagittariorum procursus nostrorum cuneos disiectaret, illatis concitatius signis, spiculorum impetum fregit, datoque ad decernendum sollemniter signo, denseti Romani pedites confertas hostium frontes, nisu protruserunt acerrimo. 18. Et fervente certaminum mole, clipeorum sonitus et virorum, armorumque lugubre sibilantium fragor, nihil perpetiens iam remissum, campos cruore et corporum strage contexit, effusius cadentibus Persis, quibus saepe languidis in conflictu, artius pes pede collatus, graviter obsistebat, pugnare fortiter eminus con-

[1] *venamque*, V; *vertebram*, BG.

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[1] Livy, xxvii. 49, 1 ff.

[2] By reaching the enemy before they could use their bows at all (*ante iactum sagittarum* (Justin, *l.c.*)), or with good effect. Cf. Frontinus, *Strat.* ii. 2, 5, *Ventidius . . . ita procursione subita . . . se admovit, ut sagittas, quibus ex longinquo usus est, comminus adplicitus eluderet.* Similar tactics were used by Miltiades at Marathon; Hdt. vi. 112; Just. ii. 9, 11.

the horses still more. 15. Seated upon these, their drivers carried knives with handles bound to their right hands, remembering the disaster suffered at Nisibis; and if the strength of the driver proved no match for the excited brute, that he might not turn upon his own people (as happened then) and crush masses of them to the ground, he would with a mighty stroke cut through the vertebra which separates the head from the neck. For long ago Hasdrubal, brother of Hannibal, discovered that in that way brutes of this kind could quickly be killed.[1] 16. Although these sights caused no little fear, the emperor, guarded by troops of armed men and with his trustworthy generals, full of confidence, as the great and dangerous power of the enemy demanded, drew up his soldiers in the form of a crescent with curving wings to meet the enemy. 17. And in order that the onset of the bowmen might not throw our ranks into confusion, he advanced at a swift pace, and so ruined the effectiveness of the arrows.[2] Then the usual signal for battle was given, and the Roman infantry in close order with mighty effort drove the serried ranks of the enemy before them. 18. And in the heat of the combat that followed, the clash of shields, the shouts of the men, and the doleful sound of the whirring arrows continued without intermission. The plains were covered with blood and dead bodies, but the Persian losses were greater; for they often lacked endurance in battle and could with difficulty maintain a close contest man to man, since they were accustomed to fight bravely at long range,

suetis, et si inclinatas suorum copias senserint, cedendo in modum imbrium pone versus directis sagittis, hostes a persequendi fiducia deterrere. Pulsis igitur pondere magnarum virium Parthis, miles solis cursu flammeo diu lassatus, signo in receptum dato ex more,[1] in tentoria repedat ad audenda deinceps maiora sublatus.

19. In hoc proelio Persarum maior, ut dictum est, apparuit strages, nostrorum admodum levis. Eminuit tamen inter varios certaminum casus Vetranionis mors viri pugnacis, qui legionem Zianorum regebat.

2. *Inopia frumenti et pabuli premitur exercitus. Iulianus terretur ostentis.*

1. Post quae triduo indutiis destinato, dum suo quisque vulneri medetur vel proximi, commeatibus nos destitutos inedia cruciabat iam non ferenda: et quoniam frugibus exustis et pabulis, homines in discrimen ultimum venerant et iumenta, ex eo cibo, quem animalia tribunorum vehebant et comitum, imac quoque militum [2] plebi penitus indigenti, pars distributa est magna. 2. Et imperator, cui non cuppediae ciborum, ex regio more, sed sub columellis tabernaculi parvis cenaturo, pultis portio parabatur exigua, etiam munifici fastidienda gregario quicquid

[1] *ex more,* added by Clark, c.c. [2] *et . . . militum* omitted by BG.

[1] Zosimus, iii. 28, calls him Brettanio. The Zianni were probably a Thracian tribe; see Index II.

but if they perceived that their forces were giving way, as they retreated they would shoot their arrows back like a shower of rain and keep the enemy from a bold pursuit. So by the weight of great strength the Parthians were driven back, and when the signal for retreat was given in the usual manner, our soldiers, long wearied by the fiery course of the sun, returned to their tents, encouraged to dare greater deeds of valour in the future.

19. In this battle (as was said) the loss of the Persians was clearly the greater, while that of our men was very slight. But noteworthy among the various calamities of the combats was the death of Vetranio,[1] a valiant fighter, who commanded the legion of the Zianni.

2. *The army is hard pressed by scarcity of grain and fodder. Julian is alarmed by omens.*

1. After this three days were devoted to a truce, while each man gave attention to his own wound or his neighbour's, but since we were without supplies we were tormented by hunger that was already unendurable; and because grain and fodder had everywhere been burned, and both men and animals experienced extreme danger, a great part of the food which the pack-animals of the tribunes and generals carried was distributed even to the lowest soldiers, who were in dire want. 2. And the emperor, who had no dainties awaiting him, after the manner of princes, but a scant portion of porridge under the low poles of a humble tent—a meal which would have been scorned even by one who served as a common

ad ministeria postulabatur, per contubernia paupertina sui securus egessit.[1] 3. Ipse autem ad sollicitam suspensamque quietem paulisper protractus, cum somno ut solebat depulso, ad aemulationem Caesaris Iulii quaedam sub pellibus scribens, obscuro noctis altitudine sensus cuiusdam philosophi teneretur, vidit squalidius, ut confessus est proximis, speciem illam Genii publici, quam cum ad Augustum surgeret culmen, conspexit in Galliis, velata cum capite [2] Cornucopia per aulaea tristius discedentem. 4. Et quamquam ad momentum haesit stupore defixus, omni tamen superior metu, ventura decretis caelestibus commendabat, relictoque humi strato cubili, adulta iam excitus nocte, et numinibus per sacra depulsoria supplicans, flagrantissimam facem [3] cadenti similem visam, aeris parte sulcata, evanuisse existimavit, horroreque perfusus est, ne ita aperte minax Martis apparuerit sidus.

5. Erat autem nitor igneus iste, quem διαίσσοντα nos appellamus, nec cadens umquam nec terram contingens. Corpora enim qui credit caelitus posse labi, profanus merito iudicatur, et demens. Fit autem hic habitus modis compluribus, e [4] quibus sufficiet pauca monstrare. 6. Scintillas quidam putant ab aetherio candentes vigore, parumque porrectius

[1] *egessit*, BG; *digessit*, Pet.; *egissit*, V. [2] *capite*, omitted by BG. [3] *facem*, added by G; V omits. [4] *e*, added by AG; *de*, E; V omits.

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[1] Contrasted with the *beneficiarius*, who had special privileges; see Veget. ii. 7.
[2] Cf. xx. 5, 10. [3] Cf. xxiv. 6, 17.
[4] ἀστὴρ διαΐσσων, "a shooting star"; cf. *Iliad*, iv. 75-77.

soldier—[1] regardless of himself distributed through the tents of the poorer of his men whatever was demanded for his own needs. 3. Moreover, when he was forced for a time to indulge in an anxious and restless sleep, he threw it off in his usual manner, and, following the example of Julius Caesar, did some writing in his tent. Once when in the darkness of night he was intent upon the lofty thought of some philosopher, he saw somewhat dimly, as he admitted to his intimates, that form of the protecting deity of the state which he had seen in Gaul when he was rising to Augustan dignity,[2] but now with veil over both head and horn of plenty, sorrowfully passing out through the curtains of his tent. 4. And although for a moment he remained sunk in stupefaction, yet rising above all fear, he commended his future fate to the decrees of heaven, and now fully awake, the night being now far advanced, he left his bed, which was spread on the ground, and prayed to the gods with rites designed to avert their displeasure. Then he thought he saw a blazing torch of fire, like a falling star, which furrowed part of the air and disappeared. And he was filled with fear lest the threatening star of Mars had thus visibly shown itself.[3]

5. That fiery brilliance was of the kind that we call διαΐσσων,[4] which never falls anywhere or touches the earth; for anyone who believes that bodies can fall from heaven is rightly considered a layman,[5] or a fool. But this sort of thing happens in many ways, and it will be enough to explain a few of them. 6. Some believe that sparks glowing from

[5] I.e. not versed in astronomy.

tendere sufficientes, exstingui, vel certe radiorum flammas iniectas nubibus densis, acri scintillare contactu, aut cum lumen aliquod cohaeserit nubi. Id enim in stellae speciem figuratum, decurrit quidem, dum viribus ignium sustentatur: amplitudine vero spatiorum exinanitum in aerium solvitur corpus, ad substantiam migrans, cuius attritu incaluit nimio.

7. Confestim itaque ante lucis primitias, Etrusci haruspices accersiti, consultique quid astri species portenderet nova, vitandum esse cautissime responderunt nequid tunc temptaretur: ex Tarquitianis libris in titulo de rebus divinis, id relatum esse monstrantes, quod face in caelo visa committi proelium vel simile quicquam non oportebit. 8. Quo etiam id inter alia multa spernente, orabant haruspices, saltem aliquot horis profectionem differri, et ne hoc quidem sunt adepti, imperatore omni vaticinandi scientia [1] reluctante, sed exorto iam die promota sunt castra.

[1] *scientia,* Her.; *sententia,* VEB.

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[1] Cf. Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* ii. 14.

[2] So-called from their author Tarquitius, whom some identify with Tages; cf. xvii. 10, 2; xxi. 1, 10.

the ethereal force, are not strong enough to go very far and then are extinguished; or at least that beams of light are forced into thick clouds, and because of the heavy clash throw out sparks, or when some light has come in contact with a cloud. For this takes the form of a star, and falls downward, so long as it is sustained by the strength of the fire; but, exhausted by the greatness of the space which it traverses, it loses itself in the air, passing back into the substance whose friction gave it all that heat.[1]

7. Accordingly, before dawn the Etruscan soothsayers were hastily summoned, and asked what this unusual kind of star portended. Their reply was, that any undertaking at that time must be most carefully avoided, pointing out that in the Tarquitian books,[2] under the rubric "On signs from heaven" it was written, that when a meteor was seen in the sky, battle ought not to be joined, or anything similar attempted. 8. When the emperor scorned this also, as well as many other signs, the soothsayers begged that at least he would put off his departure for some hours; but even this they could not gain, since the emperor was opposed to the whole science of divination,[3] but since day had now dawned, camp was broken.

[3] I.e. when it opposed his plans. As Montaigne (Book II, ch. 19) rightly says, "he was besotted with the art of divination"; cf. xxii. 1, 1; xxiii. 3, 3; xxv. 4, 17.

3. ***Imperator, dum ad repellendos Persas, qui undique instabant, omissa lorica, temere se proeliis inserit, hasta vulneratur, ac in tabernaculum refertur, ubi circumstantes alloquitur, ac post epotam frigidam moritur.***

1. Hinc nos egressos, Persae cum saepe afflicti, peditum stabiles pugnas horrerent, structis insidiis, occulte comitabantur, altrinsecus viantes catervas a celsis collibus explorando, ut id suspicans miles, ad usque perpetuum diem nec vallum erigeret nec sudibus se communiret. 2. Dumque teguntur firmiter latera, et exercitus pro locorum situ quadratis quidem sed laxis incedit agminibus, invasa subito terga pone versus arma cogentium principi indicatur, etiam tum inermi ad speculanda anteriora progresso. 3. Qua concitus clade, oblitus loricae, scuto inter tumultum adrepto,[1] properans ultimis ferre suppetias, revocatur alio metu, qui etiam antesignanos, unde discesserat, paria perpeti nuntiabat. 4. Quae dum sine respectu periculi sui, redintegrare festinat, ex alia parte cataphractorum Parthicus globus centurias adoritur medias, ac sinistro cornu inclinato acriter superfusus, faetorem stridoremque elephantorum impatienter tolerantibus nostris, contis et multiplicatis missilibus decernebat.

[1] *arrepto*, E, Lind.; *abrepto*, V.

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[1] *Arma cogentium = agmen cogentium*, with *arma=armatos*, as often in Ammianus. Cf. xvi. 2, 10, where *arma cogentes* probably has the same meaning as *arma cogentium* in this passage.

[2] Zonaras (xiii. 13, B) says that he had taken it off because of its weight and the excessive heat.

3. ***When the emperor rushed into battle rashly without his coat of mail, in order to drive back the Persians, who were pressing us on all sides, he was wounded by a spear and taken to his tent; there he addresses those who stood about him and after a draught of cold water dies.***

1. When we marched on from this place, the Persians, since their frequent losses made them dread regular battles with the infantry, laid ambuscades, and secretly attended us, from the high hills on both sides watching our companies as they marched, so that the soldiers, suspicious of this, all day long neither raised a palisade nor fortified themselves with stakes. 2. And while the flanks were strongly protected and the army, as the nature of the ground made necessary, advanced in square formation, but with the battalions in open order, it was reported to the emperor, who even then unarmed had gone forward to reconnoitre, that the rear guard[1] had suddenly been attacked from behind. 3. Excited by the misfortune, he forgot his coat-of-mail,[2] and merely caught up a shield in the confusion; but as he was hastening to bring aid to those in the rear, he was recalled by another danger—the news that the van, which he had just left, was just as badly off. 4. While he was hastening to restore order there without regard to his own peril, a Parthian band of mailed cavalry on another side attacked the centre companies, and quickly overflowed the left wing, which gave way, since our men could hardly endure the smell and trumpeting of the elephants, they were trying to end the battle with

5. Verum principe volitante inter prima discrimina proeliorum, exsilivit nostra succinctior armatura, aversorumque Persarum et beluarum, suffragines concidebat et dorsa. 6. Quos cum Iulianus cavendi immemor, diffluxisse trepidos elatis vociferando manibus aperte demonstrans, irasque sequentium excitans, audenter effunderet semet in pugnam, clamabant hinc inde candidati (quos disiecerat terror) ut fugientium molem tamquam ruinam male compositi culminis declinaret, et (incertum unde [1]) subita equestris hasta, cute brachii eius praestricta, costis perfossis, haesit in ima iecoris fibra. 7. Quam dum avellere dextra manu conatur, acuto utrimque ferro digitorum nervos sensit excisos, et provolutus iumento, praesentiumque veloci concursu, relatus in castra, medicinae ministeriis fovebatur. 8. Moxque ubi lenito paulisper dolore, timere desiit, magno spiritu contra exitium certans, arma poscebat et equum, ut reviso proelio suorum fiduciam repararet, ac videretur sui securus, alienae salutis sollicitudine vehementer adstringi: eo vigore, licet in negotio dispari, quo Epaminondas ille dux inclitus letaliter apud Mantiniam saucius et revectus ex acie cura quaerebat sollicita [2] scutum. Quod cum vidisset

[1] *unde*, added by Haupt, Gardt.; V omits. [2] *cura quaerebat sollicta*, Her.; *cum quaerebat, sollicitae*, V.

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[1] See Index II., vol. i, s.v. *candidati;* cf. xv. 5, 16.
[2] Libanius said that he was killed by some Christian in his own army, but some other writers agree with Ammianus.

pikes and volleys of arrows. 5. But while the emperor rushed hither and thither amid the foremost ranks of the combatants, our light-armed forces leaped forth upon them, and as the Persians turned in flight, they hacked at their legs and backs, and those of the elephants. 6. Julian, careless of his own safety, shouting and raising his hands tried to make it clear to his men that the enemy had fled in disorder, and, to rouse them to a still more furious pursuit, rushed boldly into the fight. His guards,[1] who had scattered in their alarm, were crying to him from all sides to get clear of the mass of fugitives, as dangerous as the fall of a badly built roof, when suddenly—no one knows whence [2]—a cavalryman's spear grazed the skin of his arm, pierced his ribs, and lodged in the lower lobe of his liver. 7. While he was trying to pluck this out with his right hand, he felt that the sinews of his fingers were cut through on both sides by the sharp steel. Then he fell from his horse, all present hastened to the spot, he was taken to camp and given medical treatment. 8. And soon, as the pain diminished somewhat, he ceased to fear, and fighting with great spirit against death, he called for his arms and his horse in order by his return to the fight to restore the confidence of his men, and troubling nothing about himself, to show that he was filled with great anxiety for the safety of the others; with the same vigour, though under different conditions, with which the famous leader Epaminondas, when mortally wounded at Mantinia and carried from the field, took particular care to ask for his shield.[3] And

[3] Val. Max. iii. 2, ext. 5; Just. vi. 11, 8; cf. Nepos, *Epam.* 9, 3.

propius laetior, vi vulneris interiit, et qui animam intrepidus amittebat, iacturam clipei formidavit. 9. Sed cum vires parum sufficerent voluntati, sanguinisque profluvio vexaretur, mansit immobilis, ideo spe deinceps vivendi absumpta, quod percunctando, Phrygiam appellari locum ubi ceciderat comperit. Hic enim obiturum se praescripta audierat sorte. 10. Sed[1] reducto ad tentoria principe, incredibile dictu est, quo quantoque[2] ardore, miles ad vindictam ira et dolore ferventior involabat, hastis ad scuta concrepans, etiam mori (si tulisset fors) obstinatus. Et quamvis offundebatur oculis altitudo pulveris et aestus calescens officeret alacritati membrorum, tamen velut exauctoratus, amisso ductore, sine[3] parsimonia ruebat in ferrum. 11. Contra animosius Persae sagittarum volantium crebritate, conspectum sui rapiebant oppositis, quos elephanti tardius praecedentes, magnitudine corporum, cristarumque[4] horrore, pavorem iumentis incutiebant et viris. Concursus itaque armatorum, et cadentium gemitus, equorum flatus et tinnitus ferri procul audiebatur, quamdiu satietate vulnerum partibus fessis, nox diremit certamina iam tenebrosa. 13. Quinquaginta tum Persarum optimates et satrapae cum plebe maxima ceciderunt, inter has turbas Merena et Nohodare potissimis

[1] *sed*, added by Clark; V omits. [2] *quo quantoque*, Gardt.; *quo* omitted by V. [3] *sine*, V; *sine sui*, Gardt. [4] *cristarumque*, V; *stridorumque*, Haupt; *crustarumque*, Her.; cf. xix. 2, 3.

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[1] He had been told in a dream that he would die in Phrygia; see Zonaras, xiii. 13, A.

when he saw it near him, he died of his terrible wound, happy; for he who gave up his life without fear dreaded the loss of his shield. 9. But since Julian's strength was not equal to his will, and he was weakened by great loss of blood, he lay still, having lost all hope for his life because, on inquiry, he learned that the place where he had fallen was called Phrygia.[1] For he had heard that it was fate's decree that he should die there. 10. But when the emperor had been taken to his tent, the soldiers, burning with wrath and grief, with incredible vigour rushed to avenge him, clashing their spears against their shields, resolved even to die if it should be the will of fate. And although the high clouds of dust blinded the eyes, and the burning heat weakened the activity of their limbs, yet as though discharged[2] by the loss of their leader, without sparing themselves, they rushed upon the swords of the enemy. 11. On the other hand, the exulting Persians sent forth such a shower of arrows that they prevented their opponents from seeing the bowmen. Before them slowly marched the elephants, which with their huge size of body and horrifying crests, struck terror into horses and men. Further off, the trampling of the combatants, the groans of the falling, the panting of the horses, and the ring of arms were heard, until finally both parties were weary of inflicting wounds and the darkness of night ended the battle. 13. On that day fifty Persian grandees and satraps fell, besides a great number of common soldiers, and among them the distinguished generals Merena[3] and Nohodares[4] were

[2] And so released from discipline.
[3] Cf. 1, 11, above. [4] Cf. xviii. 6, 16.

ducibus interfectis. Obstupescat magniloquentia vetustatis diversis in locis proelia viginti Marcelli: Sicinium Dentatum adiciat ornatum militarium multitudine coronarum: miretur super his Sergium, qui viciens et ter vulneratus est in variis pugnis (ut fertur), cuius posteritatis ultimus Catilina claras gloriarum adoreas, sempiternis maculis obumbravit. Deformabat tamen tristitia laetiores eventus. 14. Dum haec enim post discessum ducis ubique aguntur, exercitus cornu dextro defatigato, et Anatolio interfecto, qui tunc erat officiorum magister, Salutius praefectus, actus in exitium praeceps, et opera sui apparitoris ereptus, Phosphorio amisso consiliario, qui ei aderat casu, evasit; palatini [1] quidam militesque per multa discrimina, occupato castelli vicini praesidio, post diem denique tertium, iungi exercitui potuerunt.

15. Quae dum ita aguntur, Iulianus in tabernaculo iacens, circumstantes allocutus est demissos et tristes: "Advenit, o socii, nunc abeundi tempus e vita impendio tempestivum, quam reposcenti naturae, ut debitor bonae fidei redditurus, exulto, non (ut quidam opinantur) afflictus et maerens, philosophorum sententia generali perdoctus, quantum corpore sit beatior animus, et contemplans, quotiens condicio melior a deteriore secernitur, laetandum

[1] *palatini*, Momm. (for *et fuga*); lac. ind. by Her.; *pagani*, Pet.; *fugam quidam*, V.

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[1] Pliny, *N.H.* vii. 92, and Solinus, 1, 107, speak of thirty-nine.

[2] Val. Max. iii. 2, 24; Gell. ii. 11, 2; etc.

slain. The boastfulness of antiquity may view with amazement the twenty battles of Marcellus in various places; [1] it may add Sicinius Dentatus, [2] honoured with a multitude of military crowns; it may besides admire Sergius, [3] who (they say) was wounded twenty-three times in different battles, and whose last descendant Catiline tarnished the glorious renown of these victories with an indelible stain. Yet the joy in our success was marred by sorrow. [4] 14. For while the fight went on everywhere after the withdrawal of the leader, the right wing of the army was exhausted, and Anatolius, at that time chief marshal of the court, was killed. Salutius, the prefect, was in extreme danger, but was saved by the help of his adjutant, and by a fortunate chance escaped death, while Phosphorius, a councillor who chanced to be at his side, was lost. Some of the court officials [5] and soldiers, amid many dangers, took refuge in a neighbouring fortress, and were able to rejoin the army only after three days.

15. While all this was going on, Julian, lying in his tent, addressed his disconsolate and sorrowful companions as follows: "Most opportunely, friends, has the time now come for me to leave this life, which I rejoice to return to Nature, at her demand, like an honourable debtor, not (as some might think) bowed down with sorrow, but having learned from the general conviction of philosophers how much happier the soul is than the body, and bearing in mind that whenever a better condition is severed from a worse,

[3] Cf. Pliny and Solin., *l.c.*

[4] This sentence comes in abruptly: Büchele seems to refer it to what precedes.

[5] Cf. xxv. 6, 11.

esse potius quam dolendum. Illud quoque advertens, quod etiam dii caelestes quibusdam piissimis mortem tamquam summum praemium persolverunt. 16. Munus autem id mihi delatum optime scio, ne difficultatibus subcumberem arduis, neve me proiciam umquam, aut prosternam, expertus quod dolores omnes ut insultant ignavis, ita persistentibus cedunt. 17. Nec me gestorum paenitet aut gravis flagitii recordatio stringit, vel cum in umbram [1] et angustias [2] amendarer, vel post principatum susceptum, animum [3] tamquam a cognatione caelitum defluentem, immaculatum (ut existimo) conservavi et civilia moderatius regens, et examinatis rationibus, bella inferens et repellens, tametsi prosperitas simul utilitasque consultorum non ubique concordent, quoniam coeptorum eventus superae sibi vindicant potestates. 18. Reputans autem iusti esse finem imperii, oboedientium commodum et salutem, ad tranquilliora semper (ut nostis) propensior fui, licentiam omnem actibus meis exterminans,[4] rerum corruptricem et morum, gaudensque abeo,[5] sciens quod [6] ubicumque me [7] velut imperiosa parens consideratis periculis obiecit res publica, steti fundatus, turbines calcare fortuitorum assuefactus. 19. Nec fateri pudebit, interiturum me ferro, dudum didici fide fatidica praecinente. Ideoque sempiternum

[1] *umbram*, Eyssen.; *umbra*, V. [2] *angustias*, N[2], Bent.; *angulis*, EBG; *angustiis*, Gudeman; *angulias*, V. [3] *animum*, added by Momm., punctuating *stringit. vel*; *quem* by Val.; V omits. [4] *propensior . . . exter-*, added in G; *nostis minans*, V. [5] *abeo*, Kellerbauer; *adeo*, V. [6] *sciens quod*, V; *gestiensque*, Haupt. [7] *me*, vulgo; V omits.

one should rather rejoice than grieve. Thinking also of this, that the gods of heaven themselves have given death to some men of the greatest virtue [1] as their supreme reward. 16. But this gift, I know well, was given to me, that I might not yield to great difficulties, nor ever bow down and humiliate myself; for experience teaches me that all sorrows overcome only weaklings, but yield to the steadfast. 17. I do not regret what I have done, nor does the recollection of any grave misdeed torment me; either when I was consigned to the shade and obscurity, or after I attained the principate, I have preserved my soul, as taking its origin from relationship with the gods, stainless (in my opinion), conducting civil affairs with moderation, and making and repelling wars only after mature deliberation. And yet success and well-laid plans do not always go hand in hand, since higher powers claim for themselves the outcome of all enterprises. 18. Considering, then, that the aim of a just rule is the welfare and security of its subjects, I was always, as you know, more inclined to peaceful measures, excluding from my conduct all license, the corrupter of deeds and of character. On the other hand, I depart rejoicing that, so often as the state, like an imperious parent, has exposed me deliberately to dangers, I have stood four-square, accustomed as I am to tread under foot the storms of fate. 19. And I shall not be ashamed to admit, that I learned long ago through the words of a trustworthy prophecy, that I should perish by the sword. And therefore I thank the eternal power that

[1] Probably referring to Cleobis and Biton and Agamedes and Trophonius; Cic. *T.D.* i. 47; 113 f.

veneror numen, quod non clandestinis insidiis, nec longa morborum asperitate, vel damnatorum fine decedo, sed in medio cursu florentium gloriarum, hunc merui clarum ex mundo [1] digressum. Aequo enim iudicio iuxta timidus est et ignavus, qui cum non oportet, mori desiderat, et qui refugiat cum sit opportunum. 20. Hactenus loqui, vigore virium labente sufficiet. Super imperatore vero creando, caute reticeo, ne per imprudentiam dignum praeteream, aut nominatum quem habilem reor, anteposito forsitan alio, ad [2] discrimen ultimum trudam. Ut alumnus autem rei publicae frugi, opto bonum post me reperiri rectorem."

21. Post haec placide dicta, familiares opes iunctioribus velut supremo distribuens stilo, Anatolium quaesivit, officiorum magistrum, quem cum beatum fuisse Salutius respondisset praefectus, intellexit occisum, acriterque amici casum ingemuit, qui elata mente [3] contempserat suum. 22. Et flentes inter haec omnes qui aderant, auctoritate integra etiam tum increpabat, humile esse, caelo sideribusque conciliatum lugeri principem dicens. 23. Quibus ideo iam silentibus, ipse cum Maximo et Prisco philosophis super animorum sublimitate perplexius disputans, hiante latius suffossi lateris

[1] *ex mundo*, Clark; *e medio*, BG; *e mundo*, EA; *et mundo*, V. [2] *ad*, added by Pet.; *in* by N²AG; V omits. [3] *elata mente*, Corn.; *letum ante*, Brakman; *etiam laete*, Pighius; *eletantem*, V.

[1] Cf. xxii. 7, 3.
[2] After the example of Socrates and others; of Thrasea, cf. Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 34.

I meet my end, not from secret plots, nor from the pain of a tedious illness, nor by the fate of a criminal, but that in the mid-career of glorious renown I have been found worthy of so noble a departure from this world. For he is justly regarded as equally weak and cowardly who desires to die when he ought not, or he who seeks to avoid death when his time has come. 20. So much it will be enough to say, since my vital strength is failing. But as to the choice of an emperor, I am prudently silent, lest I pass over some worthy person through ignorance, or if I name someone whom I consider suitable, and perhaps another is preferred, I may expose him to extreme danger. But as an honourable foster-child of our country, I wish that a good ruler may be found to succeed me."

21. After having spoken these words in a calm tone, wishing to distribute his private property to his closer friends, as if with the last stroke of his pen, he called for Anatolius, his chief court-marshal. And when the prefect Salutius replied "He has been happy," he understood that he had been slain, and he who recently with such courage had been indifferent to his own fate, grieved deeply over that of a friend. 22. Meanwhile, all who were present wept, whereupon even then maintaining his authority, he chided them, saying that it was unworthy to mourn for a prince who was called to union with heaven and the stars. 23. As this made them all silent, he himself engaged with the philosophers Maximus [1] and Priscus in an intricate discussion about the nobility of the soul.[2] Suddenly the wound in his pierced

vulnere, et spiritum tumore cohibente venarum, epota gelida aqua quam petiit, medio noctis horrore, vita facilius est absolutus, anno aetatis altero et tricensimo, natus apud Constantinopolim, a pueritia usque parentis obitu destitutus Constanti, quem post fratris Constantini excessum, inter complures alios turba consumpsit imperii successorum, et Basilina matre iam inde a maioribus nobili.

4. *Virtutes eius et vitia, forma corporis et statura.*

1. Vir profecto heroicis connumerandus ingeniis, claritudine rerum et coalita maiestate conspicuus. Cum enim sint (ut sapientes definiunt), virtutes quattuor praecipuae, temperantia, prudentia, iustitia, fortitudo, eisque accedentes[1] extrinsecus aliae, scientia rei militaris, auctoritas felicitas atque liberalitas, intento studio coluit omnes ut singulas.

2. Et primum ita inviolata castitate enituit, ut post amissam coniugem nihil umquam venereum attigisse eum constaret[2]; illud advertens, quod apud Platonem legitur, Sophoclem tragoediarum scriptorem, aetate grandaevum, interrogatum ecquid adhuc feminis misceretur, negantem, id adiecisse, quod gauderet harum rerum amorem ut rabiosum

[1] *accedentes*, Bent., Wagner; *eiusque accidentes*, V.
[2] *attigisse . . . constaret*, Her.; *agitaret*, vulgo; *augis larens*, V.

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[1] Constantine left the rule to his three sons, but Constantius had all his relatives slain, except Gallus and Julian, who were then children.

[2] She was a daughter of the praetorian prefect Julianus, and died a few years after the birth of her only child.

side opened wide, the pressure of the blood checked his breath, and after a draught of cold water for which he had asked, in the gloom of midnight he passed quietly away in the thirty-second year of his age. Born in Constantinople, he was left alone in childhood by the death both of his father Constantius (who, after the decease of his brother Constantinus, met his end with many others in the strife for the succession to the throne)[1] and of his mother Basilina, who came from an old and noble family.[2]

4. *Julian's merits and defects, his bodily form and stature.*

1. He was a man truly to be numbered with the heroic spirits, distinguished for his illustrious deeds and his inborn majesty. For since there are, in the opinion of the philosophers, four principal virtues,[3] moderation, wisdom, justice, and courage and corresponding to these also some external characteristics, such as knowledge of the art of war, authority, good fortune, and liberality, these as a whole and separately Julian cultivated with constant zeal.

2. In the first place, he was so conspicuous for inviolate chastity that after the loss of his wife[4] it is well known that he never gave a thought to love: bearing in mind what we read in Plato,[5] that Sophocles, the tragic poet, when he was asked, at a great age, whether he still had congress with women, said no, adding that he was glad that he had escaped from this passion as from some mad and cruel

[3] Cicero, *De Off.* i. 5, 15.

[4] Cf. xxi. 1, 5.

[5] *Rep.* i, 329, B–C; cf. Cic. *De Senec.* 14, 47.

quendam effugisse dominum et crudelem. 3. Item ut hoc propositum validius confirmaret, recolebat saepe dictum lyrici Bacchylidis, quem legebat iucunde, id asserentis, quod ut egregius pictor vultum speciosum effingit, ita pudicitia celsius consurgentem vitam exornat. Quam labem in adulto robore iuventutis, ita caute vitavit, ut ne suspicione quidem tenus libidinis ullius, vel citerioris [1] vitae ministris incusaretur, ut saepe contingit.

4. Hoc autem temperantiae genus crescebat in maius, iuvante parsimonia ciborum et somni, quibus domi forisque tenacius utebatur. Namque in pace victus eius mensarumque [2] tenuitas erat recte noscentibus admiranda, velut ad pallium mox reversuri, per varios autem procinctus, stans interdum more militiae, cibum brevem vilemque sumere visebatur. 5. Ubi vero exigua dormiendi quiete, recreasset corpus laboribus induratum, expergefactus, explorabat per semet ipsum vigiliarum vices et stationum, post haec seria ad artes confugiens doctrinarum. 6. Et si nocturna lumina, inter quae lucubrabat, potuissent voce ulla testari, profecto ostenderant, inter hunc et quosdam principes multum interesse, quem quidem [3] norant voluptatibus ne ad necessitatem quidem indulsisse naturae.

7. Dein prudentiae eius indicia fuere vel plurima, e quibus explicari sufficiet pauca. Armatae rei scien-

[1] *citerioris*, W, Lind.; *ceteriores*, V. [2] *mensarumque*, Lind.; *mensuram que*, V. [3] *quem quidem*, Löfstedt; *quem*, W²AG; *quemquem*, V.

master. 3. Also, to give greater strength to this principle, Julian often repeated the saying of the lyric poet Bacchylides, whom he delighted to read, who declares that as a skilful painter gives a face beauty, just so chastity gives charm to a life of high aims. This blemish in the mature strength of manhood he avoided with such care, that even his most confidential attendants never (as often happens) accused him even of a suspicion of any lustfulness.

4. Moreover, this kind of self-restraint was made still greater through his moderation in eating and sleeping, which he strictly observed at home and abroad. For in time of peace the frugality of his living and his table excited the wonder of those who could judge aright, as if he intended soon to resume the philosopher's cloak. And on his various campaigns, he was often seen partaking of common and scanty food, sometimes standing up like a common soldier. 5. As soon as he had refreshed his body, which was inured to toil, by a brief rest in sleep, he awoke and in person attended to the changing of the guards and pickets, and after these serious duties took refuge in the pursuit of learning. 6. And if the nightly lamps amid which he worked could have given oral testimony, they would certainly have borne witness that there was a great difference between him and some other princes, since they knew that he did not indulge in pleasure, even to the extent which nature demanded.

7. Then there were very many proofs of his wisdom, of which it will suffice to mention a few. He was thoroughly skilled in the arts of war and peace, greatly inclined to courtesy, and claiming for

tissimus et togatae, civilitati admodum studens, tantum sibi arrogans quantum a contemptu et insolentia distare existimabat: virtute senior quam aetate: studiosus cognitionum omnium et indeclinabilis aliquotiens iudex: censor in[1] moribus regendis acerrimus, placidus opum contemptor, mortalia cuncta despiciens, postremo id praedicabat, turpe esse sapienti, cum habeat animum, captare laudes ex corpore.

8. Quibus autem iustitiae inclaruit bonis, multa significant, primo quod erat pro rerum et[2] hominum distinctione, sine crudelitate terribilis, deinde quod paucorum discrimine vitia cohibebat, tum autem quod minabatur ferro potius quam utebatur. 9. Postremo ut multa praeteream, constat eum in apertos aliquos inimicos insidiatores suos ita consurrexisse mitissime, ut poenarum asperitatem genuina lenitudine castigaret.

10. Fortitudinem certaminum crebritas ususque bellorum ostendit, et patientia frigorum immanium et fervoris. Cumque[3] corporis munus a milite, ab imperatore vero animi poscitur, ipse trucem hostem ictu confecit, audacter congressus, ac nostros cedentes obiecto pectore suo, aliquotiens cohibuit solus: regnaque furentium Germanorum exscindens, et in pulvere vaporato Persidis, augebat fiduciam

[1] *censor in*, C. F. W. M.; *censoriis*, V. [2] *et*, vulgo; V omits. [3] *cumque*, Pet.; *quamquam*, Kellerbauer; *quoque*, V.

[1] Cf. xxiv. 4, 4. [2] Cf. Suet. *Jul.* 62.

himself only so much deference as he thought preserved him from contempt and insolence. He was older in virtue than in years. He gave great attention to the administration of justice, and was sometimes an unbending judge; also a very strict censor in regulating conduct, with a calm contempt for riches, scorning everything mortal; in short, he often used to declare that it was shameful for a wise man, since he possessed a soul, to seek honour from bodily gifts.

8. By what high qualities he was distinguished in his administration of justice is clear from many indications: first, because taking into account circumstances and persons, he was awe-inspiring but free from cruelty. Secondly, because he checked vice by making examples of a few, and also because he more frequently threatened men with the sword than actually used it. 9. Finally, to be brief, it is well known that he was so merciful towards some open enemies who plotted against him, that he corrected the severity of their punishment by his inborn mildness.

10. His fortitude is shown by the great number of his battles and by his conduct of wars, as well as by his endurance of excessive cold and heat. And although bodily duty is demanded from a soldier, but mental duty from a general, yet he once boldly met a savage enemy in battle and struck him down,[1] and when our men gave ground, he several times alone checked their flight[2] by opposing his breast to them. When destroying the kingdoms of the raging Germans and on the burning sands of Persia he added to the confidence of his

militis, dimicans inter primos. 11. Castrensium negotiorum scientiam, plura declarant et nota: civitatum oppugnationes et castellorum, inter ipsos discriminum vertices, acies figura multiformi compositae, salubriter et caute castra metata, praetenturae stationesque agrariae, tutis rationibus ordinatae. 12. Auctoritas adeo valuit, ut dilectus artissime, dum timetur, ac si periculorum socius et laborum, et inter concertationes acerrimas, animadverti iuberet in desides, et Caesar adhuc sine stipendio regeret militem, feris oppositum [1] gentibus, ut dudum est dictum; allocutusque tumentes armatos, discessurum ad vitam minaretur privatam, ni tumultuare desisterent. 13. Denique id pro multis nosse sufficiet: exhortatum eum simplici contione militem Gallicanum, pruinis assuetum et Rheno, peragratis spatiis regionum extentis, per tepentem Assyriam ad usque confinia traxisse Medorum.

14. Felicitas ita eminuit, ut ipsis quodammodo cervicibus Fortunae aliquamdiu bonae gubernatricis evectus,[2] victoriosis cursibus difficultates superstaret immensas. Et postquam ex occidua plaga digressus est, quoad fuit in terris, quievere nationes omnes immobiles, ac si quodam caduceo leniente mundano.

15. Liberalitatis eius testimonia plurima sunt et verissima, inter quae indicta sunt tributorum

[1] *oppositum*, V; *appositum*, vulgo. [2] *evectus*, G; *vectus*, Bent.; *eventus*, V.

soldiers by fighting among the foremost. 11. There are many notable evidences of his knowledge of military affairs: the sieges of cities and fortresses, undertaken amid the extremest dangers, the varied forms in which he arranged his lines of battle, the choice of safe and healthful places for camps, the wisely planned posting of frontier guards and field pickets. 12. His authority was so well established that, being feared as well as deeply loved as one who shared in the dangers and hardships of his men, he both in the heat of fierce battles condemned cowards to punishment, and, while he was still only a Caesar,[1] he controlled his men even without pay, when they were fighting with savage tribes, as I have long ago said. And when they were armed and mutinous, he did not fear to address them and threaten to return to private life, if they continued to be insubordinate. 13. Finally, one thing it will be enough to know in token of many, namely, that merely by a speech he induced his Gallic troops, accustomed to snow and to the Rhine, to traverse long stretches of country and follow him through torrid Assyria to the very frontiers of the Medes.

14. His success was so conspicuous that for a long time he seemed to ride on the shoulders of Fortune herself, his faithful guide as he in victorious career surmounted enormous difficulties. And after he left the western region, so long as he was on earth all nations preserved perfect quiet, as if a kind of earthly wand of Mercury were pacifying them.

15. There are many undoubted tokens of his

[1] Under the authority of Constantius; see Introd., p. xxiv.

admodum levia, coronarium indultum, remissa debita multa, diuturnitate congesta, aequata fisci iurgia cum privatis, vectigalia civitatibus restituta cum fundis, absque his quos velut iure vendidere praeteritae potestates, quodque numquam augendae pecuniae cupidus fuit, quam cautius apud dominos servari existimabat, id aliquotiens praedicans, Alexandrum Magnum, ubi haberet thesauros interrogatum, " apud amicos " benivole respondisse.

16. Digestis bonis quae scire potuimus, nunc ad explicanda eius vitia veniamus, licet dicta sint carptim. Levioris [1] ingenii, verum hoc instituto rectissimo temperabat, emendari se cum deviaret a fruge bona permittens. 17. Linguae fusioris, et admodum raro silentis, praesagiorum sciscitationi nimium [2] deditus, ut aequiperare videretur in hac parte principem Hadrianum, superstitiosus magis quam sacrorum legitimus observator, innumeras sine parsimonia pecudes mactans, ut aestimaretur (si revertisset de Parthis), boves iam defuturos, Marci illius similis Caesaris, in quem id accipimus dictum:

οἱ βόες οἱ λευκοὶ Μάρκῳ τῷ Καίσαρι χαίρειν.
ἂν πάλι νικήσῃς, ἄμμες ἀπωλόμεθα.

[1] *levioris*, Lind.; *lenitores*, V (*lenioris*, V[2]). [2] *nimium*, Clark; *nimiae*, EBG; *nimia*, V.

[1] The *coronarium* was the money presented to the emperor personally by the provinces on his ascension to the throne, which was often a great amount. Avaricious rulers claimed it on other occasions, such as victories over the barbarians, and the like. Augustus, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Alexander Severus had not exacted it.
[2] On taxes, cf. xvi. 5, 14.

generosity. Among these are his very light imposition of tribute, his remission of the crown-money,[1] the cancellation of many debts made great by long standing,[2] the impartial treatment of disputes between the privy purse and private persons, the restoration of the revenues from taxes to various states along with their lands, except such as previous high officials [3] had alienated by a kind of legal sale; furthermore, that he was never eager to increase his wealth, which he thought was better secured in the hands of its possessors; and he often remarked that Alexander the Great, when asked where his treasures were, gave the kindly answer, " in the hands of my friends."

16. Having set down his good qualities, so many as I could know, let me now come to an account of his faults, although they can be summed up briefly. In disposition he was somewhat inconsistent, but he controlled this by the excellent habit of submitting, when he went wrong, to correction. 17. He was somewhat talkative, and very seldom silent; also too much given to the consideration of omens and portents, so that in this respect he seemed to equal the emperor Hadrian. Superstitious rather than truly religious, he sacrificed innumerable victims without regard to cost, so that one might believe that if he had returned from the Parthians, there would soon have been a scarcity of cattle; like the Caesar Marcus,[4] of whom (as we learn) the following Greek distich was written:

We the white steers do Marcus Caesar greet.
Win once again, and death we all must meet.

[3] The pretorian prefects, etc. Also, Constantine, Constantius, and Valentinian sold or gave away lands belonging to the temples. [4] Marcus Aurelius.

18. Vulgi plausibus laetus, laudum etiam ex minimis rebus intemperans appetitor, popularitatis cupiditate, cum indignis loqui saepe affectans.

19. Verum tamen cum haec ita[1] essent, aestimari poterat (ut ipse aiebat), vetus illa Iustitia, quam offensam vitiis hominum, Aratus extollit in caelum, eo imperante redisse rursus ad terras, ni quaedam ad arbitrium agens, interdum ostenderet se dissimilem sui. 20. Namque et iura condidit non molesta, absolute quaedam iubentia fieri vel arcentia, praeter pauca. Inter quae erat illud inclemens, quod docere vetuit magistros rhetoricos et grammaticos Christianos, ni[2] transissent ad[3] numinum cultum. 21. Illud quoque itidem parum ferendum, quod municipalium ordinum coetibus, patiebatur iniuste quosdam annecti vel peregrinos, vel ab his consortiis privilegiis aut origine longe discretos.

22. Figura tali[4] situque[5] membrorum. Mediocris erat staturae, capillis tamquam pexis et mollibus, hirsuta barba in acutum desinente vestitus, venustate oculorum micantium flagrans, qui mentis eius argutias[6] indicabant, superciliis decoris, et naso rectissimo, ore paulo maiore, labro inferiore demisso, opima et incurva cervice, umeris vastis et latis, ab ipso capite usque unguium summitates,

[1] *ita*, added by Her.; V omits. [2] *ni*, Lind.; *ne*, V. [3] *ad*, added by Rittershus, Val.; *a*, G; VEB omit. [4] *tali*, Lind., Bent.; *lis utque*, V (*ta-* added by m. 1). [5] *situque*, Lind., Bent.; *utique*, BG; for V see note 4. [6] *argutias*, Lind.; *angustias*, V.

[1] Cf. xxii. 10, 6. [2] Cf. xxii. 10, 7.

18. He delighted in the applause of the mob, and desired beyond measure praise for the slightest matters, and the desire for popularity often led him to converse with unworthy men.

19. But yet, in spite of this, his own saying might be regarded as sound, namely, that the ancient goddess of Justice, whom Aratus[1] raised to heaven because of her impatience with men's sins, returned to earth again during his rule, were it not that sometimes he acted arbitrarily, and now and then seemed unlike himself. 20. For the laws which he enacted were not oppressive, but stated exactly what was to be done or left undone, with a few exceptions. For example, it was a harsh law that forbade Christian[2] rhetoricians and grammarians to teach, unless they consented to worship the pagan deities. 21. And also it was almost unbearable that in the municipal towns he unjustly allowed persons to be made members of the councils, who, either as foreigners, or because of personal privileges or birth, were wholly exempt from such assemblies.[3]

22. The figure and proportion of his body were as follows. He was of medium stature. His hair lay smooth as if it had been combed, his beard was shaggy and trimmed so as to end in a point, his eyes were fine and full of fire, an indication of the acuteness of his mind. His eyebrows were handsome, his nose very straight, his mouth somewhat large with a pendulous lower lip. His neck was thick and somewhat bent, his shoulders large and broad. Moreover, right from top to toe he was a man of straight well-

[3] It must be remembered that such offices were a burden which many sought to avoid; cf. xxii. 9, 12.

liniamentorum recta compage, unde viribus valebat et cursu.

23. Et quoniam eum obtrectatores novos bellorum tumultus, ad perniciem rei communis, insimulant concitasse, sciant docente veritate perspicue, non Iulianum, sed Constantinum ardores Parthicos succendisse, cum Metrodori mendaciis avidius acquiescit, ut dudum rettulimus plene. 24. Unde caesi [1] ad internecionem [2] exercitus nostri, capti militares aliquotiens numeri, urbes excisae, rapta munimenta vel diruta, provinciae gravibus impensis exhaustae, et ad effectum tendentibus minis, cuncta petebantur a Persis, ad usque Bithynos et litora Propontidis. 25. At in Galliis barbarico tumore [3] gliscente, diffusis per nostra Germanis, iamque Alpibus ad vastandam Italiam perrumpendis nihil (multa et nefanda perpessis hominibus), praeter lacrimas supererat et terrores, ubi et praeteritorum recordatio erat acerba, et expectatio tristior impendentium. Quae omnia iuvenis iste, ad occiduam plagam specie Caesaris missus, regesque pro manci-

[1] *unde caesi*, Val.; *vindictae siti*, BG (*si*, B); *vindictae si*, V. [2] *ad internecionem*, Val.; *ad indignationem*, V. [3] *barbarico*, Clark; *tumore*, Her.; *vervorum tenore*, V.

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[1] Metrodorus, a philosopher, in the time of Constantine the Great, is said to have made his way to farthest India with the intention of going around the world. Winning the favour of the Brachmanae and being admitted to their shrines, he stole many pearls and other gems. The king of the Indi also gave him many jewels of great price, which he was to offer to Constantine in the name of the king. When Metrodorus returned to Byzantium, he presented these to Constantine as his own gift, and said that he had sent many more to him by the land route, but that they had all been seized by the Persians. When Constantine demanded their return from Sapor, he received no reply, and thus the peace between the Romans and the Persians was broken. This story is told by Georgius Cedrenus in his *Chron. anno xxi Constantini* (p. 295A f.), but it is regarded as apocryphal.

[2] In a lost book.

proportioned bodily frame and as a result was strong and a good runner.

23. And since his detractors alleged that he had stirred up the storms of war anew, to the ruin of his country, they should know clearly through the teachings of truth, that it was not Julian, but Constantine, who kindled the Parthian fires, when he confided too greedily in the lies of Metrodorus,[1] as I explained fully some time ago.[2] 24. This it was that caused the annihilation of our armies, the capture so often of whole companies of soldiers, the destruction of cities, the seizure or overthrow of fortresses, the exhaustion of our provinces by heavy expenses, and the threats of the Persians which were soon brought into effect, as they claimed everything as far as Bithynia and the shores of the Propontis. 25. But in Gaul, where barbarian arrogance grew apace, as the Germans swarmed through our territories, and the Alps were on the point of being forced with the resulting devastation of Italy, after the inhabitants had suffered many unspeakable woes, nothing was left save tears and fears, since the recollection of the past was bitter and the anticipation of what threatened was sadder still: all this that young man, sent to the western region, a Caesar in name

piis agitans ignobilibus, cuncta paene mira dictu celeritate correxit. 26. Itaque ut[1] Orientem pari studio recrearet, adortus est Persas, triumphum exinde relaturus, et cognomentum, si consiliis eius et factis illustribus decreta caelestia congruissent. 27. Et cum sciamus adeo experimenta[2] quosdam ridere[3] improvidos, ut bella interdum victi, et naufragi repetant maria, et ad difficultates redeant quibus succubuere saepissime, sunt qui reprehendant paria repetisse principem ubique victorem.

5. *Iovianus, primicerius domesticorum protectorum, tumultuarie eligitur imperator.*

1. Nec fuit post haec lamentis aut fletibus locus. Corpore enim curato pro copia rerum et temporis, ut[4] ubi ipse olim statuerat, conderetur, principio lucis secutae, quae erat quintum Kalendas Iulias, hostibus ex omni latere circumfusis, collecti duces exercitus, advocatisque legionum principiis et turmarum, super creando principe consultabant. 2. Discissique[5] studiis turbulentis, Arintheus et

[1] *itaque ut* (*ut* added by AG); *utque*, vulgo. [2] *adeo experimenta*, V, restored by Pet.; *experimento adeo*, tr. by BG. [3] *ridere*, Myer Spir.; *ruere* V²BG; *respuere*, Pet.; *reuere* V; *ruere*, V². [4] *ut*, added by NG; V omits. [5] *discissique*, Lind.; *discessisque*, V.

[1] I.e. although he had the title, he was subject to surveillance, was kept short of funds, and was hampered in many ways.

only,[1] wholly corrected with almost incredible speed, driving kings before him like common slaves. 26. And in order to restore the Orient with similar energy, he attacked the Persians, and he would have won from them a triumph and a surname, if the decrees of heaven had been in accord with his plans and his splendid deeds. 27. And although we know that some men thoughtlessly laugh at experience to such an extent that they sometimes renew wars when defeated, and go to sea again after shipwreck,[2] and return to meet difficulties to which they have often yielded, there are some who blame a prince who had been everywhere victorious for trying to equal his past exploits.

5. *Jovian, commander of the household troops, in tumultuous haste is chosen emperor.*

1. After this there was no time for laments or tears. For after caring for Julian's body as well as the means at hand and the circumstances allowed, in order that he might be laid to rest in the place which he had previously chosen,[3] at dawn of the following day, which was the twenty-seventh of June, with the enemy swarming about us on every side, the generals of the army assembled, and having called in the commanders of the legions and of the squadrons of cavalry, they consulted about choosing an emperor. 2. They were divided into turbulent

[2] Cf. Sen., *De Benef.* i. 1, 10; *adeoque adversus experimenta pertinaces sumus, ut bella victi et naufragi maria repetamus.*

[3] At Tarsus; see xxiii. 2, 5; and 10, 5, below.

Victor, et e palatio Constanti residui, de parte sua quendam habilem scrutabantur; contra Nevitta et Dagalaifus proceresque Gallorum virum talem ex commilitio suo quaeritabant. 3. Quae dum ambiguntur, nulla variante sententia, itum est voluntate omnium in Salutium, eoque causante morbos et senectutem, honoratior aliquis miles, advertens destinatius reluctantem, "Et quid[1] ageretis," ait "si id bellum vobis curandum, commisisset absens (ut saepe factum est) imperator? Nonne posthabitis ceteris, militem instantibus aerumnis eriperetis? Id nunc agite et si Mesopotamiam videre licuerit, utriusque exercitus consociata suffragia legitimum principem declarabunt."

4. Inter has exiguas ad tantam rem moras, nondum pensatis sententiis, tumultuantibus paucis (ut in rebus extremis saepe est factum), Iovianus eligitur imperator, domesticorum ordinis primus, paternis meritis mediocriter commendabilis. Erat enim Varroniani, notissimi comitis, filius, haut dudum post depositum militiae munus ad tranquilliora vitae digressi. 5. Et confestim indumentis circumdatus principalibus, subitoque productus e tabernaculo, per agmina iam discurrebat, proficisci parantia. 6. Et quoniam acies ad usque lapidem quartum porrigebatur, antesignani clamare quosdam

[1] *et quid*, V, restored by Pet.; *ecquid*, Kiessling.

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[1] Gibbon thinks this was Ammianus himself.

[2] The eastern and the western army.

[3] According to Hieronymus' *Chron.* he was *primicerius*, ranking after the *comes* and the *tribunus*. Cf. xxvii. 10, 16, *domesticorum omnium primus*.

factions, for Arintheus and Victor, with the other survivors of the palace officials of Constantius, looked around for a suitable man from their party; on the other hand, Nevitta and Dagalaifus, as well as the chiefs of the Gauls, sought such a man among their fellow-soldiers. 3. After some discussion, all by general agreement united on Salutius, and when he pleaded illness and old age, one of the soldiers[1] of higher rank, perceiving Salutius' determined opposition, said: "What would you do if the emperor (as often happens) had in his absence committed to you the conduct of this war? Would you not put aside everything else and save the soldiers from the threatening dangers? Do that now, and if we are permitted to see Mesopotamia, the united votes of both armies[2] will decide upon a lawful emperor."

4. During this delay, which was slight considering the importance of the matter, before the various opinions had been weighed, a few hot-headed soldiers (as often happens in an extreme crisis) chose an emperor in the person of Jovianus, commander[3] of the household troops, who had claims for some slight consideration because of the services of his father. For he was the son of Varronianus, a well-known count,[4] who not long since, after ending his military career, had retired to a quieter life. 5. Now Jovian, as soon as he had been clothed in the imperial robes and suddenly brought out from his tent, already hastening through the ranks of the soldiers, who were getting ready to march. 6. And since the army extended for four miles, those in the

[1] As the context shows, he was a general; see vol. i, Introd., p. xxix, and § 8, below.

Iovianum audientes Augustum, eadem multo maius sonabant: gentilitate enim prope perciti nominis, quod una littera discernebat, Iulianum recreatum arbitrati sunt deduci magnis favoribus ut solebat. Verum cum incurvus ille visus et longior adventaret, suspicati quod acciderat, in lacrimas effusi sunt omnes, et luctum. 7. Quod si gravis quidam aequitatis spectator, in ultimo rerum spiritu factum criminatur improvide, nauticos idem iustius incusabit, si amisso[1] perito navigandi magistro, saevientibus flabris et mari, clavos regendae navis cuilibet periculi socio commiserunt. 8. His ita caeco quodam iudicio fortunae peractis, Iovianorum signifer quos Varronianus rexerat dudum, cum novo dissidens principe, etiam tum privato, ut patris eius obtrectator molestus,[2] periculum ex inimico metuens iam communia supergresso, discessit ad Persas, ac[3] data dicendi copia quae sciret, docet Saporem iam propinquantem, exstincto quem verebatur, turbine concitato calonum, ad umbram imperii Iovianum adhuc protectorem adscitum, inertem quendam et mollem. Hoc ille audito, quod semper trepidis votis optaverat[4] et inopina prosperitate elatus, multitudine ex regio equitatu

[1] *si amisso*, Pet.; *amisso* (originally *samisso*), V.
[2] *molestus*, Haupt; *immoderatus*, EG; *mobeatus*, V.
[3] *ad Persas*, EBG; *ac* added by G; *at persas*, V.
[4] *optaverat*, added by E, *expetebat* by G; no lac. in V.

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[1] Namely *v* for *l*. The sound of *Iu* and *Io* is so similar that Ammianus disregards it.
[2] Legions so named by Diocletian, who was called Jovius.

van, on hearing some men shouting "Jovianus Augustus," repeated the same sounds much more loudly; for struck by the near relationship of the name, since it differed in only one letter,[1] they thought that Julian had recovered and was being brought out amid the usual great acclaim. But when Jovianus a taller and bent men was seen advancing, they suspected what had happened, and all burst into tears and lamentation. 7. But if any onlooker of strict justice with undue haste blames such a step taken in a moment of extreme danger, he will, with even more justice, reproach sailors, if after the loss of a skilled pilot, amid the raging winds and seas, they committed the guidance of the helm of their ship to any companion in their peril, whoever he might be. 8. When this had been done as described, as if by the blind decree of fortune, the standard-bearer of the Joviani,[2] formerly commanded by Varronianus, who was at odds with the new emperor even when he was still a private citizen, just as he had been a persistent critic of his father, fearing danger from an enemy who had now risen above the ordinary rank, deserted to the Persians. And as soon as he had the opportunity of telling what he knew to Sapor, who was already drawing near, he informed the king that the man whom he feared was dead, and that an excited throng of camp-followers had chosen a mere shadow of imperial power in the person of Jovian, up to that time one of the bodyguard, and a slothful, weak man. On hearing this news, for which he had always longed with anxious prayers, the king, elated by the unexpected good fortune, added a corps of the royal cavalry to

adiuncta his, qui dimicavere nobiscum, celeri disposuit gradu, agminis nostri invadi terga postremi.

6. *Romanos ex Perside redire properantes, procedentesque, crebris proeliis lacessunt Persae et Saraceni, ac magno cum detrimento repelluntur.*

1. Quae dum ultro citroque ordinantur, hostiis pro Ioviano caesis,[1] extisque inspectis, pronuntiatum est eum omnia perditurum, si intra vallum remansisset (ut cogitabat), superiorem vero fore profectum. 2. Proinde egredi iam coeptantes, adoriuntur nos elephantis praeviis Persae, ad quorum faetorem[2] inaccessum terribilemque,[3] equis inter initia turbatis et viris, Ioviani et Herculiani, occisis beluis paucis, cataphractis equitibus acriter resistebant.[4] 3. Dein legiones Ioviorum atque Victorum, laborantibus suis ferentes auxilium, elephantos duo straverunt cum hostium plebe non parva, et in laevo proelio viri periere fortissimi, Iulianus et Macrobius et Maximus, legionum tribuni, quae tunc primas exercitus obtinebant. 4. Hisque sepultis, ut rerum angustiae permiserunt, prope confinia noctis, cum ad castellum Sumere nomine, citis passibus tenderemus, iacens Anatolii corpus est agnitum quod

[1] *caesis*, added by Corn.; V omits. [2] *faetorem*, Günther; *fremitum*, EBG; *fraetum*, V. [3] *-que*, tr. by Her., Clark; *inaccessumque*, V (*inaccessum*, restored by Her.; *accessumque*, E²G; *incessumque*, PB). [4] *resistebant*, Clark; *restiterunt*, EBGV³, from *resisterunt* (*-ant* ?), V².

[1] The Church Fathers call Jovian a Christian. Gibbon, because of this passage, thinks not; but the sacrifice may not have been made by Jovian's order.

the army opposed to us and hastened on, ordering an attack upon the rear of our army.

6. *The Romans, hastening to return from Persia, and already on their way, are assailed in frequent battles by the Persians and Saracens, but repel them with great loss.*

1. While these arrangements were being made on both sides, in Jovian's behalf[1] victims were killed, and when the entrails were inspected it was announced that he would ruin everything, if he remained within the rampart of his camp (as he thought of doing), but would be victor if he marched out. 2. But when we accordingly were just beginning to leave, the Persians attacked us, with the elephants in front. By the unapproachable and frightful stench of these brutes horses and men were at first thrown into confusion, but the Joviani and Herculiani,[2] after killing a few of the beasts, bravely resisted the mail-clad horsemen. 3. Then the legions of the Jovii and the Victores came to the aid of their struggling companions and slew two elephants, along with a considerable number of the enemy. On our left wing some valiant warriors fell, Julianus, Macrobius and Maximus, tribunes of the legions which then held first place in our army. 4. Having buried these men as well as the pressing conditions allowed, when towards nightfall we were coming at rapid pace to a fortress called Sumere, we recognized the corpse of Anatolius[3] lying in the road, and it was

[2] Legions named from the colleague of Diocletian, called Herculius.

[3] Cf. 3, 14, above.

tumultuaria opera terrae mandatum est. Hic et milites sexaginta cum palatinis recepimus, quos in munimentum vacuum [1] confugisse [2] rettulimus.

5. Secuto deinde die, pro captu locorum, reperta est in valle lata planities, in qua [3] castra ponuntur, velut murali ambitu circumclausa, praeter unum exitum eundemque patentem, undique in modum mucronum praeacutis sudibus fixis. 6. Hocque viso, e saltibus nos hostes diversitate telorum et verbis turpibus incessebant, ut perfidos, et lectissimi principis peremptores: audierant enim ipsi quoque referentibus transfugis, rumore iactato incerto, Iulianum telo cecidisse Romano. 7. Ausi denique inter haec equitum cunei, porta perrupta praetoria, prope ipsum tabernaculum principis advenire, occisis multis suorum et vulneratis, vi repulsi sunt magna.

8. Egressi exinde proxima nocte, Charcham occupavimus locum, ideo tuti, quod riparum aggeribus humana manu instructis,[4] ne Saraceni deinceps Assyriam persultarent, nostrorum agmina nullus ut ante vexabat. 9. Cumque hinc [5] Kalendis Iuliis stadiis triginta confectis, civitatem nomine Duram adventaremus, fatigatis iumentis, vectores

[1] *vacuum*, Kellerbauer; *vaccatum*, BGV; *vacuatum*, Pet.; *cautum*, Her. [2] *confugisse*, added by G, after *rettulimus*, Her.; V omits. [3] *lata planities, in qua*, added by Novák. [4] *instructis*, Clark; *structis*, Haupt; *humanam andi structis*, V. [5] *hinc*, Pet.; *ipsis*, Momm.; *his*, V.

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[1] See note 3, p. 523.
[2] See 3, 6, above, and note. [3] Cf. xviii. 10, 1.

hastily committed to the earth. Here, too, we recovered sixty soldiers with some court officials, who (as I have related above) [1] had taken refuge in a deserted stronghold.

5. On the next day we pitched our camp in the best place we could find, a broad plain in a valley; it was surrounded as if by a natural wall, and had only one exit, which was a wide one, and all about it we set stakes with sharp ends like the points of swords. 6. On seeing this, the enemy from the wooded heights assailed us with weapons of all kinds and with insulting language, as traitors and murderers of an excellent prince. For they also had heard from the mouths of deserters, in consequence of an unfounded rumour, that Julian had been killed by a Roman weapon.[2] 7. Finally, some troops of horsemen meanwhile ventured to break through the praetorian gate and to come near the very tent of the emperor, but with the loss of many killed and wounded they were vigorously driven back.

8. Then we set out on the following night and took possession of the place called Charcha; [3] here we were safe because there were mounds along the banks, constructed by men's hands to prevent the Saracens from continually making raids on Assyria, and no one harassed our lines, as had been done before this. 9. And from here, having completed a march of thirty stadia, on the first of July we reached a city called Dura.[4] Our horses were tired, and their riders, who marched on foot and fell to the rear,

[4] On the far side of the Tigris; different from the city of the same name in Mesopotamia (xxiii. 5, 8; xxiv. 1, 5), where excavations have lately been made.

eorum novissimi pedibus incedentes, a Saracena multitudine circumsaepti, protinus interissent, ni expeditiores turmae nostrorum opem laborantibus attulissent. 10. Hos autem Saracenos ideo patiebamur infestos, quod salaria muneraque plurima a Iuliano, ad similitudinem praeteriti temporis, accipere vetiti, questique apud eum, solum audierant, imperatorem bellicosum et vigilantem ferrum habere, non aurum. 11. In hoc loco Persarum obstinatione tritum est quadriduum. Nam progredientes nos sequebantur, crebris lacessitionibus retrahentes; cum staremus ut pugnaturi, gradum sensim referentes moris diuturnis excruciabant. Iamque (ut solent extrema metuentibus etiam ficta placere), fama circumlata fines haud procul limitum esse nostrorum, exercitus vociferans immodeste, dari sibi copiam transeundi Tigridis flagitabat. 12. Quibus oppositus cum rectoribus imperator, tumentemque iam canis exortu sideris amnem ostendens, ne se periculosis committerent gurgitibus exorabat, nandi imperitos asserens esse complures, simulque adiciens, hostiles manus hinc inde margines superfusi fluminis occupasse. 13. Sed cum haec saepe congeminando, refragaretur in cassum, milesque conclamans magno contentionis fragore, minaretur extrema, id impetratur [1] aegerrime, ut mixti cum arctois Germanis, Galli amnem primi omnium penetrarent, ut his magni-

[1] *impetratur*, Kellerbauer; *imperator*, V.

[1] To buy peace from them and prevent their raids.

were surrounded by a throng of Saracens, and would at once have perished, had not some squadrons of our light-armed cavalry brought help to them in their distress. 10. We found these Saracens hostile for the reason that they had been prevented by Julian's order from receiving pay and numerous gifts,[1] as in times past, and when they complained to him, had received the simple reply that a warlike and watchful emperor had steel and not gold. 11. In this place the persistence of the Persians delayed us for four days. For when we began to march, they followed us, and by frequent onsets forced us to turn back; if we halted to do battle with them, they little by little retired and harassed us by continual delays. But now (since to those who are in fear of the worst even false reports are commonly welcome) the rumour was circulated that the frontiers of our possessions were not far distant; whereupon the army, with mutinous bluster, demanded that they be allowed to cross the Tigris. 12. The emperor, as well as the generals, opposed them, and pointing to the river, which was in flood, since the dog-star had already risen, begged them not to trust themselves to the dangerous currents, declaring that very many could not swim, and adding that scattered bands of the enemy had beset the banks of the swollen stream in various places. 13. But when these warnings, though several times repeated, had no effect, and the loud shouts of the excited soldiers threatened violence, Jovian reluctantly consented that the Gauls, mingled with the northern Germans, should enter the river first of all, to the end that if these were swept away by the force of the stream,

tudine fluentorum abreptis residuorum pertinacia frangeretur, aut si id perfecissent innocui, transitus fidentior temptaretur. 14. Electique sunt ad id negotium habiles, qui maxima prae ceteris flumina transmeare in regionibus genuinis a prima pueritia sunt instituti, et cum latendi copiam nocturna quies daret, tamquam e transenna simul emissi, spe citius ripas occupavere contrarias, Persarumque conculcatis pluribus et truncatis, quos loca servare dispositos, securitas placido vinxerat somno, efficacis audaciae signum, elatis manibus contortisque sagulis, ostendebant. 15. Hoc longe conspecto, ardens ad transitum miles ea mora tantummodo tenebatur quod utribus e[1] caesorum animalium coriis, coagmentare pontes architecti promittebant.

7. ***Fame et inopia suorum adductus Iovianus A. pacem cum Sapore necessariam sed turpissimam facit, traditis V regionibus cum Nisibi et Singara.***

1. Quae dum vanis conatibus agitantur, rex Sapor et procul absens et cum prope venisset, exploratorum perfugarumque veris vocibus docebatur, fortia facta nostrorum, foedas suorum strages,

[1] *e*, added by G, *et* by Pet.; V omits.

[1] Cf. xxii. 11, 22, note. Here the meaning is "with one accord," "all at once." Wagner took *transenna* of the rope stretched before contestants in a footrace, which was dropped at a given signal, so that the runners started all together; others, of a bowstring.

the obstinacy of the rest might be broken down; or if they accomplished their purpose without harm, the rest might try to cross with greater confidence. 14. For this attempt the most skilful men were chosen, who from early childhood were taught in their native lands to cross the greatest of all rivers, and as soon as the quiet of night gave an opportunity for concealment, as if starting all together in a race,[1] they gained the opposite bank more quickly than could have been expected, and after trampling under foot and killing a great number of the Persians, who had been posted to guard the places, but from a feeling of security were buried in quiet sleep, they raised their hands and waved their mantles, to show that their bold attempt had succeeded. 15. When this was seen from afar, the soldiers, now eager to cross, were delayed only by the promise of the pontoon builders to make bridges of bladders from the hides of slain animals.[2]

7. ***Jovianus Augustus, led by the hunger and want of his men, makes a peace with Sapor which was necessary, but shameful, giving up five provinces, as well as Nisibis and Singara.***

1. While these vain attempts were being made, King Sapor, both when far away and when he had come near, learned from the true accounts of scouts and deserters of the brave deeds of our men and the shameful defeats of his army, accompanied by a

[2] Cf. xxiv. 3, 11, note.

et elephantos, quot numquam se regnante[1] meminerat, interfectos, exercitumque Romanum continuis laboribus induratum post casum gloriosi rectoris non saluti suae (ut memorabat) consulere, sed vindictae, difficultatemque rerum instantium aut victoria summa aut morte memorabili finiturum. 2. Ob quae reputabat multa et formidanda, diffusum abunde militem per provincias, levi tessera colligi posse expertus, et sciens populum suum, post amissam maximam plebem, ultimis terroribus deformatum, simul[2] comperiens, in Mesopotamia relictum haud multo minorem exercitum. 3. Quae super omnia hebetarunt eius anxiam mentem, uno parique natatu quingenti viri transgressi tumidum flumen incolumes, custodibusque confossis, reliquos consortes suos ad similem fiduciam concitasse.[3]

4. Haec inter cum neque pontes compaginari, paterentur undae torrentes, et absumptis omnibus quae poterant mandi,[4] sine[5] utilibus ullis, acto miserabiliter biduo, furebat inedia iraque percitus miles, ferro properans quam fame, ignavissimo genere mortis, absumi.[6]

5. Erat[6] tamen pro nobis numen dei caelestis aeternum,[7] et Persae praeter sperata priores, super

[1] *se regnante*, Pet.; *rex ante*, G; *numquam regnantem*, V.
[2] *simulque*, sugg. by Clark. [3] *concitasse*, V; *concitasse delati*, Novák; *concitantes*, G. [4] *poterant mandi*, tr. by Clark, c.c. [5] *sine*, added by Her.; V omits.
[6] *absumi, erat*, Pet.; *absumi. erat*, G; *absumerit tamen*, V.
[7] *numen aeternum*, transposui, c.c.

greater loss of elephants than he had ever known in his reign; also that the Roman army, inured to constant hardship after the loss of their glorious leader, were looking out (as they said), not for their safety, but for revenge, and would end the difficulties of their situation by either a decisive victory or a glorious death. 2. This news filled his mind with fear for many reasons: for he knew by experience that the troops scattered in great numbers through the provinces could easily be assembled by one little ticket,[1] and he was aware that his own subjects, after the loss of so many men were in a state of extreme panic, and, besides, that in Mesopotamia a Roman army had been left which was not much smaller.[2] 3. More than all, it dulled his anxious mind that five hundred men together in one swim had crossed unharmed the swollen river, had slain his guards, and had roused their comrades who had remained behind to similar boldness.

4. Meanwhile our men, since the raging waters prevented bridges from being made, and everything edible had been used up, passed two days in wretchedness, deprived of everything useful; excited by hunger and wrath, they were in a state of frenzy and eager to lose their lives by the sword rather then by starvation, the most shameful kind of death.

5. However, the eternal power of God in heaven was on our side, and the Persians, beyond our hopes, took the first step and sent as envoys for

[1] The watchword, and orders of various kinds, were written on small square tablets, called *tesserae*; cf. xiv. 2, 15; Suet., *Galba*, 6, 2; etc.
[2] I.e. than the one which had invaded Persia.

fundanda pace oratores Surenam et optimatem alium mittunt, animos ipsi quoque despondentes, quos omnibus paene proeliis pars Romana superior gravius quassabat in dies. 6. Condiciones autem ferebant difficiles et perplexas, fingentes humanorum respectu, reliquias exercitus redire sinere clementissimum regem, si [1] quae iubet impleverit cum primatibus Caesar. 7. Contra hos cum Salutio praefecto mittitur Arintheus, et dum [2] deliberatur examinatius, quid finiri [3] deberet, dies quattuor sunt evoluti. inedia cruciabiles, et omni supplicio tristiores. 8. Quo temporis spatio, antequam hi mitterentur, si exabusus princeps paulatim terris hostilibus excessisset, profecto venisset ad praesidia Corduenae, uberis regionis et nostrae, ex eo loco in quo haec agebantur, centesimo lapide disparatae.

9. Petebat autem rex obstinatius, ut ipse aiebat, sua dudum a Maximiano erepta, ut docebat autem negotium, pro redemptione nostra quinque regiones Transtigritanas: Arzanenam et Moxoenam et Zabdicenam, itidemque Rehimenam et Corduenam cum castellis quindecim, et Nisibin et Singaram et Castra Maurorum, munimentum perquam oportunum. 10. Et cum pugnari deciens expediret, ne horum quicquam dederetur, adulatorum globus instabat

[1] *si*, added by G after *iubet*. [2] *dum*, added by G; V omits. [3] *finiri*, V; *definiri*, Clark; *fieri*, EBG.

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[1] Cf. xxiv. 1, 2.

[2] Cf. xviii. 6, 20; the distance was fourteen geographic, or nautical, miles.

[3] In Armenia. [4] In Mesopotamia. [5] Unknown.

[6] A strong city thrice vainly besieged by the Persians.

securing peace the Surena and another magnate, being themselves also low in their minds, which the fact that the Roman side was superior in almost every battle shook more and more every day. 6. Nevertheless, they offered conditions which were difficult and involved, for they pretended that from feelings of humanity the most merciful of kings would allow the remnants of the army to return, if the emperor and his most distinguished generals would comply with his demands. 7. In reply to this Arintheus [1] was sent to him with the prefect Salutius, but, while a deliberate discussion was going on as to what ought to be determined, four days passed by, full of torments from hunger and worse than any death. 8. If the emperor, before letting these envoys go, had used this space of time to withdraw gradually from the enemy's territories, he could surely have reached the protection of Corduena,[2] a rich region belonging to us, and distant only a hundred miles from the spot where all this took place.

9. Now the king obstinately demanded the lands which (as he said) were his and had been taken from him long ago by Maximianus; but, in fact, as the negotiations showed, he required as our ransom five provinces on the far side of the Tigris: Arzanena,[3] Moxoëna,[3] and Zabdicena,[4] as well as Rehimena [5] and Corduena with fifteen fortresses, besides Nisibis,[6] Singara [7] and Castra Maurorum,[8] a very important stronghold. 10. And whereas it would have been better to fight ten battles than give up any one of these, the band of flatterers pressed upon the timid

[7] Cf. xviii. 5, 7; xx. 6. [8] xviii. 6, 9.

timido principi, Procopii metuendum subserens nomen, eumque affirmans, si redit cognito Iuliani interitu, cum intacto milite quem regebat, novas res nullo renitente facile moliturum. 11. Hac perniciosa verborum ille assiduitate nimia succensus, sine cunctatione tradidit omnia, quae petebantur, difficile hoc adeptus, ut Nisibis et Singara sine incolis transirent in iura Persarum, a munimentis vero alienandis, reverti ad nostra praesidia Romani permitterentur. 12. Quibus exitiale aliud accessit et impium, ne post haec ita composita, Arsaci poscenti, contra Persas ferretur auxilium, amico nobis semper et fido. Quod ratione gemina cogitatum est, ut puniretur homo qui Chiliocomum mandatu vastaverat principis, et remaneret occasio, per quam subinde licenter invaderetur Armenia. Unde postea contigit, ut vivus caperetur idem Arsaces, et Armeniae maximum latus, Medis conterminans, et Artaxata, inter dissensiones et turbamenta raperent Parthi.

13. Quo ignobili decreto firmato, nequid committeretur per indutias contrarium pactis, obsidatus specie viri celebres altrinsecus dantur Nemota[1] et Victor ex parte nostrorum, et Bellovaedius,

[1] Lac. after *Nemota*, Her. for the name of the fourth Roman hostage; no lac., V.

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[1] Julian had named Procopius as his successor; see xxiii. 3, 2.

[2] He was in hiding, probably at Chalcedon; cf. xxvi. 6, 1-5.

[3] Cf. note to xxiv. 7, 8.

[4] Cf. xxiii. 3, 5.

[5] Cf. xxvii. 12, 3.

emperor, harping upon the dreaded name of Procopius,[1] and declaring that if he returned[2] on learning of the death of Julian, he would with the fresh troops under his command easily and without opposition make himself emperor. 11. Jovian, inflamed by these dangerous hints too continually repeated, without delay surrendered all that was asked, except that with difficulty he succeeded in bringing it about that Nisibis and Singara should pass into control of the Persians without their inhabitants, and that the Romans in the fortresses that were to be taken from us should be allowed to return to our protection. 12. To these conditions there was added another which was destructive and impious, namely, that after the completion of these agreements, Arsaces, our steadfast and faithful friend[3] should never, if he asked it, be given help against the Persians. This was contrived with a double purpose, that a man who at the emperor's order[4] had devastated Chiliocomum might be punished, and that the opportunity might be left of presently invading Armenia without opposition. The result was that later this same Arsaces was taken alive,[5] and that the Parthians amid various dissensions and disturbances seized a great tract of Armenia bordering on Media, along with Artaxata.

13. When this shameful treaty was concluded, lest anything contrary to the agreements should be done during the truce, distinguished men were given on both sides as hostages: from our side Nemota, Victor, and Bellovaedius,[6] tribunes of famous corps,

[6] The names are evidently corrupted and there should be four Roman hostages; see crit. note.

insignium numerorum tribuni, ex parte vero diversa, Bineses e numero nobilium optimatum, tresque alii satrapae non obscuri. 14. Foederata itaque pace annorum triginta, eaque iuris iurandi religionibus consecrata, reversi itineribus aliis, quoniam loca contigua flumini ut confragosa vitabantur et aspera, potus inopia premebamur et cibi.

8. *Romani fluvio Tigri transito, post diuturnam et maximam cibariorum inopiam fortiter toleratam, tandem in Mesopotamiam perveniunt. Iovianus A. res Illyrici atque Galliarum utcumque ordinat.*

1. Et pax specie humanitatis indulta, in perniciem est versa multorum, qui fame ad usque spiritum lacerati postremum, ideoque latenter progressi, aut imperitia nandi gurgite fluminis sorbebantur,[1] aut si undarum vi superata venirent ad ripas, rapti a Saracenis vel Persis, quos (ut diximus paulo ante), exturbavere Germani, caedebantur ut pecora, vel longius amendati sunt venundandi. 2. Ubi vero transeundi amnis aperte signum dedere, bucinae concrepantes, immane quo quantoque ardore, temere rapiendo momenta periculorum, semet quisque reliquis omnibus anteponens, vitare multa et terribilia festinabat, et pars ratibus[2]

[1] *sorbebantur*, Novák, c.c. (cf. xviii. 7, 5); *absorbebantur*, EAG; *adorbibantur*, V. [2] *ratibus*, Pet.; *e ratibus*, Her.; *pas cratibus*, V.

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[1] Since hunger drove them to try to cross before the rest. [2] Cf. 6, 14, above.

and from the opposite party Bineses, one of the distinguished magnates, and three satraps besides of no obscure name. 14. And so a peace of thirty years was made and consecrated by the sanctity of oaths; but we returned by other routes, and since the places near the river were avoided as rough and uneven, we suffered from lack of water and food.

8. *The Romans, after crossing the river Tigris and suffering continued and great scarcity of food, which they endured with fortitude, at length arrive in Mesopotamia. Jovianus Augustus sets in order, so far as possible, the affairs of Illyricum and Gaul.*

1. But the peace which was granted under pretence of humanity caused the destruction of many, who, tormented by hunger up to their last breath, and so going ahead unnoticed by the army,[1] were either, being unskilled in swimming, swallowed up in the depths of the river, or if they mastered the power of the stream and reached the opposite bank, were seized by the Saracens or Persians (who, as I said shortly before, had been routed by the Germans),[2] and were either cut down like so many cattle, or led off farther inland to be sold. 2. But as soon as the trumpets' blast openly gave the signal for crossing the river, it was remarkable with what great eagerness and haste they rushed into all kinds of danger. Each man strove to outstrip all others and hastened to save himself from so many terrors; some used the hastily constructed rafts, holding to

temere textis, iumenta retinentes hinc inde natantia, alii supersidentes utribus, quidam diversa in necessitatis abrupto versantes, undarum occursantium fluctus obliquis meatibus penetrabant. 3. Imperator ipse brevibus lembis, quos post exustam classem docuimus remansisse, cum paucis transvectus, eadem navigia ultro citroque discurrere statuit, dum omnes conveheremur. Tandemque universi (praeter mersos) ad ulteriores venimus margines, favore superi numinis, discrimine per difficiles casus extracti.

4. Dum nos impendentium[1] aerumnarum opprimit timor, compertum est procursatorum indicio, Persas pontem iungere procul e nostro conspectu, ut post firmatam pacem et foedera, sopitis belli turbinibus, incuriosius gradientes aegros et animalia peterent, diu defatigata, verum cum se proditos advertissent, a conatu nefario destiterunt. 5. Hac etiam suspicione iam liberi, properantesque itineribus magnis, prope Hatram venimus, vetus oppidum in media solitudine positum, olimque desertum, quod eruendum adorti temporibus variis Traianus et Severus principes bellicosi, cum exercitibus paene deleti sunt, ut in eorum actibus has quoque digessimus partes. 6. Unde cognito per porrectam planitiem ad usque lapidem septuagensimum, in regionibus aridis nec aquam inveniri posse praeter salsam et faetidam, nec ad victum aliquid nisi abrotonum et absinthium et dracontium,

[1] *impendentium*, E, C. F. W. M.; *pendentium*, V.

their horses as they swam here and there, others seated themselves on bladders, still others under the pressure of necessity found various other helps and rushed in an oblique direction into the waves of the onrushing waters. 3. The emperor himself with a few others crossed in the small boats, which, as I have said, survived the burning of the fleet, and ordered the same craft to go back and forth, until we were all transported. At last all of us (except those who were drowned) reached the opposite bank, saved from danger by the favour of the supreme deity after many difficulties.

4. While the fear of impending disasters oppressed us, we learned from the report of our scouting cavalry, that the Persians, too far off to be seen, were making a bridge, in order that when all hostilities should cease after the conclusion of the treaty of peace, and our men were marching carelessly, they might attack the sick and the animals which had long been exhausted; but when they found that they were discovered, they gave up their wicked design. 5. Relieved now from this anxiety and hastening on by forced marches, we approached Hatra, an old city lying in the midst of a desert and long since abandoned. The warlike emperors Trajan[1] and Severus tried at various times to destroy it, but almost perished with their armies; I have related these acts also in telling of their careers. 6. Here we learned that on a plain extending for seventy miles through dry regions only water that was salt and ill-smelling could be found, and nothing to eat except southernwood, wormwood, dragonwort and other plants of

[1] Dio. lxviii. 31, 2.

aliaque herbarum genera ut[1] tristissima, vasa quae portabantur, aquis impleta sunt dulcibus, et mactatis camelis, iumentisque aliis, alimenta quaesita sunt, licet noxia.

7. Et via sex dierum emensa, cum ne gramina quidem invenirentur, solacia necessitatis extremae, dux Mesopotamiae Cassianus, et tribunus Mauricius (pridem ob hoc missus) ad Ur nomine Persicum venere castellum, cibos ferentes, ex his quos relictus cum Procopio et Sebastiano, exercitus parcius victitans, conservarat. 8. Hinc Procopius alter, notarius, et Memoridus, militaris tribunus, ad tractus Illyricos mittuntur et Galliarum, nuntiaturi Iuliani mortem et Iovianum post eius obitum ad culmen augustum evectum. 9. Quibus id[2] mandaverat princeps, ut Lucillianum, socerum suum post depositum militiae munus, digressum ad otium, morantemque eo tempore apud Sirmium, oblatis magisterii equitum et peditum codicillis, quos eisdem tradiderat, properare Mediolanum urgerent, res firmaturum ancipites, et (quod magis metuebatur), si casus novi quidam exsurgerent, opponendum. 10. Quibus imperator[3] secretiores addiderat litteras, Lucillianum itidem monens, ut quosdam

[1] *ut*, V, restored by Her.; G omits. [2] *quibus id*, Löfstedt; *quibus*, G; *quibus ut*, V. [3] *quibus imperator*, Her. from *imper.*; *quibus* G; *quibus super*, Pet.; *quibus per*, V.

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[1] Büchele thinks the text means "which eventually cost us dear," since they lost the use of these animals.

[2] *Duces* were usually military commanders, but sometimes governors; see Index II., vol. i. s.v.

the most wretched sort. Therefore the vessels which we carried with us were filled with fresh water, and by killing camels and other pack animals we provided ourselves with food, unwholesome[1] though it was.

7. And after completing a march of six days and finding not even grass as the solace of their extreme necessity, Cassianus, the duke[2] commanding the army in Mesopotamia,[2] and the tribune Mauricius (who had been sent long before for the purpose) came to a Persian stronghold called Ur[3] and brought food from the supplies which the army left with Procopius and Sebastianus had saved by frugal living. 8. From here another Procopius, a state-secretary, and the military tribune Memoridus were sent to the lands of Illyricum and Gaul, to announce the death of Julian, and the elevation of Jovian (after Julian's decease) to Augustan rank. 9. To them the emperor had also given instructions to hand his father-in-law Lucillianus,[4] who after his dismissal from the army had retired to a life of leisure and was then living at Sirmium, the commission as commander of the cavalry and infantry which he had delivered to them, and urge him to hasten to Milan, in order to attend to any difficulties there, or if (as was now rather to be feared) any new dangers should arise, to resist them. 10. To these instructions the emperor had added a secret letter, in which he also directed Lucillianus to take with him some

[3] Ur of the Chaldeans, mentioned also in the books of Moses.

[4] Jovian's wife was a daughter of Lucillianus; her name was Charito.

lectos exploratae industriae fideique, duceret secum, adminiculis eorum usurus, pro incidentium captu negotiorum. 11. Prudentique consilio Malarichum, ex familiaribus negotiis agentem etiam tum in Italia, missis insignibus, Iovino iussit succedere, armorum magistro per Gallias, gemina utilitate praespeculata, ut et dux meriti celsioris, ideoque suspectus, abiret e medio, et homo inferioris spei ad sublimiora provectus, auctoris sui nutantem adhuc statum studio fundaret ingenti. 12. Iussum est autem ad implenda haec perrecturis, extollere seriem gestorum in melius, et rumores quaqua irent, verbis[1] diffundere concinentibus, procinctum Parthicum exitu prospero terminatum, additisque festinando itineri noctibus, provinciarum militiaeque rectoribus insinuare novi principis scripta, omniumque sententiis occultius sciscitatis, remeare velociter cum responsis, ut comperto quid in longinquis agatur, principatus corroborandi matura consilia quaerantur et cauta.

13. Hos tabellarios fama praegrediens, index tristiorum casuum velocissima, per provincias volitabat et gentes, maximeque omnium Nisibenos acerbo dolore perculsit, cum urbem Sapori deditam comperis-

[1] *verbis*, Hadr. Val.; *breves*, G; *breviis*, Henr. Val.; *brevis*, V.

men selected for their tried vigour and loyalty, with the view of making use of their support as the condition of affairs might suggest. 11. And he took the prudent step of appointing Malarichus, who also was even then living in Italy in a private capacity, as successor to Jovinus, commander of the cavalry in Gaul, sending him the insignia of that rank. Thereby he aimed at a double advantage: first, in getting rid of a general of distinguished service and therefore an object of suspicion; and, second, the hope that a man of slight expectations, when raised to a high rank, might show great zeal in supporting the position of his benefactor, which was still uncertain. 12. Also the men who were commissioned to carry out these plans were ordered to set the course of events in a favourable light, and wherever they went, to agree with each other in spreading the report that the Parthian campaign had been brought to a successful end. They were to hasten their journey by adding night to day, to put into the hands of the governors and the military commanders of the provinces the messages of the new emperor, to secretly sound the sentiments of all of them, and to return speedily with their replies, in order that as soon as it was learned how matters stood in the distant provinces, timely and careful plans might be made for safeguarding the imperial power.

13. Meanwhile rumour, the swiftest messenger of sad events, outstripping these messengers, flew through provinces and nations, and most of all struck the people of Nisibis with bitter grief; when they learned that their city had been surrendered to

sent, cuius iram metuebant et simultates, recolentes quae assidue pertulerit funera, eam saepius oppugnare conatus. 14. Constabat enim orbem eoum in dicionem potuisse transire Persidis, ni illi[1] haec civitas habili situ, et moenium magnitudine, restitisset. Miseri tamen, licet maiore venturi pavore constringerentur, spe tamen sustentari potuerunt exigua, hac scilicet velut suopte motu vel exoratus eorum precibus, imperator eodem statu retinebit urbem, Orientis firmissimum claustrum.

15. Dum gestorum seriem ubique rumores diffunditant varii, in exercitu absumptis commeatibus paucis, quos advectos praediximus, in corpora sua necessitas erat humana vertenda, ni iumentorum caro caesorum aliquatenus perdurasset, unde effectum est ut et armorum pleraque proicerentur et sarcinarum. Adeo enim atroci tabuimus fame, ut si usquam modius unus farinae fuisset repertus, quod raro contigerat, aureis decem mutaretur ut minus.[2]

16. Profecti exinde Thilsaphata venimus, ubi Sebastianus atque Procopius, cum tribunis principiisque militum, sibi ad tuendam Mesopotamiam commissorum, ut poscebat sollemnitas, occurrerunt. Et sequebantur benigne suscepti. 17. Post quae itinere festinato, Nisibi cupide visa, extra urbem stativa castra posuit princeps, rogatusque enixe

[1] *ni illi*, Clark; *nisi*, EG; *persidines, nihil haec*, V.
[2] *medimnus*, Pet.; *minus*, V.

[1] Not more than twenty-five pounds.
[2] About ten pounds or fifty dollars.

Sapor, whose anger and hostility they feared, recalling as they did what constant losses he had suffered in his frequent attempts to take their city. 14. For it was clear that the entire Orient might have passed into the control of Persia, had not this city with its advantageous situation and mighty walls resisted him. Nevertheless, however much the unhappy people were tormented with great fear of the future, yet they could sustain themselves with one slight hope, namely, that the emperor would, of his own accord or prevailed upon by their entreaties, keep the city in its present condition, as the strongest bulwark of the Orient.

15. While varied rumours were spreading the news of the course of events everywhere, in the army, since the few provisions which (as I have said) we had brought with us were used up, we should have been forced to resort to human bodies, had not the flesh of the slain pack-animals held out for a time; but the result was, that many arms and packs were thrown away; for we were so wasted by fearful hunger, that if anywhere a modius[1] of flour was found (which seldom happened) it was sold for ten gold-pieces,[2] and that was considered a cheap price.

16. Setting out from there, we came to Thilsaphata, where Sebastianus and Procopius, with the tribunes and officers of the soldiers which had been entrusted to them for the defence of Mesopotamia, came out to meet us as formal usage required. And after having been courteously received, they joined our march. 17. After this we went on more speedily, and looking eagerly at Nisibis, the emperor made a permanent camp outside of the city; but in spite of

precante multiplici plebe, ut ingressus palatio more succederet principum, pertinaciter reluctatus est, erubescens agente se intra muros, urbem inexpugnabilem iratis hostibus tradi. 18. Ibi tunc vespera tenebrante, raptus a cena Iovianus, primus inter notarios omnes, quem in obsidione civitatis Maiozamalchae per cuniculum docuimus evasisse cum aliis, ductusque ad devium locum, et praeceps actus in puteum siccum, obrutus est saxorum multitudine superiacta, hanc profecto ob causam, quod Iuliano perempto, ipse quoque nominatus a paucis, ut imperio dignus, nec post creatum Iovianum egit modeste, sed susurrans super negotio quaedam audiebatur, invitabatque ad convivia subinde militares.

9. *Bineses nobilis Persa Nisibin urbem inexpugnabilem a Joviano recipit*[2] *oppidani inviti patria excedere et Amidam migrare compulsi. V. regiones cum urbe Singara et XVI. castillis ex pacto Persis optimatibus assignantur.*

1. Postridie Bineses, unus ex Persis quem inter alios excellere diximus, mandata regis complere

[1] xxiv. 4, 23. [2] Cf. 7, 13, above.

the earnest request of many of the populace to enter and take up his residence in the palace as was usual with the emperors, he obstinately refused, from shame that during his own stay within its walls the impregnable city should be handed over to the enemy. 18. There, as the darkness of evening was then approaching, Jovianus, chief among all the secretaries, who (as I have already said[1]) at the siege of the city of Maiozamalcha had with others been first to come out through the mine, was taken from the dining-table, led to a secluded spot, thrown headlong into a dry well, and crushed by a great number of stones that were thrown upon him. The reason for this undoubtedly was that, after Julian's death, he too was named by a few as worthy of the throne, and that after the election of Jovian he had not acted with moderation, but was overheard whispering this and that about some business, and from time to time had even invited military officers to his table.

9. *Bineses, a noble Persian, receives the impregnable city of Nisibis from Jovian. The citizens were compelled against their will to leave the city and move to Amida. The five provinces, with the city of Singara and sixteen strongholds, in accordance with the treaty were handed over to Persian grandees.*

1. On the following day Bineses, one of the Persians, who (as I have said) was eminent beyond all others,[3] hastening to fulfil the orders of his king,

festinans, promissa flagitabat instanter, et principe permittente Romano, civitatem ingressus, gentis suae signum ab arce extulit summa, migrationem e[1] patria civibus nuntians luctuosam. 2. Et vertere solum extemplo omnes praecepti, manusque tendentes flentesque,[2] orabant ne imponeretur sibi necessitas abscedendi, ad defendendos penates se solos sufficere sine alimentis[3] publicis affirmantes et milite, satis confisi adfuturam Iustitiam pro genitali sede dimicaturis, ut experti sunt saepe. Et haec quidem suppliciter ordo et populus precabatur, sed ventis loquebantur in cassum, imperatore (ut fingebat, alia metuens), periurii piacula declinante. 3. Tum Sabinus fortuna et genere inter municipes clarus, ore volubili replicabat, Constantium immani crudescente bellorum materia, superatum a Persis interdum, deductumque postremo per fugam cum paucis ad Hibitam stationem intutam, panis frusto vixisse precario, ab anu quadam agresti porrecto, nihil tamen ad diem perdidisse supremum, et Iovianum inter exordia principatus, provinciarum muro cessisse, cuius obices iam inde a vetustate innoxiae permanserunt. 4. Cumque nihil promoveretur, iuris iurandi religionem principe destinatius praetendente, cum oblatam ei coronam aliquamdiu recusans, coactus denique suscepisset, Silvanus quidam causarum

[1] *summa, migrationem e*, Clark; *submigrationem e*, Val.; *submigratione*, V. [2] *manus tendentes flentesque*, Günther; *manus tendentes*, BG; *manus tendentesque*, V. [3] *alimentis*, V; *adiumentis*, E, Gardt.

[1] See note on *coronarium*, 4, 15, above.

urgently demanded what had been promised. Therefore, with the permission of the Roman emperor, he entered the city and raised the flag of his nation on the top of the citadel, announcing to the citizens their sorrowful departure from their native place. 2. And when all were commanded to leave their homes at once, with tears and outstretched hands they begged that they might not be compelled to depart, declaring that they alone, without aid from the empire in provisions and men, were able to defend their hearths, trusting that Justice herself would, as they had often found, aid them in fighting for their ancestral dwelling-place. But suppliantly as the council and people entreated, all was spoken vainly to the winds, since the emperor (as he pretended, while moved by other fears) did not wish to incur the guilt of perjury. 3. Thereupon Sabinus, distinguished among his fellow-citizens for his wealth and high birth, declared in impassioned language that Constantius once, when the flames of a cruel war were raging, had been defeated by the Persians and finally had been driven in flight with a few followers to the unprotected post of Hibita, where he was obliged to live on a bit of bread which he begged from an old peasant woman; yet up to his last day he had lost nothing, whereas Jovian at the beginning of his principate, had abandoned the defences of provinces whose bulwarks had remained unshaken from the earliest times. 4. But when nothing came of this, since the emperor the more stoutly maintained the sanctity of his oath; and when for a time he had refused the crown[1] that was offered him but was finally forced to accept it, one Silvanus, a pleader

defensor, confidentius exclamavit: "Ita" inquit, "imperator, a civitatibus residuis coroneris." Quo verbo exasperatus, intra triduum omnes iussit excedere moenibus, detestantes rerum praesentium statum.

5. Appositis itaque compulsoribus, mortem siqui distulerit egredi minitantibus, moenia permixta sunt lamentis et luctu, et per omnia civitatis membra una vox cunctorum erat gementium, cum laceraret crines matrona, exsul fuganda laribus in quibus nata erat et educata, orbataque mater liberis vel coniuge viduata, procul ab eorum manibus pelleretur, et turba flebilis postes penatium amplexa vel limina, lacrimabat. 6. Exin variae complentur viae, qua quisque poterat dilabentium. Properando enim multi furabantur opes proprias quas vehi posse credebant, contempta reliqua supellectili, pretiosa et multa. Hanc enim reliquerunt penuria iumentorum.

7. Tu hoc loco (Fortuna orbis Romani) merito incusaris, quae, difflantibus procellis rem publicam, excussa regimenta perito rei gerendae ductori, consummando [1] iuveni porrexisti, quem nullis ante actae vitae insignibus in huius modi negotiis cognitum, nec vituperari est aequum, nec laudari. 8. Illud tamen ad medullas usque bonorum pervenit, quod dum extimescit aemulum potestatis,

[1] *consummando*, V; *consumendo*, Pet.

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[1] Cf. Virg., *Aen.* ii. 490; Val. Flacc. iv. 373. The whole passage suggests Livy's account of the destruction of Alba Longa (i. 29).

[2] *consummando* = *inconsummato* "unfinished."

at the bar, was bold enough to say: "Thus may you be crowned, O emperor, by the rest of the cities." Exasperated by these words, the emperor gave orders that all must leave the walls within three days, they the while expressing horror at such a condition of affairs.

5. Accordingly, men were appointed to drive them out, and threatened with death all who hesitated to leave. Lamentation and grief filled the city, and in all its parts no sound save universal wailing was to be heard; the matrons tore their hair, since they were to be sent into exile from the homes in which they were born and reared; mothers who had lost their children, and widows bereft of their husbands, mourned that they were driven far from the ashes of their loved ones; and the weeping throng embraced the doors or the thresholds of their homes. 6. Then the various roads were filled with people going wherever each could find refuge. In their haste many secretly carried off such of their own property as they thought they could take with them, disregarding the rest of their possessions, which, though many and valuable, they were obliged to eave behind for lack of pack-animals.[1]

7. You are here justly censured, O Fortune of he Roman world! that, when storms shattered our ountry, you did snatch the helm from the hands f an experienced steersman and entrust it to an ntried [2] youth, who, since he was known during s previous life for no brilliant deeds in that field, nnot be justly either blamed or praised. 8. But at grieved the very heart of every patriotic citizen s this, that fearful of a rival to his power and

dumque in animo per [1] Gallias et Illyricum versat, quosdam saepe sublimiora coeptasse, famam adventus sui praevenire festinans, indignum imperio facinus amictu periurii fugiendi, commisit, Nisibi prodita, quae iam inde a Mithridatici regni temporibus, ne Oriens a Persis occuparetur, viribus restitit maximis. 9. Numquam enim ab urbis ortu inveniri potest annalibus replicatis (ut arbitror), terrarum pars ulla nostrarum ab imperatore vel consule hosti concessa, sed ne ob recepta quidem quae direpta sunt, verum ob amplificata regna triumphales glorias fuisse delatas. 10. Unde Publio Scipioni ob recuperatas Hispanias, Fulvio Capua post diuturna certamina superata, et Opimio post diversos exitus proeliorum, Fregellanis tunc internecivis hostibus ad deditionem compulsis, triumphi sunt denegati. 11. Id etiam memoriae nos veteres docent in extremis casibus icta cum dedecore foedera, postquam partes verbis iuravere conceptis, repetitione bellorum ilico dissoluta, ut temporibus priscis apud Furcas Caudinas sub iugum legionibus missis in Samnio, et per Albinum in Numidia sceleste pace excogitata,[2] et auctore turpiter pactionis festinatae Mancino dedito Numantinis.

12. Proinde extractis civibus et urbe tradita missoque tribuno Constantio, qui munimenta

[1] *per*, added by Val.; V omits. [2] *pace excogitata*, Clark; *pace cogitata*, G; *pax cogitata*, V.

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[1] See Dio. xxxvi. 6, 1 ff.
[2] Cf. Val. Max. ii. 8, 4 and 5.
[3] Cf. Livy, ix. 6, 1; Florus, i. xi., 9 f.

bearing in mind that it was in Gaul and Illyricum that many men had taken the first steps to loftier power, in his haste to outstrip the report of his coming, under pretext of avoiding perjury he committed an act unworthy of an emperor, betraying Nisibis, which ever since the time of King Mithridates' reign had resisted with all its might the occupation of the Orient by the Persians.[1] 9. For never (I think) since the founding of our city can it be found by a reader of history that any part of our territory has been yielded to an enemy by an emperor or a consul; but that not even the recovery of anything that had been lost was ever enough for the honour of a triumph, but only the increase of our dominions. 10. Hence it was that triumphs were refused [2] to Publius Scipio for the recovery of Spain; to Fulvius, when Capua was overcome after long contests, and to Opimius, when, after shifting fortunes of war, the people of Fregellae, at that time our deadly enemies, were forced to surrender. 11. In fact, the ancient records teach us that treaties made in extreme necessity with shameful conditions, even when both parties had taken oath in set terms, were at once annulled by a renewal of war. For example, when in days of old our legions were sent under the yoke at the Caudine Forks in Samnium [3]; when Albinus in Numidia devised a shameful peace [4]; and when Mancinus, the author of a disgracefully hasty treaty, was surrendered to the people of Numantia.[5]

12. So then, after the inhabitants had been withdrawn, and the city had been handed over, the tribune

[4] See Sallust, *Jug.* 38.
[5] See xiv. 11, 32; Florus, i. 34, 4 ff.

praesidiaria cum regionibus, Persicis optimatibus assignaret, cum Iuliani supremis Procopius mittitur, ea ut superstes ille mandarat, humaturus in suburbano Tarsensi. 13. Qui ad exsequendum profectus, confestim corpore sepulto discessit, nec inveniri usquam potuit, studio quaesitus ingenti, nisi quod multo postea apud Constantinopolim visus est subito, purpuratus.

10. *Iovianus metu rerum novarum per Syriam Ciliciam, Cappadociam, et Galatiam celeriter itinere facto, Ancyrae cum Varroniano filio infante consulatum init ac mox Dadastanae repentina morte fungitur.*

1. His hoc modo peractis, discursisque itineribus, Antiochiam venimus, ubi per continuos dies, velut offenso numine multa visebantur et dira, quorum eventus fore luctificos, gnari rerum prodigialium praecinebant. 2. Nam et Maximiani statua Caesaris, quae locata est in vestibulo regiae, amisit repente sphaeram aeream formatam in speciem poli, quam gestabat, et cum horrendo stridore sonuerunt in consistorio trabes, et visa sunt interdiu sidera cometarum, super quorum natura ratiocinantes physici variant. 3. Quidam enim eos hoc nomine ideo existimant appellari, quod tortos ignes spargunt

[1] Cf. xxiii. 2, 5.

[2] Or perhaps, on the analogy of *exsequiae*, "on his mournful errand," or "for the funeral."

[3] He perhaps wished to escape the fate of Jovianus; see 8, 18.

[4] Cf. xxi. 14, 1, note.

[5] Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* ii. 91 ff.

Constantius was sent to deliver the strongholds, with the surrounding country, to the Persian grandees. Then Procopius was sent with the remains of Julian, in order to inter him, as he had directed when still alive,[1] in the suburb of Tarsus. 13. Procopius set out to fulfil his mission,[2] but immediately after burying the body he disappeared and in spite of the most careful search could not be found anywhere,[3] until long afterwards he suddenly appeared at Constantinople, clad in the purple.

10. *Jovian, fearful of an uprising, quickly marched through Syria, Cilicia, Cappadocia and Galatia. At Ancyra he assumed the consulship with his infant son Varronianus, and shortly afterwards died suddenly at Dadastana.*

1. After this business had been thus attended to, we came by long marches to Antioch; where for successive days, as though the divinity were angered, many fearful portents were seen, which those skilled in such signs declared would have sad results. 2. For the statue of the Caesar Maximianus, which stood in the vestibule of the royal palace, suddenly dropped the brazen ball, in the form of the globe of heaven, which it was holding,[4] the beams of the council hall gave forth an awful creaking, and in broad daylight comets were seen, about which the views of those versed in natural history are at variance.[5] 3. For some think that they are so called because they are numerous stars united in one body,[6]

[6] Democritus and Anaxagoras, cf. Arist., *Meteor.* 1, 1; opposed by Sen. *Nat., Quaest.* vii. 7.

ut crines, in unum stellis multiplicibus congregatis. Alii eos arbitrantur ex halitu sicciore terrarum ignescere, paulatim in sublimiora surgentes. Quidam currentes[1] radios solis, densiore nube obiecta, degredi[2] ad inferiora prohibitos, splendore infuso, corpori crasso, lucem velut stellis distinctam mortali conspectu, monstrare. Sedit quorundam opinioni, hanc speciem tunc apparere, cum erecta[3] solito celsius nubes, aeternorum ignium vicinitate colluceat, vel certe stellas esse quasdam, ceteris similes, quarum ortus obitusque, quibus sint temporibus praestituti, humanis mentibus ignorari. Plura alia de cometis apud peritos mundanae rationis sunt lecta, quae digerere nunc vetat aliorsum oratio properans.

4. Moratum paulisper Antiochiae principem, curarumque ponderibus diversis afflictum, exeundi mira cupiditas agitabat: proinde nec iumento parcens nec militi, flagrante hieme die[4] profectus, signis (ut dictum est), vetantibus plurimis, Tarsum urbem Cilicum nobilem introiit, cuius originem docuimus supra. 5. Exindeque egredi nimium properans, exornari sepulchrum statuit Iuliani, in pomerio situm itineris, quod ad Tauri montis

[1] *currentes*, BG; *censent*, Bent.; *currentesque*, V (lac. before this word indicated by Clark). [2] *degredi*, Bent.; *digredi*, V. [3] *erecta*, V; *tracta*, BG; *evecta*, Gardt. [4] *die*, V, restored by Her.; *inde* G; *media*, Pet.

[1] The view of Aristotle and the Peripatetics; cometa is from coma (Greek κόμη), "hair." This opinion, which is nearest the truth, is attributed by Aristotle and Plutarch to Pythagoras.

[2] I.e. their appearance and disappearance.

and send out writhing fires resembling hair.[1] Others believe that they take fire from the dryer exhalations of the earth, which gradually rise higher. Others again think that the rays streaming from the sun are prevented by the interposition of a heavier cloud from going downward, and when the brightness is suffused through the thick substance, it presents to men's eyes a kind of star-spangled light. Yet others have formed the opinion that this phenomenon occurs when an unusually high cloud is lit up by the nearness of the eternal fires, or at any rate, that comets are stars like the rest, the appointed times of whose rising and setting[2] are not understood by human minds. Many other theories about comets are to be found in the writings of those who are skilled in knowledge of the universe; but from discussing these I am prevented by my haste to continue my narrative.

4. The emperor lingered for a time at Antioch, bowed down by the weight of divers cares, but pursued by an extraordinary desire for getting out of the place. Accordingly, he left there on a day in the dead of winter, sparing neither horse nor man, although many signs (as has been said) forbade, and entered Tarsus, the famous city of Cilicia, of whose origin I have already spoken.[3] 5. Though in excessive haste to leave that place, he determined to adorn the tomb of Julian,[4] situated just outside the walls on the road which leads to the passes of Mount Taurus. But his remains and ashes, if anyone then

[3] Cf. xiv. 8, 3.

[4] See 9, 12, above. According to Zonaras and others, Julian's body was later taken to Constantinople.

angustias ducit, cuius suprema et cineres, siqui tunc iuste consuleret, non Cydnus videre deberet, quamvis gratissimus amnis et liquidus, sed ad perpetuandam gloriam recte factorum praeterlambere Tiberis, intersecans urbem aeternam divorumque veterum monumenta praestringens.

6. Deinde Tarso profectus, extentis itineribus venit oppidum Cappadociae Tyana, ubi ei reversi Procopius notarius et Memoridus tribunus occurrunt, gestorumque aperiunt textum, hinc (ut ordo poscebat) exorsi, quod Lucillianus Mediolanum ingressus, cum Seniaucho et Valentiniano tribunis, quos duxerat secum, cognito quod Malarichus recusavit suscipere magisterium, effuso cursu petierat Remos. 7. Et tamquam in alto gentis silentio, extra calcem (ut dicitur) procurrebat, et intempestive, parum etiam tum firmatis omnibus,[1] ex actuario ratiociniis scrutandis incubuit, qui fraudum conscius et noxarum, ad militaria signa confugit, finxitque Iuliano superstite in res novas quendam medium surrexisse, cuius fallaciis turbo militaris acerrime concitus, Lucillianum et Seniauchum occidit. Valentinianum enim paulo postea principem, trepidum, et quo confugeret ambigentem, Primitivus hospes tutius amendarat. 8. His ita tristibus laetum aliud addebatur, missos a Iovino milites adventare, quos capita scholarum

[1] After *omnibus* Clark indicates a lac. perhaps of one line, at the end of which was the name of the *ex actuario* (*acturio*, V).

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[1] Cf. Curt. iii. 4, 8.

[2] They had been sent to Illyricum and Gaul; see 8, 8, above.

showed sound judgement, ought not to be looked on by the Cydnus,[1] although it is a beautiful and clear stream, but to perpetuate the glory of his noble deeds they should be laved by the Tiber, which cuts through the eternal city and flows by the memorials of the deified emperors of old.

6. After this the emperor left Tarsus, and making long marches arrived at Tyana, a town of Cappadocia, where on their return the secretary Procopius and the tribune Memoridus[2] met him. They gave him an account of their missions, beginning (as order demanded) with the entry of Lucillianus with the tribunes Seniauchus and Valentinianus, whom he had taken with him, into Mediolanum; but on learning that Malarichus refused to accept the position[3] he had gone at full speed to Rheims. 7. Then, as if that nation were in profound peace, he ran off the track (as the saying is), and quite out of season, since everything was not yet secure, devoted his attention to examining the accounts of a former actuary. This man, being conscious of deceit and wrong-doing, fled for refuge to the army and falsely asserted that Julian was still alive and that a man of no distinction had raised a rebellion; in consequence of his falsehoods a veritable storm broke out among the soldiery, and Lucillianus and Seniauchus were killed. For Valentinianus, who was shortly afterwards emperor, in terror and not knowing where to turn, was safely gotten out of the way by Primitivus, his guest-friend. 8. This sad news was followed by another message, this time a happy one, namely, that soldiers sent by Jovian,

[3] Of general of the cavalry; see 8, 11, above.

ordo castrensis appellat, nuntiantes aequo animo Ioviani imperium amplecti exercitum Gallicanum.

9. Quibus compertis, Valentiniano qui cum eisdem redierat, regenda Scutariorum secunda committitur schola, et Vitalianus domesticorum consortio iungitur, Erulorum e numero miles, qui multo postea auctus comitis dignitate, male rem per Illyricum gessit, confestimque mittitur in Gallias Arintheus, ferens litteras ad Iovinum, ut constanter ageret suum obtinens locum, eique mandatum est ut animadverteretur in concitorem tumultus, auctoresque seditionis ad comitatum vincti transmitterentur. 10. Post quae (ut videbatur expedire) disposita, apud Aspuna Galatiae municipium breve, Gallicani militis visa principia,[1] ingressique consistorium, post audita gratanter quae pertulerant munerati, redire iubentur ad signa.

11. Et cum introisset Ancyram imperator, paratis ad pompam pro tempore necessariis, consulatum iniit adhibito in societatem trabeae Varroniano, filio suo, admodum parvulo, cuius vagitus, pertinaciter reluctantis ne in curuli sella veheretur ex more, id quod mox accidit portendebat.

[1] *visa principia*, Her.; *visi principi*, V.

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[1] There were many military *scholae* (see Index II., vol. i. s.v., and cf. xiv. 7, 9); *capita* is a general term for the various officers commanding them; cf. *capita contubernii*, Veget. ii. 8 and 13.

eads of the divisions,[1] as camp parlance termed iem, were on the way, reporting that the Gallic rmy embraced with favour the rule of Jovian.

9. On receipt of this news Valentinian, who had eturned with the others, was entrusted with the ommand of the second division of the targeteers, nd Vitalianus, formerly a soldier in the division f the Eruli, was made a member of the household roops; long afterwards he was raised to the ank of Count, but suffered a defeat in Illyricum. rintheus was hastily sent to Gaul, bearing letters o Jovinus, urging him to act firmly in holding his osition; he was also bidden to punish the originator of the disturbance and to send the ringeaders in the rebellion in fetters to the court. 10. fter these arrangements had been made as seemed xpedient, the officers of the Gallic troops had udience with the emperor at Aspuna, a small town f Galatia; when they entered the council chamber, he news which they brought was heard with pleasure, nd after receiving rewards, they were ordered to eturn to their posts.

11. When the emperor had entered Ancyra, after he necessary arrangements for his procession had een made, so far as the conditions allowed, he asumed the consulship, taking as his colleague in the ffice his son Varronianus, who was still a small hild[2]; and his crying and obstinate resistance to eing carried, as usual, on the curule chair, were an men of what presently occurred.

[2] Previous emperors had had their sons or Caesars leclared by the Senate to be of sufficient age for office. This is the first instance of the choice of a minor.

12. Hinc quoque Iovianum, celeri gradu, praescriptus vitae finiendae dies exegit. Cum enim venisset Dadastanam, qui locus Bithyniam distinguit et Galatas, exanimatus inventus est nocte. Super cuius obitu dubietates emersere complures. 13. Fertur enim recenti calce cubiculi illiti ferre odorem noxium nequivisse, vel extuberato capite perisse succensione prunarum immensa, aut certe ex colluvione ciborum, avida cruditate distentus. Decessit autem anno tricensimo aetatis et tertio. Cumque huic et Aemiliano Scipioni vitae exitus similis evenisset, super neutrius morte quaestionem comperimus agitatam.

14. Incedebat autem motu corporis gravi, vultu laetissimo, oculis caesiis, vasta proceritate et ardua, adeo ut diu nullum indumentum regium ad mensuram eius aptum inveniretur. Et aemulari malebat Constantium, agens seria quaedam aliquotiens post meridiem, iocarique palam[1] cum proximis assuetus. 15. Christianae legis itidem[2] studiosus et non numquam honorificus, mediocriter eruditus, magisque benivolus, et perpensius, ut apparebat ex paucis, quos promoverat iudices, electurus; edax tamen et vino Venerique indulgens, quae vitia imperiali

[1] *quaedam diluculo : post meridiem iocari palam*, Bent.
[2] *itidem*, Clark ; *idem*, EAG ; *eidem*, V.

[1] Sozomenus, vi. 6, Orosius, vii. 31. Zonaras, xiii. 14, D, A, gives the coal gas as the cause. The latter adds that he had drunk to excess and (as some said) was given a poisoned sponge ; Chrysostom, *Homilia*, xv., says directly that he was poisoned. Ammianus, by his reference to Aemilianus, seems to imply that he was strangled ; cf. Cic., *Pro Milone*, 7, 16 ; *Ad Fam.* ix. 21, 3.

12. From here also the destined day for ending his life drove Jovian swiftly on. For when he had come to Dadastana, which forms the boundary between Bithynia and Galatia, he was found dead that night. As to his taking-off, many doubtful points have come up. 13. For it is said that he was unable to endure the unwholesome odour of a recently plastered bedroom, or that his head was swollen from the burning of a great amount of charcoal and so he died, or at any rate that he had a fit of acute indigestion from an immoderate amount of food of different kinds.[1] At all events he died in the thirty-third year of his age.[2] The end of his life was like that of Scipio Aemilianus,[3] but so far as I know no investigation was made of the death of either.

14. He walked with a dignified bearing ; his expression was very cheerful. His eyes were gray. He was so unusually tall that for some time no imperial robe could be found that was long enough for him. He took as his model Constantius, often spending the afternoon in some serious occupation, but accustomed to jest in public with his intimates. 15. So too he was devoted to the Christian doctrine and sometimes paid it honour.[4] He was only moderately educated, of a kindly nature, and (as appears from the few promotions that he made) inclined to select state officials with care. But he was an immoderate eater, given to wine and women, faults which perhaps he would have corrected out of regard for

[2] Having reigned 8 months.
[3] Livy, Epit. lix. ; Val. Max. iv. 1, 12, 3; viii. 15, 4.
[4] At Antioch he annulled Julian's edicts against Christianity.

verecundia forsitan correxisset. 16. Dicebatur autem Varronianus pater eius monitu cuiusdam somnii dudum praescisse quod evenit, idque duobus amicis commisisse fidissimis, illo adiecto, quod ipsi quoque deferetur [1] trabea consularis. Sed impetrato uno adipisci non potuit aliud. Audita enim filii celsiore fortuna, antequam eum videret, fatali praeventus est morte. 17. Et quia huic nomini amplissimum magistratum portendi per quietem praedictum est seni, Varronianus nepos eius infans etiam tum, cum Ioviano patre declaratus est (ut supra rettulimus) consul.

LIBER XXVI

1. ***Valentiniano, scholae secundae scutariorum tribunus, communi magistratuum civilium et militarium consensu, Nicaeae absenti defertur imperium ; et de ratione bissexti.***

1. Dictis impensiore cura rerum ordinibus ad usque memoriae confinia propioris, convenerat iam referre a notioribus pedem, ut et pericula declinentur veritati [2] saepe contigua, et examinatores contexendi operis deinde non perferamus intempestivos, strepentes ut laesos, si praeteritum sit, quod locutus est

[1] *deferetur*, Kellerbauer, Novák ; *deferretur*, EA ; *deferte r*, V. [2] *veritati*, Lind. ; *veritatis*, V.

[1] The *trabea* was a white toga, with horizontal stripes of purple. It was worn by the early Roman kings and by the consuls on ceremonial occasions. The usual dress of the consul was the *toga praetexta*.

e imperial dignity. 16. It was said that his father, arronianus, learned what would happen long forehand from the suggestion of a dream, and usted the information to two of his confidential iends, adding the remark that the consular robe [1] ould be conferred also on himself. But although ne prophecy was fulfilled, he could not attain the ther prediction. For after learning of the elevation f his son, he was overtaken by death before seeing im again. 17. And since it was foretold to the old ıan in a dream that the highest magistracy awaited ne of that name, his grandson Varronianus, then till a child, was (as I have before related) made onsul together with his father Jovianus.

BOOK XXVI

.. *Valentinianus, tribune of the second division of the targeteers, by general consent of the civil and military officials, is chosen emperor at Nicaea in his absence. And on the principle of the bisextile year.*

1. Having narrated the course of events with the trictest care up to the bounds of the present epoch, [had already determined to withdraw my foot from he more familiar tracks, partly to avoid the dangers vhich are often connected with the truth, and partly o escape unreasonable critics of the work which I am omposing, who cry out as if wronged, if one has

imperator in cena, vel omissum quam ob causam gregarii milites coerciti sunt apud signa, et quod non decuerat in descriptione multiplici regionum super exiguis silere castellis, quodque cunctorum nomina, qui ad urbani praetoris officium convenere, non sunt expressa, et similia plurima, praeceptis historiae dissonantia, discurrere per negotiorum celsitudines assuetae, non humilium minutias indagare causarum, quas si scitari [1] voluerit quispiam, individua illa corpuscula volitantia per inane, ἀτόμους,[2] ut nos appellamus, numerari posse sperabit. 2. Haec quidam veterum formidantes, cognitiones actuum variorum, stilis uberibus explicatas, non edidere superstites, ut in quadam ad Cornelium Nepotem epistula Tullius quoque testis reverendus affirmat. Proinde inscitia vulgari contempta ad residua narranda pergamus.

3. Hac volubilium casuum diritate, exitu luctuoso finita, obituque intervallato trium [3] brevi tempore principum, corpore curato defuncti, missoque Constantinopolim, ut inter Augustorum reliquias conderetur, progresso Nicaeam versus exercitu, quae in Bithynia mater est urbium, potestatum civilium, militiaeque rectores, magnitudine [4] curarum adstricti communium, interque eos quidam spe vana

[1] *si scitari*, CAG; *sciscitari*, V. [2] ἀτόμους, Gardt.; *atomos*, V. [3] *trium*, added by Val.; V omits. [4] *magnitudine*, EG; *magnitudine aeque*, Pet.; *magnitudineque*, V.

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[1] On the first of January, when he entered upon his office; cf. Pliny, *Epist.* i. 5, 11, *ipse me Regulus convenit in praetoris officio;* Spart., *Hadr.* 9, 7.

[2] The letter is not extant.

ıiled to mention what an emperor said at table, r left out the reason why the common soldiers were ıd before the standards for punishment, or because ı an ample account of regions he ought not to have een silent about some insignificant forts; also ecause the names of all who came together to pay ıeir respects to the city-praetor [1] were not given, nd many similar matters, which are not in accordnce with the principles of history; for it is wont to etail the high lights of events, not to ferret out the ·ifling details of unimportant matters. For whoever ·ishes to know these may hope to be able to count ıe small indivisible bodies which fly through space, nd to which we give the name of atoms. 2. This ı what some of the writers of old feared, who during ıeir lifetime set down their knowledge of various istorical events with eloquent pen, but did not ublish them while they lived: as also Cicero, a ·itness worthy of respect, declares in a letter to ornelius Nepos.[2] Accordingly, disregarding the ;norance of the vulgar, let us hasten to continue our arrative.

3. So this ferocity of changeable circumstances ame to a lamentable end after the death of three mperors [3] at short intervals; and the body of the eceased prince was embalmed and sent to Constantiople, to be laid to rest among the remains of the ugusti. But the army marched on towards Nicaea, ·hich is the metropolis of the Bithynian cities; and ıe principal civil and military leaders, busied with nportant cares for the general welfare, and some of

[3] Constantius died in 361; Julian in 363; Jovian, Feb. 7, 364.

sufflati, moderatorem quaeritabant diu exploratum et gravem.

4. Et rumore tenus obscuris paucorum susurris, nomen praestringebatur Aequitii, scholae primae Scutariorum, etiam tum tribuni, qui cum potiorum auctoritate displicuisset ut asper et subagrestis, translata est suffragatio levis in Ianuarium Ioviani adfinem curantem summitatem necessitatum castrensium per Illyricum. 5. Quo itidem spreto, quia procul agebat,[1] ut aptus ad id quod quaerebatur atque conveniens, Valentinianus, nulla discordante sententia, numinis adspiratione caelestis electus est, agens scholam Scutariorum secundam, relictusque apud Ancyram, postea secuturus, ut ordinatum est. Et quia nullo renitente hoc e re publica videbatur, missi sunt [2] qui eum venire ocius admonerent, diebusque [3] decem nullus imperii tenuit gubernacula, quod tunc evenisse, extis Romae inspectis, haruspex edixerat Marcus.

6. Inter haec tamen, nequid novaretur contrarium placitis, neve armatorum mobilitas, saepe versabilis, ad praesentium quendam inclinaret arbitrium, attente providebat Aequitius, et cum eo Leo, adhuc sub Dagalaifo magistro equitum rationes numerorum militarium tractans, exitialis postea magister officiorum, exercitus universi iudicium, quantum

[1] *agebat*, Kellerbauer, C. F. W. M.; *iacebat*, V. [2] *missi sunt*, Günther, Pet.; *missis*, V. [3] *diebusque*, V, rest. by Pet.; *diebus*, NAG.

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[1] Cf. Gellius, xv. 18.

hem puffed up with vain hopes, were looking about or a ruler who had long been proved and possessed lignity.

4. And rumour, in the obscure whispers of a few, ouched on the name of Aequitius, who was at that ime tribune of the first division of the targeteers, out he did not find favour in the judgement of the nore important authorities, because he was rude and omewhat boorish. Then fickle favour was transerred to Januarius, a relative of Jovian, who had harge of the commissary department in Illyricum. 5. He also was rejected because he was living far away, and under the inspiration of the powers of heaven Valentinian was chosen without a dissenting voice, as being fully up to the requirements and suitable; he was commander of the second division of the targeteers, and had been left behind at Ancyra, to follow later according to orders. And as it was agreed without contradiction that this was to the advantage of the state, envoys were sent to urge him to hasten his coming; but for ten days no one held the helm of the empire, which the soothsayer Marcus, on inspection of the entrails at Rome, had declared to have happened at that time.[1]

6. Meanwhile, however, to prevent any interference with the decision that had been made, and to keep the fickle temper of the soldiers, who are always ready for a change, from turning towards someone who was on the spot, Aequitius made earnest efforts, and with him Leo; the latter was still holding the office of military paymaster under Dagalaifus, commander of the cavalry, and later played a deadly part as chief-marshal of the court. Both endeavoured, so far as their efforts could prevail, being

facere nitique poterant, ut Pannonii fautoresque principis designati firmantes.

7. Qui cum venisset accitus, implendique negotii praescius[1] praesagiis, ut opinari dabatur, vel somniorum assiduitate, nec videri die secundo nec prodire in medium voluit, bissextum vitans Februarii mensis, tunc illucescens, quod aliquotiens rei Romanae fuisse norat[2] infaustum. Cuius notitiam certam designabo.

8. Spatium anni vertentis id esse,[3] periti mundani motus et siderum definiunt veteres, inter quos Meton[4] et Euctemon et Hipparchus et Archimedes excellunt, cum sol perenni rerum sublimium lege, polo percurso signifero, quem ζῳδιακόν[5] sermo Graecus appellat, trecentis et sexaginta quinque diebus emensis et noctibus, ad eundem redierit cardinem, ut (verbo tenus) si a secunda particula elatus Arietis, ad eam dimensione redierit terminata. 9. Sed anni intervallum verissimum, memoratis diebus et horis sex usque ad meridiem concluditur plenam, annique sequentis erit post horam sextam initium, porrectum ad vesperam. Tertius a prima vigilia sumens exordium, ad horam noctis extenditur sextam. Quartus a medio noctis ad usque claram trahitur lucem. 10. Ne igitur haec computatio variantibus annorum principiis, ut[6] quodam post

[1] *praescius*, added by Pet.; no lac. in V. [2] *dignorat*, vulgo, Novák; *pignorat*, V. [3] *id esse*, G; *ide*, lac. of 2 letters, V. [4] *Meton*, Lind.; *memon*, V. [5] *ζῳδιακόν*, Gardt.; *zodiacum*, V. [6] *ut*, Pet.; *et*, V.

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[1] Hence, fellow-countrymen of Valentinian.

[2] Because, in Julius Caesar's reform, every fourth year Feb. 24 (*a.d. vi Kal. Mart.*) was counted twice as *a.d. bis vi Kal. Mart.*

Pannonians[1] and adherents of the emperor elect, o maintain the decision which the whole army had nade.

7. When the emperor arrived in answer to the ummons, informed either by presentiments about he task he must fulfil (as was given to be understood) r by repeated dreams, he did not let himself be een next day, nor would he appear in public, voiding the bisextile[2] day of the month of February, which dawned at that time and (as e had heard) had sometimes been unlucky for he Roman state. Of this day I will give a clear xplanation.

8. The extent of the revolving year is completed, ccording to the calculations of men of old who were ersed in the movements of the universe and the tars, of whom the most eminent are Meton, uctemon, Hipparchus, and Archimedes, when he sun, in accordance with the eternal law of the eavenly bodies, has traversed the signs of the heaven which in Greek are called ζωδιακός, the zodiac, and fter the course of 365 days and nights returns to the ame turning-point; that is (for instance) when it as started from the second degree of the Ram and fter completing its course has returned to the same lace. 9. But the true length of a year ends, in he said 365 days and six hours besides, at high oon, and the first day of the next year will extend from the end of the sixth hour to evening. he third year begins with the first watch and ends ith the sixth hour of the night. The fourth goes on rom midnight until broad daylight. 10. Therefore, n order that this computation because of the

horam sextam diei, alio post sextam excurso[1] nocturnam, scientiam omnem squalida diversitate confundat, et autumnalis mensis inveniatur quandoque vernalis, placuit senas illas horas quae quadriennio viginti colliguntur atque quattuor, in unius diei noctisque adiectae transire mensuram. 11. Hocque alte considerato, eruditis concinentibus multis, effectum est, ut[2] ad unum distinctumque exitum, circumversio cursus annui revoluta, nec vaga sit nec incerta,[3] nulloque errore deinceps obumbrata, ratio caelestis appareat et[4] menses tempora retineant praestituta. 12. Haec nondum extentis fusius regnis, diu ignoravere Romani, perque saecula multa, obscuris difficultatibus implicati, tunc magis errorum profunda caligine fluctuabant, cum in sacerdotes potestatem transtulissent interkalandi, qui licenter[5] gratificantes publicanorum vel litigantium commodis, ad arbitrium suum subtrahebant tempora vel augebant. 13. Hocque ex coepto[6] emerserunt alia plurima, quae fallebant, quorum meminisse nunc supervacuum puto. Quibus abolitis, Octavianus Augustus Graecos secutus, hanc inconstantiam correcta turbatione composuit, spatiis duodecim mensium et sex horarum magna deliberatione collectis, per quae[7] duodecim siderum domicilia sol discurrens

[1] *excurso*, V; *excursa*, vulgo. [2] *ut*, added in G; V omits. [3] *incerta*, G; *nec* (lac. of 2 letters) *in*, V. [4] *et*, added by E^2G; V omits. [5] *licenter*, Val.; *libenter*, G; *ligentes*, V. [6] *coepto*, Hadr. Val.; *cepto merserunt*, V. [7] *quae*, Lind.; *que*, V.

ariations in the beginning of the year (since one year ommences after the sixth hour of the day and nother after the sixth hour of the night) may not onfuse all science by a disorderly diversity, and an utumnal month may not sometimes be found to e in the spring,[1] it was decided to combine those ries of six hours, which in four years amounted to venty-four, into one day and an added night. 11. nd after deep consideration, by the agreement of any learned men it was arranged that the completion f the year's course has a single definite end, and is either changeable nor uncertain; so that the reckoning of the sun's course no longer appears beclouded y any error, and the months retain their appointed asons. 12. The Romans were long ignorant of all is, since their realm was not yet widely extended, nd for many centuries they were involved in obscure ifficulties; and they wandered in still deeper darkess of error when they gave over the power of tercalation to the priests, who lawlessly served e advantage of tax-collectors or of parties in tigation by arbitrarily subtracting or adding days. 3. From this beginning many other errors arose, hich I think it superfluous to mention here. These ere done away with by Octavianus Augustus[2] who, llowing the Greeks, corrected the confusion and rought order into this inconsistency by adopting ter great deliberation the arrangement of twelve onths and six hours, during which the sun in its

[1] To effect this it was necessary to add two months to e year 46 B.C.; see Suet., *Jul.* 40, 2.
[2] Actually it was Julius Caesar; cf. Suet., *Jul.* 40; *Aug.* ., 2; though Augustus corrected a misinterpretation of esar's scheme.

motibus sempiternis anni totius intervalla concludit. 14. Quam rationem bissexti probatam, etiam victura cum saeculis Roma, adiumento numinis divini fundavit. Proinde pergamus ad reliqua.

2. *Valentinianus cum Ancyra evocatus Nicaeam celeriter venisset, una omnium voce iterum eligitur imperator, purpuraque et diademate ornatus, Augustusque appellatus, militem alloquitur.*

1. Elapso die parum apto ad inchoandas rerum magnitudines (ut quidam existimant), propinquante iam vespera, monitu praefecti Salutii, sub exitii denuntiatione statutum est prompta consensione cunctorum, ne potioris quisquam auctoritatis, vel suspectus altiora conari, procederet postridie mane. 2. Cumque multorum taedio quos votorum inanitas cruciabat, tandem finita nocte lux advenisset, in unum quaesito milite omni, progressus Valentinianus in campnm, permissusque tribunal ascendere celsius structum, comitiorum specie, voluntate praesentium secundissima, ut vir serius rector pronuntiatur imperii. 3. Mox principali habitu circumdatus et corona, Augustusque nuncupatus, cum laudibus amplis, quas novitatis potuit excitare dulcedo, praemeditata dicere iam parabat. Eoque (ut ex-

[1] See note 2, p. 571; *bisextile* is the correct spelling.

eternal course through the twelve signs completes a whole year. 14. This reason for the "bisextile year"[1] Rome, which will live even through the centuries, with the aid of the divine power approved and firmly established. Now let us go on to the rest of our narrative.

2. *When Valentinian, on being summoned from Ancyra had quickly come to Nicaea, he was again chosen emperor by the unanimous voice of all. Wearing the purple robe and a diadem, and hailed as Augustus, he addressed the soldiers.*

1. When the day unfavourable (as some think) for beginning great enterprises had passed, just as evening was coming on, at the motion of the prefect Salutius it was promptly and unanimously decided that, under penalty of death, no one who held high authority, or had been suspected of aiming at a higher station, should appear in public on the following morning. 2. And when to the chagrin of many, tormented by their vain hopes, the night ended and day at last appeared, the whole army was assembled. Then Valentinian appeared on the plain, was allowed to mount a tribunal raised on high and after the custom of elections was chosen by the favourable votes of all present as a man of serious purpose, to be the ruler of the empire. 3. Then, wearing the imperial robes and a coronet, with all the praises which the charm of novelty could call forth he was hailed as Augustus, and was already getting ready to make the speech he had prepared. But as he

peditius loqueretur), brachium exsertante, obmurmuratio gravis exoritur, concrepantibus centuriis et manipulis cohortiumque omnium plebe urgentium destinate, confestim imperatorem alterum declarari. 4. Quod licet non nulli existimarunt, paucis corruptis, ad gratiam fieri despectorum, ex eo tamen id frustra creditum videbatur, quod non emercati, sed consoni totius multitudinis paria volentis clamores audiebantur, documento recenti fragilitatem pertimescentis sublimium fortunarum. Dein ex susurris immaniter strepentis exercitus, cieri tumultus violentior apparebat, et confidentia militis, erumpentis interdum ad perniciosa facinora, timebatur. 5. Quod Valentinianus magis prae cunctis ne fieret extimescens, elata propere[1] dextera, vi principis fiducia pleni, ausus increpare quosdam, ut seditiosos et pertinaces, cogitata nullis interpellantibus absolvebat:—

6. "Exulto—provinciarum fortissimi defensores,—et prae me fero semperque laturus sum, nec speranti nec appetenti moderamina orbis Romani, mihi ut potissimo omnium, vestras detulisse virtutes. 7. Quod erat igitur in manu positum vestra, nondum electo imperii formatore, utiliter et[2] gloriose complestis, adscito in[3] honorum verticem eo, quem ab ineunte adulescentia ad hanc usque aetatis maturitatem splendide integreque vixisse experiundo

[1] *propere*, Pricaeus, Bent.; *prospere*, V. [2] *et*, added by EBG; V omits. [3] *ad*, added by AG; *ad*, W[2]; V omits.

[1] I.e. the sudden death of Jovian.

bared his arm, in order to speak more conveniently, a threatening murmur arose, as the centuries and maniples made a loud noise and all the common maniples clashed their shields and all the common soldiers persistently urged that a second emperor should at once be named. 4. But although some thought that a few had been bribed to do this in favour of those who had been passed over, yet such a suspicion seemed to have no ground, for the reason that the shouts which were heard were not purchased, but came unanimously as an expression of the wish of the whole throng, since from a recent example[1] they dreaded the frailty of lofty fortunes. Then the whispers of the uproarious army seemed likely to be succeeded by a violent outbreak, and men began to fear the recklessness of the soldiers, who sometimes break out in deeds of violence. 5. Since Valentinian more than all others feared lest this should happen, quickly raising his hand, with the authority of an emperor who was full of confidence, he had the courage to upbraid some of them as rebellious and intractable. Then, without further interruption, he delivered the speech which he had prepared:—

6. "I rejoice, brave defenders of our provinces, and I maintain and always shall maintain that it is your services that have bestowed on me, rather than another, the rule of the Roman world, which I neither hoped for nor desired. 7. The task, then, which was placed in your hands before the ruler of the empire was chosen you carried out expediently and gloriously, by raising to the pinnacle of honours one whom from his earliest youth until the present prime of life you know by experience to have lived

cognoscitis. Proinde pacatis auribus accipite (quaeso) simplicioribus verbis dicentem,[1] quod conducere arbitror in commune. 8. Adhiberi oportere in omnes casus socia potestate collegam, contemplatione poscente multiplici, nec ambigo nec repugno, curarum acervos et mutationes varias accidentium, ipse quoque ut homo formidans, sed studendum est concordiae viribus totis, per quam res quoque minimae convalescunt, quod impetrabitur facile, si patientia vestra, cum aequitate consentiens, id mihi quod mearum est partium, concesserit libens. 9. Dabit enim, ut spero, Fortuna consiliorum adiutrix bonorum, quantum efficere et consequi possum, diligenter scrutanti moribus[2] temperatum. Ut enim sapientes definiunt, non modo in imperio, ubi pericula maxima sunt et creberrima, verum etiam in privatis cottidianisque rationibus, alienum ad amicitiam, cum iudicaverit quisquam prudens, adiungere sibi debebit, non cum adiunxerit, iudicare. 10. Haec cum spe laetiorum polliceor, vos firmitatem factorum retinentes et fidem, dum hiberna patitur quies, animorum reparate vigorem atque membrorum, ob nuncupationem augustam, debita protinus accepturi."

11. Finita oratione, quam auctoritas erexerat inopina, flexit imperator in suam sententiam universos,

[1] *verbis dicentem,* Novák; *verbis,* V. [2] *scrutanti moribus,* Pet.; *scrutanti,* G, Momm.; *crutantibus,* V.

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[1] As colleague in the imperial power.
[2] The emperors chosen by the soldiers, on entrance into power often gave them gifts (*donativa*). According to Dio, this was repeated every fifth and tenth year, and each

ith distinction and uprightness. Therefore, I beg you, listen with friendly ears while I tell you in nple words what I think is best for the common :lfare. 8. That to meet all chances necessity mands the choice of a colleague with equal powers, the demands of much varied reasoning I neither ubt nor dispute, since I myself also, as a man, fear asses of cares and varied changes of circumstances. ıt with all our strength we must strive for harmony, rough which even the weakest states grow strong; d this will easily be attained, if your calmness comıed with fairness willingly allows me what belongs my position. 9. For Fortune (I hope) which aids od purposes, so far as I can accomplish this and ect it, will give me after careful search a man of ber character.[1] For as the philosophers teach us, t only in royal power, where the greatest and most merous dangers are found, but also in the relations private and everyday life, a stranger ought to be mitted to friendship by a prudent man only after has first tested him; not tested after he has been mitted to friendship. 10. This I promise you h the hope of a happier future. Do you, while winter rest allows, retain your firmness and alty of conduct and refresh your strength of spirit d body: then be sure that you will receive hout delay what is your due[2] because of your perial nomination of myself.

.1. Having finished his address, to which his xpected assumption of authority had given ater weight, the emperor gained the favour of the

lier received five *aurei.* The custom was finally lished by Justinian.

consiliique eius viam secuti, qui paulo ante flagrantissimis vocibus aliud postulabant, circumsaeptum aquilis et vexillis, agminibusque diversorum ordinum ambitiose stipatum, iamque terribilem, duxerunt in regiam.

3. *De Aproniani Praefectura urbana Romae.*

1. Dum haec in Oriente volubiles fatorum explicant sortes, Apronianus regens urbem aeternam, iudex integer et severus, inter curarum praecipua, quibus haec praefectura saepe sollicitatur, id primum opera curabat enixa, ut veneficos (qui tunc rariscebant)[1] captos postque agitatas quaestiones nocuisse quibusdam apertissime confutatos, indicatis consciis morte multaret, atque ita paucorum discrimine reliquos (siqui laterent), formidine parium exturbaret. 2. Haec egisse ideo efficaciter fertur, quod Iuliani promotus arbitrio, agentis etiam tum per Syrias, in itinere unum amiserat oculum, suspicatusque artibus se nefariis appetitum, iusto quidem sed inusitato dolore, haec et alia magna quaeritabat[2] industria. Unde quibusdam atrox visus est, in amphitheatrali curriculo undatim coeunte aliquotiens plebe, causas dispiciens criminum maximorum. 3. Denique post huius modi vindicata complura,

[1] *rariscebant*, V; *crebrescebant*, Bent., Momm.; *accrescebant*, suggested by Her. [2] *quaeritabat*, EG; *irritabat*, Bent.; *ritabat*, V.

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[1] Cf. xv. 7, 2, of Leontius.
[2] Such men used poison and magic against the horses of their rivals; cf. xxviii. 1, 27; 4, 25.

ıole assembly; and even those who shortly before ›re with excited cries making another demand llowed his advice and escorted him to the imperial ıarters, surrounded by eagles and standards, with splendid retinue of various ranks, and already an ›ject of fear.

On the city prefecture of Apronianus at Rome.

1. While the changing lots of the fates were ıfolding these events in the Orient, Apronianus, efect of the eternal city, a just and strict official, ıong urgent cares with which that office is often ırdened, made it his first main effort that the rcerers, who at that time were becoming few in ımber, should be arrested, and that those who, ter having been put to the question, were clearly ›nvicted of having harmed anybody, after naming eir accomplices, should be punished with death; ıd that thus through the danger to a few, the mainder, if any were still in concealment, might driven away through dread of a similar fate. 2. this work he is said to have shown special activity r the following reason, namely, that after his ap›intment by authority of Julian, when he was still ring in Syria, he had lost one eye on the way, and specting that he had been attacked by wicked ts, with justifiable but extraordinary resentment tracked out these and other crimes with great ergy. In this he seemed cruel to some because ore than once during the races in the ampitheatre, ıile throngs of people were crowding in, he investigated the greatest crimes.[1] 3. Finally, after any punishments of the kind, a charioteer[2] called

Hilarinum aurigam convictum atque confessum, vixdum pubescentem filium suum venefico tradidisse, docendum secretiora quaedam legibus interdicta, ut nullo conscio adminiculis iuvaretur internis, capitali animadversione damnavit. Qui laxius retinente carnifice, subito lapsus, confugit ad ritus Christiani sacrarium, abstractusque exinde ilico, abscisa cervice consumptus est. 4. Verum haec similiaque tum etiam ut coercenda, mox cavebantur, et nulli vel admodum pauci, in his versati flagitiis, vigori publico insultarunt, sed tempore secuto longaeva impunitas nutrivit immania, usque eo grassante licentia, ut imitatus Hilarinum quidam senator, servumque suum modo non per syngrapham arcanis piacularibus inducendum, commisisse doctori malarum artium confutatus, supplicium redimeret, opima mercede, ut crebrior fama vulgarat. 5. Isque ipse, hoc genere quo iactatum [1] est, absolutus, cum vitae pudere deberet et culpae, non abolendae incubuit maculae, sed tamquam inter multos probrosos, solus vacuus ab omni delicto, equo [2] phalerato insidens, discurrensque per silices, multa post se nunc usque trahit agmina servulorum, per novum quoddam insigne, curiosius spectari affectans, ut Duillium accepimus veterem, post gloriosa illa navalis rei certamina, id

[1] *iactatum*, G; *dictum*, Pet.; *iactum*, V. [2] *equo*, added by EG (after *phalerato*, Eb); *iumento*, Her.; V omits.

Hilarinus was convicted on his own confession of having entrusted his son, who had barely reached the age of puberty, to a mixer of poisons to be instructed in certain secret practices forbidden by law, in order to use his help at home without other witnesses; and he was condemned to death. But since the executioner was lax in guarding him, the man suddenly escaped and took refuge in a chapel of the Christian sect; however, he was at once dragged from there and beheaded. 4. But efforts were still made to check these and similar offences, and none, or at any rate very few, who were engaged in such abominations defied the public diligence. But later, long-continued impunity nourished these monstrous offences, and lawlessness went so far that a certain senator followed the example of Hilarinus, and was convicted of having apprenticed a slave of his almost by a written contract to a teacher of evil practices to be initiated into criminal secrets; but he bought escape from the death penalty, as current gossip asserted, for a large sum of money. 5. And this very man, after being freed in the manner alleged, although he ought to be ashamed of his life and his offence, has made no effort to get rid of the stain on his character, but as if among many wicked men he alone was free from any fault, mounts a caparisoned horse and rides over the pavements, and even now is followed by great bands of slaves, by a new kind of distinction aiming to draw special attention to himself. Just as we hear of Duillius of old, that after that glorious sea-fight, he assumed the privilege, when he returned

sibi sumpsisse ut tibicine lenius praecinente rediret ad sua post cenam.

6. Sub hoc tamen Aproniano, ita iugiter copia necessariorum exuberavit, ut nulla saltim levia murmura super inopia victui congruentium, orerentur,[1] quod assidue Romae contingit.

4. *Valentinianus Valentem fratrem suum Nicomediae tribunum stabuli, ac mox apud Constantinopolim in Hebdomo, consentiente exercitu, consortem imperii constituit.*

1. At in Bithynia Valentinianus princeps (ut praediximus) declaratus, dato in perendinum diem signo proficiscendi, convocatis primoribus, quasi tuta consilia, quam sibi placentia, secuturus, percunctabatur, quemnam ad imperii consortium oporteret assumi, silentibusque cunctis, Dagalaifus tunc equestris militiae rector, respondit fidentius: "Si tuos amas" inquit, "imperator optime, habes fratrem; si rem publicam, quaere quem vestias."[2] 2. Quo dicto asperatus ille sed tacitus, et occultans quae cogitabat, Nicomediam itineribus citis ingressus, Kalendis Martiis Valentem fratrem stabulo suo cum tribunatus dignitate praefecit. 3. Indeque cum venisset Constantinopolim, multa secum ipse diu volvens,[3] et magnitudine urgentium negotiorum

[1] *orerentur*, Eyssen.; *orirentur*, EG; *oreretur*, V. [2] *vestias*, W[2], Lind.; *vestigas*, V; *seligas*, Damsté. [3] *diu volvens* Wirtz; *divolvens*, V.

.ome after a dinner, of having a flute-player play oft music before him.[1]

6. However, under this Apronianus there was uch a constant abundance of all necessary articles f food, that there never arose even the slightest ıurmur about a scarcity of victuals—a thing which onstantly happens in Rome.

. *Valentinian appoints his brother Valens tribune of the stable at Nicomedia; then in the Hebdomum*[2] *at Constantinople, with the consent of the army, he takes him as colleague in the imperial power.*

1. Now Valentinian was chosen emperor in ithynia (as we have said before). He gave the gnal for the march for the next day but one, and sembling the chief civil and military officials, as if ady to follow safe and sound advice rather than s own inclination, inquired who ought to be chosen partner in the rule. When all the rest were silent, agalaifus, at that time commander of the cavalry, ıldly answered: "If you love your relatives, most cellent emperor, you have a brother; if it is the ate that you love, seek out another man to clothe th the purple." 2. The emperor, angered by this, ıt keeping silence and concealing his thoughts, rcing the pace, entered Nicomedia on the first of ırch, and appointed his brother Valens chief of stable with the rank of tribune. 3. Then, on his rival in Constantinople, after much counsel with nself, considering that he was already unequal to

[1] Val. Max. iii. 5, 4; Cic., *de Senec.* 13, 44.
[2] A suburb of Constantinople (see § 3, below).

iam se superari considerans, nihil morandum ratus, quintum Kalendas Aprilis, productum eundem Valentem in suburbanum, universorum sententiis concinentibus—nec enim audebat quisquam refragari,—Augustum pronuntiavit, decoreque imperatorii cultus ornatum, et tempora diademate redimitum, in eodem vehiculo secum reduxit, participem quidem legitimum potestatis, sed in modum apparitoris morigerum, ut progrediens aperiet textus.

4. Quibus ita nullo interturbante perfectis, constricti rapidis febribus, imperatores ambo diu spe vivendi firmata, ut erant in[1] inquirendis rebus graviores[2] quam in componendis, suspectas morborum causas investigandas acerrime, Ursatio officiorum magistro, Delmatae crudo, et Viventio[3] Sisciano, quaestori tunc commiserunt, ut loquebatur pertinax rumor, invidiam cientes Iuliani memoriae principis, amicisque eius, tamquam clandestinis praestigiis laesi. Sed hoc evanuit facile, ne verbo quidem tenus insidiarum indicio ullo reperto.

5. Hoc tempore velut per universum orbem Romanum, bellicum canentibus bucinis, excitae

[1] *in*, added by Lind.; V omits. [2] *graviores*, V, restored by Novák; *gnaviores*, G. [3] *Viventio*, E, Myer Spir.; *iurentio*, V.

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[1] See note 2, p. 585; it was called Hebdomum, and also Septimum, because it was distant seven miles from the city. Later, other emperors were proclaimed there.
[2] In Pannonia.

ıe amount of pressing business and believing that ıere was no room for delay, on the twenty-eighth f March he brought the aforesaid Valens into one f the suburbs[1] and with the consent of all (for no ne ventured to oppose) proclaimed him Augustus. hen he adorned him with the imperial insignia and ut a diadem on his head, and brought him back in s own carriage, thus having indeed a lawful partner his power, but, as the further course of our narrave will show, one who was as compliant as a bordinate.

4. No sooner were these arrangements perfected ithout disturbance than both emperors were seized ith violent and lingering fevers; but as soon as eir hope of life was assured, being more successful investigating various matters than in settling em, they commissioned Ursatius, the chief-marshal the court, a rough Dalmatian, and Viventius of scia,[2] who was then quaestor, to make a strict vestigation of what they suspected to be the cause these diseases. Persistent rumour had it, that eir purpose was, by asserting that they had been rmed by secret sorcery, to rouse hatred of the emory of the emperor Julian and his friends. it this charge was easily shown to have nothing it, since no evidence of such plots was found, en in a single word.[3]

5. At this time, as if trumpets were sounding the r-note throughout the whole Roman world, the most age peoples roused themselves and poured across

[3] According to Zosimus (xiii. 14, 15 f.), these designs e frustrated by the activity of the praetorian prefect utius.

gentes saevissimae, limites sibi proximos persultabant. Gallias Raetiasque simul Alamanni populabantur; Sarmatae Pannonias et Quadi; Picti Saxonesque et Scotti, et Attacotti Britannos aerumnis vexavere continuis; Austoriani Mauricaeque aliae gentes, Africam solito acrius incursabant; Thracias et Pannonias[1] diripiebant praedatorii globi Gothorum. 6. Persarum rex manus Armeniis iniectabat, eos in suam dicionem ex integro vocare vi nimia properans, sed iniuste causando, quod post Ioviani excessum, cum quo foedera firmarat et pacem, nihil obstare debebit, quo minus ea recuperaret, quae antea ad maiores suos pertinuisse monstrabat.

5. ***Imperatores ambo comites et militares numeros inter se partiuntur; et paullo post alter Mediolani, alter Constantinopoli I. consulatum ineunt. Alamanni Gallias vastant; Procopius in Oriente res novas molitur.***

1. Acta igitur tranquillius hieme, concordissimi principes, unus nuncupatione praelatus, alter honori[2] specie tenus adiunctus, percursis Thraciis Naessum advenerunt,[3] ubi in suburbano, quod appellatum Mediana, a civitate tertio lapide disparatur, quasi mox separandi, partiti sunt comites. 2. Et Valentiniano quidem, cuius arbitrio res gerebatur, Iovinus

[1] *Pannonias*, added by Novák, *Moesias*, by Her.; lac. indicated by Clark; no lac. in V. [2] *honori*, Pet., Momm.; *honore*, V. [3] *advenerant*, Novák; *advenerunt*, V.

[1] Cf. xxvii. 8, 5. [2] Cf. xxi. 10, 5.

e nearest frontiers. At the same time the Alamanni re devastating Gaul and Raetia, the Sarmatae and ıadi Pannonia, while the Picts, Saxons, Scots, and tacotti[1] were harassing the Britons with conınt disasters. The Austoriani and other Moorish bes raided Africa more fiercely than ever d predatory bands of Goths were plundering race and Pannonia. 6. The king of the Persians is laying hands on Armenia, hastening with ghty efforts to bring that country again under sway, under the false pretext that after the death Jovian, with whom he had concluded a treaty peace, nothing ought to prevent his recovery what he claimed had formerly belonged to his efathers.

The two emperors share the generals and the army between them, and shortly afterward, the one at Mediolanum and the other at Constantinople, enter on their first consulship. The Alamanni devastate Gaul; Procopius attempts a revolution in the Orient.

.. So, then, the emperors spent the winter quietly perfect harmony, the one eminent through choice that had fallen upon him, the other ıed with him in the office, but only in appearance. :er hastening through Thrace, they came to essus,[2] where in a suburb called Mediana, dist three miles from the city, they shared the ıerals between them in view of their coming aration. 2. To Valentinian, in accordance with ose wish the matter was settled, fell Jovinus,

evenit dudum promotus a Iuliano, per Gallias magister armorum, et Dagalaifus, quem militiae rectorem provexerat Iovianus: in Orientem vero secuturus Valentem, ordinatus est Victor, ipse quoque iudicio principis ante dicti provectus, cui iunctus est Arintheus. Lupicinus enim pridem a Ioviano pari modo promotus, magister equitum partes tuebatur eoas. 3. Tunc et Aequitius Illyriciano praeponitur exercitui, nondum magister, sed comes, et Serenianus, olim sacramento digressus, recinctus est, ut Pannonius, sociatusque Valenti, domesticorum praefuit scholae. Quibus ita digestis et militares partiti sunt[1] numeri.

4. Et post haec cum ambo fratres Sirmium introissent, diviso palatio, ut potiori placuerat, Valentinianus Mediolanum, Constantinopolim Valens discessit. 5. Et Orientem quidem regebat potestate praefecti Salutius, Italiam vero, cum Africa et Illyrico, Mamertinus, et Gallicas provincias Germanianus. 6. Agentes igitur in memoratis urbibus principes, sumpsere primitus trabeas consulares, omnisque hic annus dispendiis gravibus rem Romanam afflixit. 7. Alamanni enim perrupere Germaniae limites, hac ex causa solito infestius moti. Cum legatis eorum, missis ad comitatum, certa et praestituta ex more munera praeberi deberent,

[1] *sunt*, added by Clark, Harmon, c.c.; V omits.

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[1] See xxi. 12, 2, and Introd., p. xxxiv, note 3.
[2] See xxvi. 1, 4.
[3] He was later made *magister armorum*; see § 11, below.
[4] Hence a fellow-countryman of Valentinian and Valens.

'ho had previously been promoted by Julian to be ɔmmander of the cavalry[1] in Gaul, and Dagalaifus, 'hom Jovian had raised to the same rank. But was arranged that Victor, who had also been proıoted by the decision of the aforesaid emperor, ıould follow Valens to the Orient, and with him rintheus was associated. For Lupicinus, who lso had formerly been made commander of the ıvalry by Jovian, was already in charge of the ıstern provinces. 3. At the same time Aequitius,[2] 'ho was not yet a commander-in-chief,[3] but only a ɔunt, was put in charge of the army in Illyricum, ıd Serenianus, who some time before had been ;tired from service, being a Pannonian[4] girded on is sword and was joined with Valens in command f a part of the bodyguard. After matters had been ıus arranged, the troops also were divided between ıe two emperors.

4. And when after this the two brothers had ıtered Sirmium, after sharing the places of reıdence according to the wishes of the superior, alentinian went off to Mediolanum, Valens to ɔnstantinople. 5. The Orient was governed by ılutius with the rank of prefect, Italy with Africa ıd Illyricum by Mamertinus, and the Gallic proınces by Germanianus. 6. Living therefore in the ties named, the emperors for the first time assumed ıe consular robes; and this whole year brought heavy sses to the Roman state. 7. For the Alamanni :oke through the frontiers of Germany, being unısually hostile for the following reason: when their ıvoys had been sent to the headquarters, in order usual to receive the regular appointed gifts,

minora et vilia sunt attributa, quae illi suscepta, furenter agentes ut indignissima proiecere. Tractatique asperius ab Ursatio, tunc magistro officiorum, iracundo quodam et saevo, regressi factumque exaggerentes, ut contumeliose despectas gentes immanissimas concitarunt.

8. Et circa id tempus, aut non multo posterius, in Oriente Procopius in res surrexerat novas, quae prope Kalendas Novembris, venturo Valentiniano Parisios uno [1] eodemque nuntiata sunt die.

9. Et Alamannis quidem occursurum Dagalaifum pergere mature praecepit, qui vastitatis propinquioribus locis, longius discesserant incruenti.[2] Super appetitu vero Procopi, antequam adulesceret, reprimendo, curis diducebatur ambiguis, ea potissimum ratione sollicitus, quod ignorabat utrum Valente superstite, an exstincto, memoratus imperium affectarat. 10. Aequitius enim relatione Antoni tribuni accepta, agentis in Dacia mediterranea militem, qui nihil praeter negotium ipsum auditum obscure significabat, ipse quoque nondum liquida fide comperta, simplicibus verbis principem gestorum conscium fecit. 11. His cognitis Valentinianus eodem Aequitio aucto magisterii dignitate, repedare ad Illyricum destinabat, ne persultatis Thraciis perduellis iam formidatus, invaderet hostili excursu Pannonias. Documento enim recenti im-

[1] *uno*, added by Her.; lac. 5 letters, G. [2] *incruenti*, G; *incruentus*, EA; *incruentis*, V.

[1] lit. "of a magister"; here, *magister militum per Illyricum*; cf. xxvi. 7, 11. He had been a count; cf. § 3, above. He was consul with Gratian in 374.

smaller and cheaper ones were given them, which they received with indignation and threw away as unworthy of them. And being roughly treated by Ursatius, who was then court-marshal, a hot-tempered and cruel man, they returned home, and exaggerating what had happened, aroused the savage peoples, on the ground that they had been grievously insulted.

8. And about that time, or not much later, in the Orient Procopius had started a revolution. This and the Alamannic revolt were reported to Valentinian on one and the same day about the first of November as he was on his way to Paris.

9. Then Valentinian ordered Dagalaifus to go in haste to meet the Alamanni, who after devastating places near the frontier had withdrawn to a distance without the loss of a man. But as to checking the attempt of Procopius before it became ripe, he was distracted by doubt and anxiety, being especially troubled because he did not know whether Valens was alive or whether his death had led Procopius to aspire to the throne. 10. For Aequitius knew of the matter only from the report of the tribune Antonius, who commanded the soldiers in central Dacia and gave a vague account of the affair from that which he himself had heard; and Aequitius himself had not yet heard anything trustworthy, and so merely reported the circumstance to the emperor in simple words. 11. Upon hearing the news, Valentinian, after raising the said Aequitius to the rank of a commander-in-chief,[1] decided to go back to Illyricum, lest the rebel after rushing through Thrace and being already formidable should invade Pannonia with a hostile army. For

pendio terrebatur, reputans paulo antea Iulianum, contempto imperatore,[1] bellorum civilium ubique victore, nec speratum ante nec exspectatum, ab urbe in urbem incredibili velocitate transisse. 12. Verum ardens ad redeundum, eius impetus molliebatur consiliis proximorum, suadentium et orantium, ne interneciva minantibus barbaris exponeret Gallias, neve hac causatione provincias desereret, egentes adminiculis magnis, eisque[2] legationes urbium accessere nobilium, precantes ne in rebus duris et dubiis, inpropugnatas eas relinqueret, quas praesens eripere poterit discriminibus maximis, metu ambitiosi nominis sui Germanis incusso. 13. Tandem denique utilitate rei perpensius excogitata,[3] in multorum sententias flexus, replicabat aliquotiens, hostem suum fratrisque solius esse Procopium, Alamannos vero totius orbis Romani; statuitque nusquam interim extra confinia moveri Gallorum. 14. Et ad usque Remos progressus, sollicitusque super Africa, ne repente perrumperetur, Neoterium, postea consulem, tunc notarium, ad eandem tuendam ire disposuit, et Masaucionem domesticum protectorem, ea consideratione, quod ibi[4] sub patre Cretione quondam comite educatus, suspecta noverat loca, hisque scutarium adiunxit Gaudentium, olim sibi cognitum et fidelem.

[1] *imperatore bellorum*, G; *-rem bellorum*, EB; *contempto rebellorum*, V. [2] *magnis iisque*, Val.; *eius iisque*, G; *maenis que*, V. [3] *excogitata*, EBA; *recogitata*, Pet.; *perpensi use cogitata*, V. [4] *quod ibi*, EG; *qua diu*, Bent.; *quod diu*, Val.; *quod iui*, V.

[1] Constantius; cf. xiv. 10, 16; 11, 8.
[2] In 390. [3] Cf. xxi. 7, 4.

he was greatly alarmed by a recent example, recalling that Julian a short time before, making light of an emperor[1] who had been victor in all civil wars, contrary to all hope and expectation had passed with incredible speed from city to city. 12. But his eager longing to return was modified by the advice of his confidential friends, who advised, nay begged him, not to give up Gaul to the savages who threatened destruction, and not under that pretext to abandon provinces which needed strong support. These were supported by deputations from famous cities, who begged that he should not leave unprotected in such hard and doubtful times cities which by his presence he could save from the greatest dangers, since the glory of his name would strike fear into the Germans. 13. At last, after giving careful thought to what was expedient, he followed the view of the majority, often repeating that Procopius was only his own and his brother's enemy, but the Alamanni were enemies of the whole Roman world; and so he resolved for the present nowhere to leave the boundaries of Gaul. 14. And having returned as far as Rheims, and feeling anxious about Africa, for fear that it might suddenly be invaded, he decided that Neoterius, afterwards consul[2] but at that time a secretary, should go to protect that province, and also Masaucio, an officer of the household troops, bearing in mind that, having had long training there under his father, the former Count Cretio,[3] he knew all the suspected places; and he joined with them Gaudentius, an officer of the targeteers, a loyal man who long had been known to him.

15. Quia igitur uno eodemque tempore, utrubique turbines exarsere maestissimi, competenti loco singula digeremus, nunc partem in Oriente gestorum, deinde bella barbarica narraturi, quoniam pleraque et in occidentali et in eoo orbe eisdem mensibus sunt actitata, ne dum ex loco subinde saltuatim redire festinamus in locum, omnia confundentes, squaliditate maxima rerum ordines implicemus.

6. *Patria et genus, mores, ac dignitates Procopii; deque eius sub Ioviano latebra: et qua ratione Constantinopoli imperator sit appellatus.*

1. Insigni genere Procopius in Cilicia natus et educatus, ea consideratione qua propinquitate Iulianum, postea principem, contingebat, a primo gradu eluxit, et ut vita moribusque castigatior, licet occultus erat et taciturnus, notarius diu perspicaciter militans, et tribunus, iamque summatibus proximus, post Constanti obitum in rerum conversione, velut imperatoris cognatus, altius anhelabat, adiunctus consortio comitum: et apparebat eum, si umquam potuisset, fore quietis publicae turbatorem. 2. Hunc Iulianus Persidem ingrediens, consociato pari potestatis iure Sebastiano, in Mesopotamia cum manu

[1] Cf. Zosimus, iv. 4-8.
[2] He was his cousin on his mother's side; she was a sister of Basilina, Julian's mother.
[3] I.e. Julian.

15. Because, then, at one and the same time lamentable storms arose on both sides, we shall set down the single events in their proper place, first giving an account of a part of what took place in the Orient, then of the wars with the savages: since most of the events both in the west and in the east took place in the same months; for I fear that by hastening to return from one place to another by leaps and bounds we might confuse everything and involve the course of events in the deepest darkness.

6. *The native land, race, character and dignities of Procopius; his hiding-places under Jovian: and how he was proclaimed emperor at Constantinople.*

1. Procopius was born in Cilicia [1] of a distinguished family and correspondingly educated, and for the reason that he was related to Julian,[2] who was afterwards emperor, he was conspicuous from his first entry into a public position; and as he was somewhat strict in his life and character, although retiring and silent, he served for a long time with distinction as state-secretary and tribune, and already had prospects of attaining the highest positions. But when after the death of Constantius he became through the change in the situation a relative of the emperor,[3] he aimed higher and entered the order of counts; and it was evident that, if ever he had the opportunity, he would be a disturber of the public peace. 2. When Julian invaded Persia, he left Procopius in Mesopotamia, in association with Sebastianus, who was given the

militum reliquerat valida, mandaratque (ut susurravit obscurior fama, nemo enim dicti auctor exstitit verus), pro cognitorum ageret textu, et si subsidia rei Romanae languisse sensisset, imperatorem ipse se provideret ocius nuncupari. 3. Qui iniuncta civiliter agens et caute, Iuliani letaliter vulnerati funus et ad regenda communia comperit Iovianum evectum, falsoque rumore disperso, inter abeuntis anhelitus animae eundem Iulianum verbo [1] mandasse, placere sibi Procopio clavos summae rei gerendae committi, veritus ne hac ex causa indemnatus occideretur, e medio se conspectu discrevit,[2] maxime post Ioviani territus necem, notariorum omnium primi, quem Iuliano perempto veluti dignum imperio paucis militibus nominatum, novaque exinde coeptare suspectum, cruciabiliter didicerat interfectum. 4. Et [3] quia se quaeri industria didicerat magna, vitans gravioris invidiae pondus, ad abdita longiusque remota, discessit. Cumque a Ioviano exploratius indagari latibula sua sentiret, et ferinae [4] vitae iam fuisset pertaesum,—quippe a celsiore statu deiectus ad inferiora, etiam edendi penuria, in locis squalentibus, stringebatur, hominumque egebat colloquiis—postremae necessitatis impulsu, deviis

[1] *verbo*, Madvig; *vero*, VWB (G omits); *sero*, Eyssen. [2] *discrevit*, Lind.; *disseruit*, V. [3] *et*, added by G; V omits. [4] *ferinae*, EW[2], Pricaeus; *formae*, VG.

[1] Cf. xxiii. 3, 2. [2] Cf. xxv. 8, 18.

same rank, with a strong force of soldiers,[1] and ordered him (as rumour darkly whispered, for no one vouched for the truth of the report) to act in accordance with the conditions that arose, and if he learned that the Roman power in Persia was weakened, to take measures quickly to have himself named emperor. 3. Procopius followed these directions with moderation and prudence, but when he learned that Julian had been mortally wounded and died, and that Jovian had been raised to the rule of the empire, and that the false report was circulated that Julian had with the last breath of his failing life declared that it was his wish that Procopius should be entrusted with the helm of the state, he feared that on that account he might be put to death without a trial. Accordingly, he withdrew from public sight; and he was in special fear after the death of Jovianus, the chief of all the secretaries, because he had learned that after Julian's death Jovianus had been named by a few soldiers as worthy of imperial power, and that from that time on he had been suspected of rebellious designs and had suffered a cruel death.[2] 4. And because Procopius had learned that he was being tracked with extreme care, in order to avoid the weight of greater hatred he retreated to still more remote and secret places. Then hearing that Jovianus was diligently hunting for his hiding-places, and being already thoroughly wearied of living the life of a wild beast—for being cast down from a lofty station to a lower condition and confined to desert places, he actually suffered from hunger and was deprived of intercourse with mankind—under the compulsion of extreme necessity

itineribus ad Chalcedonos agrum pervenit. 5. Ubi quoniam ei [1] illud firmius visum est receptaculum, apud fidissimum amicorum delitescebat, Strategium quendam, ex palatino milite senatorem, Constantinopolim quantum fieri poterat clanculo saepe intermeans, ut indicio eiusdem Strategii [2] patuit, postquam saepius in factionis conscios est inquisitum. 6. Ritu itaque sollertissimi cuiusdam speculatoris, ignotus ob squalorem vultus et maciem, rumusculos colligebat tunc crebrescentes, ut sunt acerba semper instantia, incusantium multorum Valentem, quasi cupiditate aliena rapiendi succensum. 7. Cuius diritati adiectum erat incentivum exitiale, socer Petronius, ex praeposito Martensium militum, promotus repentino saltu patricius, animo deformis et habitu, qui ad nudandos sine discretione cunctos immaniter flagrans, nocentes pariter et insontes, post exquisita tormenta quadrupli nexibus vinciebat, debita iam inde a temporibus principis Aureliani perscrutans, et impendio maerens, si quemquam absolvisset indemnem. 8. Cuius morum intolerantiae, haec quoque pernicies accedebat,[3] quod cum ditaretur luctibus alienis, erat inexorabilis et crudelis,

[1] *ei*, Haupt; V and G omit. [2] *Strategii*, Clark, c.c.; *Strategi*, V. [3] *accedebat*, EAG; *accidebat*, V.

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[1] Probably because he thought that he would not be looked for in so important a city.
[2] The wife of Valens was Albia Dominica.

he came by round-about ways to the vicinity of Chalcedon. 5. There, since it seemed to him a safe refuge,[1] he hid himself with the most loyal of his friends, a certain Strategius, a soldier of the court guards who rose to be a senator, often going as secretly as possible to Constantinople, as was afterwards known from the testimony of that same Strategius when frequent investigations were held of the accomplices in the cabal. 6. And so, after the fashion of some clever spy, being unrecognizable because of his unkempt appearance and his leanness, he gathered the gossip, which was then becoming frequent, of many who, since men are always discontented with present conditions, were finding fault with Valens, as being inflamed with a desire of seizing the property of others. 7. To the emperor's cruelty deadly incentive was given by his father-in-law [2] Petronius, who from the command of the Martensian legion [3] had by a sudden jump been promoted to the rank of patrician.[4] He was a man ugly in spirit and in appearance, who, burning with an immoderate longing to strip everyone without distinction, condemned guilty and innocent alike, after exquisite tortures, to fourfold indemnities, looking up debts going back to the time of the emperor Aurelian,[5] and grieving excessively if he was obliged to let any one escape unscathed. 8. Along with his intolerable character he had this additional incentive to his devastations, that while he was enriching himself through the woes of others,

[3] Apparently so named from the Marteni, a people of Babylonia. On the *praepositi*, see vol. i., Index II.
[4] See Introd., vol. i, p. xxviii. [5] He ruled from 270-275.

et intrepido [1] corde durissimus,[2] nec reddendae nec accipiendae rationis umquam capax, invisior Cleandro, quem agentem sub imperatore Commodo praefecturam, sublata vecordia, diversas legimus vexasse fortunas, et onerosior Plautiano, qui praefectus itidem sub Severo, ultra mortalem [3] tumens cuncta confuderat, ni gladio perisset ultore. 9. Haec lacrimosa, quae incitante Petronio, sub Valente clausere multas paupertinas et nobiles domos, impendentiumque spes atrocior provincialium, et militum paria gementium, sensibus imis haerebant, et votis, licet obscuris et tacitis permutatio status praesentis ope numinis summi concordi gemitu poscebatur.

10. Quae Procopius latenter accipiens, arbitratusque ubi felicius acciderit fatum, negotio levi ad apicem summae potestatis assumi, subsidebat ut praedatrix bestia viso, quod capi potuerit,[4] protinus eruptura. 11. Cui in haec [5] quae maturabat ardenti, fors hanc materiam dedit impendio tempestivam. Consumpta hieme festinans ad Syriam Valens, iamque fines Bithynorum ingressus docetur relationibus ducum, gentem Gothorum, ea tempestate intactam, ideoque

[1] *intrepido*, Haupt; *in* rapido* (*formerly *i*), V; *in rapido*, EBG. [2] *durissimus*, Bent.; *crudissimus*, E[1]B, Haupt; *rudissimus*, V. [3] *mortalem*, Pet.; *mortale*, V, defended by Fletcher (cf. xxviii. 4, 12). [4] *potuerit*, sugg. by Clark, c.c.; *poterit*, C. F. W. M.; *poterat*, V. [5] *in haec*, Clark; *ad*, C. F. W. M.; *ad haec*, Novák; *cui haec*, V.

he was inexorable, cruel, savage and fearlessly hard-hearted, never capable of giving or receiving reason, more hated than Cleander,[1] who, as we read, when prefect under the emperor Commodus, in his haughty madness had ruined the fortunes of many men; more oppressive than Plautianus,[2] also a prefect under Severus, who with superhuman arrogance would have caused general confusion, if he had not perished by the avenging sword. 9. These lamentable occurrences, which under Valens, aided and abetted by Petronius, closed the houses of the poor and the palaces of the rich in great numbers, added to the fear of a still more dreadful future, sank deeply into the minds of the provincials and of the soldiers, who groaned under similar oppression, and with universal sighs everyone prayed (although darkly and in silence) for a change in the present condition of affairs with the help of the supreme deity.

10. All this Procopius observed from his hiding-place, and thinking that when a more favourable turn of fortune should occur, the crown of supreme power could be gained with little trouble, he lay in wait like a beast of prey, ready to leap forth at once on seeing anything which he could seize. 11. And while he was burning with impatience to hasten his designs, fate offered him this most timely opportunity. For Valens at the end of winter hastened to Syria and had already crossed the frontier of Bithynia, when he learned from the reports of his generals that the Gothic tribes, at that time

[1] See Dio, lxii. 12, 13; Lamprid., *Commodus*, 6, 7.
[2] See Dio, lxxv. 14-16.

saevissimam, conspirantem in unum, ad pervadenda parari collimitia Thraciarum: hocque cognito, ut impraepedite [1] ipse pergeret quo tendebat, sufficiens equitum adiumentum et peditum, mitti iussit ad loca, in quibus barbarici timebantur excursus. 12. Dimoto itaque longius principe, Procopius aerumnis diuturnis attritus, et vel atrocem mortem clementiorem ratus malis quibus afflictabatur, aleam periculorum omnium iecit abrupte, et [2] extrema iam perpeti nequaquam timens, praeeunte perdita ratione, facinus adoritur audacissimum; Divitenses, Tungricanosque [3] Iuniores, ad procinctum urgentem per Thracias inter alios celerare dispositos, et Constantinopoli moraturos sollemniter biduum, per quosdam ex eisdem numeris notos sollicitare properans (quia cum omnibus loqui, periculosum erat et arduum), fidem paucorum elegit. 13. Qui pellecti spe praemiorum ingentium, sub consecratione iuris iurandi, promisere se quae vellet cuncta facturos, favorem quoque polliciti conturmalium, inter quos ipsi potiorem locum obtinebant in suadendo, stipendiis excellentes et meritis. 14. Utque condictum est,[4] ubi excanduit radiis dies, idem

[1] *impraepedite*, Kellerbauer; *inpraepedito*, V. [2] *et extrema*, Pet.; *extremaque*, G; *extrema*, V. [3] *Tungricanosque*, Lind.; *Tungritanosque*, G; *tunc grecanosque*, V. [4] *est*, vulgo; *et*, V.

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[1] They had remained quiet since the time of Constantine the Great, but were aroused to anger by the appointment of two emperors of provincial birth.

[2] Cf. xxvii. 1, 2.

[3] For rest and preparation for the campaign.

unassailed[1] and therefore very savage, were conspiring together and making preparations to invade the Thracian provinces. On learning this, in order that he himself might reach his destination without hindrance, Valens ordered a sufficient reinforcement of cavalry and infantry to be sent to the places where inroads of the savages were feared. 12. And so, since the emperor was removed to a distance, Procopius, worn out by long-continued troubles, and thinking that even a cruel death would be more merciful than the evils by which he was tormented, hazarded at one cast all perils whatsoever; and without fear now of suffering the worst, led by a desperate resolve he essayed the bold deed of hastening to tempt the legions of Divitenses and the Younger Tungricani,[2] who had been ordered with other troops to hasten to the urgent service in Thrace, and as usual were to remain for two days in Constantinople.[3] This he did by hastening to appeal to certain acquaintances that he had among those same troops; but because it would be dangerous and difficult to speak with all, he confided in only a few. 13. These men, enticed by the hope of great rewards, promised under the sanctity of an oath that they would do everything that he wished, guaranteeing also the favour of their comrades, with whom they held an important place in giving advice, since they were the highest paid [4] and the most deserving. 14. So, as had been agreed, as soon as the sun's rays illumined the day, the

[4] A soldier's pay differed in the various branches of the army, and was increased according to his years of service; cf. Veget. ii. 21.

Procopius, diductus in cogitationes varias, Anastasianas balneas petit, a sorore Constantini cognominatas, ubi locata noverat signa, doctusque per arcanorum conscios omnes in eius studium consensisse, societate coita nocturna, fide salutis data libenter, admissus constipatione vendibilium militum, cum honore quidem, sed in modum tenebatur obsessi, qui ut praetoriani quondam, post Pertinacis necem licitantem imperii praemia, Iulianum susceperant, ipsi quoque Procopium, infausti dominatus exordia molientem, attenti ad omne compendium defenderunt.

15. Stetit itaque subtabidus—excitum putares ab inferis,—nusquam reperto paludamento, tunica auro distincta, ut regius minister, indutus, a calce in pubem, in paedagogiani pueri speciem, purpureis opertus tegminibus pedum, hastatusque purpureum itidem pannulum laeva manu gestabat, ut in theatrali scaena simulacrum quoddam insigne per aulaeum vel mimicam cavillationem subito putares emersum. 16. Ad hoc igitur dehonestamentum

[1] Anastasia, wife of Bassianus Caesar; according to Zosimus, v. 9, 3, these and the Carosian baths were named from the two daughters of Valens. The other was Carosa, apparently the wife of Procopius, Socrat. iv. 9; Sozom. vi. 9.

[2] I.e. Didius Julianus. The praetorians publicly announced that they would bestow the purple on the man who would pay the highest price. When Sulpicianus, prefect of the city, had promised 25,000 sesterces to each praetorian, Julianus offered 30,000 and won the prize.

[3] The *paedagogium* was the apartment where pages or slaves were trained for service; cf. Pliny, *Epist.* vii. 27, 13, and xxix. 3, 3, below.

foresaid Procopius, full of conflicting emotions, went o the Anastasian Baths, named for the sister of Constantine,[1] where he knew that the legions had heir quarters. There he learned from the con-dants of his secrets that their whole number in meeting by night had united in his support. Then, after a pledge of safety was willingly given im, he was received by the throng of venal soldiers nd treated indeed with honour, although he seemed n a way to be held as a prisoner; for just as once efore, after the death of Pertinax, the praetorians ook up Julianus,[2] when he was a bidder for the mperial power, so now also these troops, with n eye to every possible gain, defended Procopius, s he plotted to enter upon his ill-starred rule.

15. So there he stood rather wasted (you would hink that he had come up from the lower world), nd because a purple robe could nowhere be ound, he was dressed in a gold-embroidered tunic, ike an attendant at court, but from foot to waist he ooked like a page in the service of the palace[3]; he vore purple shoes on his feet, and bore a lance, and small piece of purple cloth in his left hand; just s sometimes on the stage you might think that splendidly decorated figure was suddenly made o appear as the curtain was raised, or through ome mimic deception.[4] 16. Raised in a laughable

[4] The language is far from clear, but the general meaning s that he resembled some grotesque actor in a stage-play r mime; Salvète (see Bibliogr. Note, vol. i.) seems to ake it to be a figure painted on the curtain. In that case "through the curtain" would mean "by the curtain," as

(*Footnote continued on page* 608.

honorum omnium ludibriose sublatus, et ancillari adulatione, beneficii allocutus auctores, opesque pollicitus amplas et dignitates, ob principatus primitias, processit in publicum multitudine stipatus armorum,[1] signisque sublatis erectius ire pergebat, circumclausus horrendo fragore scutorum, lugubre concrepantium, quae metuentes ne a celsioribus tectis, saxis vel tegularum fragmentis conflictaretur,[2] densius ipsis galearum cristis aptabant.

17. Huic intimidius incedenti, nec resistebat populus nec favebat; accendebatur tamen insita plerisque vulgarium, novitatis repentina iucunditate, ea re potius incitante, quod Petronium (ut praediximus) divitias violenter augentem, omnes eadem mente detestabantur, qui sepulta iam dudum negotia, et redivivas nebulas debitorum, in diversos ordines excitabat. 18. Cum itaque tribunal idem escendisset Procopius, et cunctis stupore defixis, timeret[3] silentium triste, procliviorem viam ad mortem (ut sperabat), existimans advenisse, per artus tremore diffuso, implicatior ad loquendum, diu

[1] *armorum*, V; *armatorum*, Gardt. [2] *conflictaretur*, Momm.; *confrictarentur*, V. [3] *timeret*, Her.; *teneretur*, E, Haupt; *teneret*, Momm.; *timeretur*, V.

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it was raised at the end of a performance; cf. Virg., *Georg.* iii. 24 f., *vel scaena ut versis discedat frontibus utque purpurea intexti tollant aulaea Britanni.* The curtain as it rises shows the figure a part at a time and the representation in a mime would be grotesque; Ammianus seems to have combined the two ideas. It is hard to see how *per aulaeum* can mean "behind the curtain," as Büchele takes it, or that a figure on the stage could be seen through the curtain. Yonge omits *per aulaeum* altogether.

manner to this dishonour of all honours,[1] he addressed his supporters with servile flattery, and promised them ample riches and dignities as the first-fruits of his principate. Then he appeared in public, surrounded by a number of armed men, and now advancing with more confidence and with upraised standards, attended with a fearful din of shields mournfully clashing together, which the soldiers from fear of his being pelted from housetops with stones or pieces of tile held closely joined together over the very crests of their helmets.

17. And as he advanced more boldly,[2] the people neither opposed nor favoured him; nevertheless, they were aroused by the sudden charm of novelty which is inborn in most of the commons, and they were still more strongly moved because they one and all (as we have already said) hated Petronius, who was enriching himself by violence, and was reviving transactions that were long since buried, and debts of the misty past brought up again against all classes.[3] 18. Accordingly, when the said Procopius had mounted the tribunal,[4] and all were filled with amazement, fearing the gloomy silence, and believing (as indeed he had expected) that he had merely come to a steeper road to death, since a trembling which pervaded all his limbs hindered his speaking, he stood for a long time without a

[1] One of Ammianus' few word-plays; cf. Sall., *Hist.* i. 55, 22, Maur.; Gell. xii. 9, 3 ff.; Treb. Poll., *Claud.* 5, 4.

[2] Val. takes *intimidius* as equivalent to *timidius*, comparing Vell. ii. 37, 2, *armis infractus*.

[3] See § 7, above.

[4] It was opposite the palace near the Senate House.

tacitus stetit; pauca tamen interrupta et moribunda voce dicere iam exorsus, quibus stirpis propinquitatem imperatoriae praetendebat, leni paucorum susurro, pretio illectorum, deinde tumultuariis succlamationibus plebis, imperator appellatus incondite, petit curiam raptim. Ubi nullo clarissimorum sed ignobilium [1] paucitate inventa, palatium pessimo pede, festinatis passibus introiit.

19. Mirantur quidam profecto irrisione digna principia incaute coepta et temere, ad ingemiscendas erupisse rei publicae clades, ignari forsitan [2] exemplorum, accidisse primitus arbitrantes. 20. Sic Adramytenus Andriscus, de genere quidam infimae sortis, ad usque Pseudophilippi nomen evectus, bellis Macedonicis tertium addidit grave. Sic Antiochiae Macrino imperatore agente, ab Emesa Heliogabalus exsiluit [3] Antoninus. Ita inopino impetu Maximini, Alexander cum Mamaea matre confossus est. Ita [4] in Africa superior Gordianus in imperium raptus, adventantium periculorum angoribus implicatus vitam laqueo spiritu intercluso profundit.

[1] *ignobilium*, Bent.; *ignobili*, BG; *sedigno vilia*, V. [2] *forsitan*, V; *forsan*, vulgo. [3] *exiluit*, Novák; *exivit*, EBG; *exibi tantoninus*, V. [4] *ita*, Clark; *et*, Günther; *est*, V.

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[1] Cf. xiv. 11, 30.
[2] Cf. Lamprid., *Heliog.* i. 5, *Scr. Hist. Aug.* ii. p. 106, note, *L.C.L.*
[3] A city of Apamene, north of Coelesyria.

word. Finally, he began with broken and dying utterance to say a little, justifying his action by his relationship with the imperial family; then at first by the low whispers of a few, who had been hired for the purpose, later by the tumultuous acclamations of the people, he was hailed as emperor in disorderly fashion, and hastily went on to the Senate House. There finding none of the distinguished senators, but only a few persons of low rank, with rapid steps he hastened to the palace and entered it with ill-omened step.

19. Certainly some may wonder that so laughable a reign, rashly and blindly begun, broke out into such lamentable disasters to the state, if perchance they are unacquainted with previous instances, and think that this happened for the first time. 20. It was thus that Andriscus of Adramytium,[1] a man born to the lowest condition, raised himself to the title of a Pseudophilippus and added to the Macedonian wars a third, full of danger. It was thus, when the emperor Macrinus was living at Antioch, that Heliogabalus Antoninus [2] burst forth from Emesa.[3] Thus, by the unexpected uprising of Maximinus, Alexander [4] was murdered with his mother Mamaea. Thus in Africa the elder Gordian was hurried to the throne, but when he found himself entangled in the terror of coming dangers, ended his life with the noose.[5]

[4] Alexander Severus; cf. Jul. Cap., *Max.* 7, 8; and Lamprid., *Alex. Sev.* 61.
[5] Capit., *Gord.* 16, 2; for his cenotaph, see xxiii. 5, 7, above.

7. Procopius Thracias sine sanguine in suam potestatem redigit, et equites peditesque per Thraciam iter facientes, promissis in verba sua adigit, necnon Iovios et Victores, a Valente adversus se missos, sibi oratione iungit.

1. Igitur cuppediarum vilium mercatores, et qui intra regiam apparebant, aut apparere[1] desierant, quique coetu militarium nexi, ad pacatiora iam vitae discesserant, in insoliti casus ambigua, partim inviti, alii volentes, adsciscebantur, non nulli omnia tutiora praesentibus rati, e civitate occulte dilapsi, imperatoris castra petivere, itineribus festinatis.

2. Hos omnes Sophronias vivacissimo cursu praegressus (tunc notarius) praefectus postea Constantinopoleos, Valentem a Caesarea Cappadocum iam profecturum, ut vaporatis aestibus Ciliciae iam lenitis, ad Antiochiae percurreret sedes, textu narrato gestorum, spe dubia (ut in talibus) percitum et stupentem, avertit Galatiam, res adhuc trepidas arrepturum.

3. Qui dum itineribus properat magnis, attentissima cura Procopius in dies agitabatur et[2] noctes, subditivos quosdam ostentans, qui astutia confidenti,

[1] *apparere*, suggested by Gardt.; *parere*, V. [2] *agitabatur et*, Günther; *agitabat et*, Val.; *agitabat noctes*, V.

7. Procopius reduces Thrace under his power without bloodshed. By promises he gains the support of a division of cavalry and infantry, who were marching through Thrace, and by a speech he wins over the Jovii and Victores, who had been sent against him by Valens.

1. Thus the dealers in cheap dainties, the palace ttendants, or those who had once been such, and ormer soldiers who had now retired to a more peaceful node of life, a part unwillingly, others voluntarily, vere induced to participate in the uncertainties of his unusual enterprise.[1] But some, thinking that nything was safer than the present condition, ecretly left the city and went at rapid pace to the mperor's camp.

2. All these were outstripped by the swift course f Sophronias, at that time a secretary and later ity-prefect in Constantinople. He met Valens ust as he was on the point of leaving Caesarea n Cappadocia, in order to go to his residence at Antioch, since the oppressive heat in Cilicia was lready somewhat diminished, and after telling him vhat had happened, induced him, discouraged by his event and amazed, as was natural at such a risis, to go to Galatia, in order to take hold of affairs vhile they were still unsettled.

3. While Valens was hastening on by forced narches, Procopius with strictest attention was usy day and night, and brought forward certain missaries, who with crafty assurance pretended that hey had come, some from the Orient, others from

[1] I.e. to join the new emperor.

partim ab Oriente, alii e Gallis se venisse et Valentinianum obisse fingentes, cuncta patere novo et favorabili principi, memorabant. 4. Et quia res novae petulanter arreptae, celeritate muniri solent interdum, nequid formidandum omitteretur, confestim Nebridius, in locum Saluti praefectus praetorio, factione Petronii recens promotus, et Caesarius Constantinopolitanae urbis praefectus, in vincula compinguntur, et iubetur civitatem curare solita potestate Phronimius,[1] esseque magister officiorum Euphrasius, ambo Galli institutis bonarum artium spectatissimi, et administratio negotiorum castrensium, Gomoario et Agiloni revocatis in sacramentum, committitur inconsulte, ut docuit rerum exitus proditarum.[2] 5. Quia igitur Iulius comes, per Thracias copiis militaribus praesidens, oppressurus rebelles, si comperisset conata, ex propinquis stationibus timebatur, commentum excogitatum est validum, et quasi iussu Valentis, seria super barbaricis motibus tractaturus, Nebridii litteris adhuc clausi violenter expressis, accitus Constantinopolim, strictius tenebatur. Hacque callida fraude bellatrices Thraciae gentes sine cruore acquisitae, adminicula ausis tumultuariis maxima compararunt. 6. Post quae ita eventu laetiore completa, Araxius

[1] *Fronimius*, Her.; *fronemus*, V. [2] *proditarum* Corn.; *proditor*, PBG; *proditar*, V.

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[1] Cf. ch. 10. [2] Cf. 9, 6, 7, below. [3] Cf. xxxi. 16, 8.

;aul, and falsely announced that Valentinian was lead and that everything was open to the new ınd beloved emperor. 4. And because attempts at evolution, even though audaciously begun, are ometimes wont to be strengthened by quick action, ıccordingly, that nothing might be neglected which ould arouse fear, Nebridius, recently promoted to e praetorian prefect in place of Salutius by the arty of Petronius, and Caesarius, prefect of the ity of Constantinople, were thrown into chains. 'hronimius [1] was ordered to take charge of the city rith the usual powers, and Euphrasius was made hief-marshal of the court; both were Gauls, distinuished for their training in the noble arts. The irection of military affairs was entrusted to ;omoarius and Agilo, who were recalled to service –being an unwise appointment, as the result of heir treachery revealed.[2] 5. Therefore because it ras feared that Count Julius,[3] who commanded the ıilitary forces in Thrace, if he should hear of the ttempt, would march from the neighbouring posts ɔ crush the rebels, an effective plan was devised. 'or a letter was extorted by violence from Nebridius, 'ho was still in prison, in which it was preended that by Valens' order Julius was to discuss ɜrious measures relating to the disturbances among ıe barbarians; and so he was summoned to Constantinople and there held in strict confinement. Through ıis clever trick the warlike nations of Thrace were ow won over without bloodshed, and this powerful ıpport was gained by the rebellious venture. . After this had been effected with such happy ıccess, Araxius by soliciting the favour of the

exambita regia praetorio praefectus accessit, velut Agilone genero suffragante, aliique plures ad aulae varios actus et administrandas provincias sunt admissi, quidam inviti, alii ultro semet offerentes cum praemiis. 7. Utique in certaminibus intestinis usu venire contingit, emergebant ex vulgari faece non nulli, desperatione consiliisque ductantibus caecis, contraque quidam orti splendide a culminibus summis ad usque mortes et exsilia corruebant.

8. Ubi per haec et similia factio firmiter videbatur esse composita, restabat ut abundans cogeretur militum manus, et impetratum est facile, id quod in publicis turbamentis, aliquotiens ausa ingentia, vel iustis exorsa primordiis impedivit. 9. Transeuntes ad expeditionem per Thracias, concitatae equitum peditumque turmae, blandeque acceptae et liberaliter, cum essent omnes in unum quaesitae [1] iamque exercitus species apparebat, promissis uberrimis inhiantes, sub exsecrationibus diris in verba iuravere Procopii, hanc polliciti pertinaciam, quod eum suis animis defensabunt. 10. Inventa est enim occasio ad illiciendos [2] eos perquam opportuna, quod Constanti filiam parvulam, cuius recordatio colebatur, sinu ipse circumferens necessitudinem praetendebat eiusdem.[3] Adeptusque est aliud tempori congruum,

[1] *quaesitae*, Kellerbauer (*quae* from *omnesque*, Günther); *omnesque in unum sitae*, V. [2] *illiciendos*, V (*alic-*, V[2]), restored by Clark; *alliciendos*, WAG. [3] *eiusdem*, Her.; *et Iuliani*, G; *et iul* (*nil*, V[3]), V.

ourt became praetorian prefect, under pretext that ie was supported by his son-in-law Agilo; and many others were employed in various services at court or in administrative posts in the provinces, some against their will, others because they offered themelves and paid for the positions. 7. And as commonly happens in times of civil strife, some rose from the dregs of the people, led by desperation or by blind ambitions, while on the other hand some men of distinguished origin fell from their high estate even o death and exile.

8. When through these and like conditions the party seemed firmly established, it remained to muster a sufficient force of soldiers, and a thing which n public disturbances has often times hampered bold enterprises even when their origin was justified, was managed with ease. 9. For some divisions of cavalry and infantry which had been raised for he campaign in Thrace passed that way; they were eceived courteously and generously, and when they were all united in one body,[1] there was already the ppearance of an army. Eager for the riches that were promised, they swore allegiance to Procopius with dire penalties for disloyalty, promising to stand by him and protect him with their lives. 0. There was found, besides, a very favourable means f winning them over, namely, that Procopius took n his arms the little daughter of Constantius, whose memory they honoured, and carried her about, claiming kinship with the former emperor. And

[1] For this sense of *quaesitae in unum* cf. xxix. 1, 23, *uaesitus in unum impiorum hominum globus*, "a united ody of these godless men"; also xv. 7, 7; xvii. 5, 2.

quod Faustina matre puellae, casu praesente, quaedam acceperat habitus insignia principalis. 11. Adiungit his aliud veloci diligentia maturandum, et electi quidam stoliditate praecipites, ad capessendum Illyricum missi sunt, nullo praeter petulantiam adiumento confisi, aureos scilicet nummos, effigiatos in vultum novi principis, aliaque ad illecebras aptantes,[1] quos correptos Aequitius, per eas regiones militum rector, exstinxit genere diverso poenarum. 12. Pariaque deinde metuens, obstruxit tres aditus angustissimos, per quos provinciae temptantur arctoae, unum per Daciam ripensem,[2] alterum per Succos notissimum, tertium per Macedonas, quem appellant Acontisma. Hacque cautela vana persuasione rapiendi Illyrici destitutus usurpator indebitae potestatis magna perdidit instrumenta bellorum.

13. Dum haec ita aguntur, atrocitate nuntii Valens perculsus iamque revertens per Gallograeciam, auditis apud Constantinopolim gestis, diffidenter incedebat et trepide, ac repentino pavore vias providendi turbante, eo usque desponderat animum, ut augustos amictus abicere tamquam gravem sarcinam cogitaret, fecissetque profecto, ni vetantibus proximis, detractus a deformi proposito, firmatusque meliorum sententiis, agmina duo praeire

[1] *apta temptantes*, Her. c.c.; *aptantes*, V. [2] *ripensem Daciam*, tr. by Clark, c.c.

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[1] Dacia was divided by the Danube into Dacia Ripensis on the south and Dacia Mediterranea on the north.
[2] Cf. xxi. 10, 2. [3] Cf. xxvii. 4, 8.

he gained another timely advantage in that Faustina, the girl's mother, happened to be present when he had received some insignia forming a part of the imperial adornment. 11. Also he added another stroke which was to be hastened with swift energy; for certain men chosen for their foolhardy daring were sent to take possession of Illyricum; these set out relying on no other aid than their impudence, using for their purpose goldpieces bearing the image of the new emperor and trying other devices for enticement; but Aequitius, the military commander in those regions, seized them and put them to death in various ways. 12. Then, through fear of similar attempts, Aequitius blockaded the three narrow passes leading to the northern provinces, one through Dacia Ripensis,[1] a second, the best known, through Succi,[2] the third through Macedonia, and called Acontisma.[3] And in consequence of these prudent measures, the usurper of illegitimate power was disappointed in his vain hope of seizing Illyricum and lost a great source of material for the war.

13. While these things were thus going on, Valens, shocked by the terrible news and already returning through Galatia, on hearing what had happened at Constantinople advanced with distrust and fear. His sudden terror made him unfit for all ways of precaution, and his spirit had sunk so low that he even thought of casting aside his imperial robes as a heavy burden; and he would actually have done so, had he not been kept by the remonstrances of his intimates from the shameful intention and given courage by the advice of better men; accordingly, he

iussisset, quibus nomina sunt Iovii atque Victores, castra perduellium irrupturos. 14. His iam propinquantibus, ipse Procopius a Nicaea regressus, quo nuper advenerat, cum Divitensibus desertorumque plebe promiscua, quam dierum brevi [1] spatio congregarat, Mygdum acceleravit, qui locus Sangario alluitur flumine. 15. Ubi cum legiones iam pugnaturae congrederentur, inter reciprocantes missilia quasi procursatione hostem lacessens, solus prorupit in medium. Et secundioris ductu fortunae, ex contraria acie velut agnitum quendam Vitalianum, quem si norat ambigitur, Latine salute data blande produxit, eumque porrecta dextera saviatus omnibus hinc inde attonitis. 16. "En" inquit "cana Romanorum exercituum fides et religionibus firmis iuramenta constricta! Placet, fortissimi viri, pro ignotis tot suorum [2] consurrexisse mucrones, utque Pannonius degener, labefactans cuncta [3] et proterens, imperio quod ne votis quidem concipere ausus est umquam, potiatur, ingemiscere nos vestris nostrisque vulneribus! Quin potius sequimini culminis summi prosapiam, non ut rapiat aliena, sed in integrum maiestatis avitae [4] restituatur, arma iustissima commoventem."

17. Hac sermonis placiditate molliti omnes, qui acriter venerant pugnaturi, signorum apicibus

[1] *brevi*, WA; *fere sex*, G; *urebi*, V. [2] *suorum*, V; *signorum*, Corn.; *potiorum*, Pet. [3] *labefactans cuncta*, G; *alienas res labefactans cunctas*, Pighius; *alis factas cunctas*, V. [4] *ut . . . avitae*, added by G; V omits.

ordered two legions, named the Jovii and the Victores, to go on ahead and attack the rebels in their camp. 14. When these were already approaching, Procopius himself, having returned from Nicaea, to which place he had gone shortly before, with the Divitenses and a promiscuous rabble of deserters which he had got together in a brief space of time, hastened to Mygdus, a place laved by the river Sangarius. 15. There the legions were already advancing upon each other, ready for battle, when Procopius rushed alone between them, while they were exchanging volleys, as if he wished to challenge the enemy. And by a stroke of good fortune as if he recognised in the enemy's lines a certain Vitalianus—whether he actually knew him is a matter of doubt—he saluted him courteously in Latin, and called him forward in a friendly fashion. Then he held out his hand to him and kissed him, to the amazement of all on both sides, and cried out: 16. "So this is the old loyalty of Roman armies and their oaths bound by firm religious rites! Is this your pleasure, my brave men? All this mass of Roman swords uplifted for strangers! That a base Pannonian should shake and trample upon the world, to gain a throne which he never so much as dared to pray for, we groan over your wounds and ours! No, no—follow rather the house of your own royal line, one who has taken up arms with the greatest justice, not in order to seize what is another's, but to restore himself to the possession of his ancestral majesty."

17. Through these calm words, all the men who had come to fight hotly against him were pacified, and willingly went over to his side with the eagles

aquilisque summissis descivere libentes ad eum, et pro terrifico[1] fremitu, quem barbari dicunt barritum, nuncupatum imperatorem, stipatumque de more,[2] consentientes in unum, reduxerunt ad castra, testati more militiae Iovem, invictum Procopium fore.

8. *Nicaea et Chalcedone obsidione liberatis, Bithynia in dicionem Procopii redigitur; et mox, Cyzico expugnato, Hellespontus.*

Huic perduellium prosperitati alia[3] laetior accessit. Rumitalca enim tribunus, in societatem Procopianorum adscitus, et suscepta cura palatii, digesto mature consilio, permeatoque[4] cum militibus mari, ad Drepanum ante,[5] nunc Helenopolim venit, exindeque Nicaeam spe celerius occupavit. 2. Ad quam obsidendam, cum huius modi pugnarum peritis, Vadomario misso, ex duce et rege Alamannorum, Valens Nicomediam pergit. Exindeque profectus, oppugnationi Chalcedonis magnis viribus insistebat, cuius e muris probra in eum iaciebantur, et irrisive[6] compellebatur ut Sabaiarius. Est

[1] *propere terrifico*, Pet.; *perterrifico*, Her., Novák; lac. indic. by Clark; *pro*, without lac., V. [2] *-que de more*, A; *-que idem*, Gardt.; *-que decore*, Novák; *quidem core*, V. [3] *altera* (after *decessit*), added by Momm.; *alia* before *laetior*, Clark, c.c.; V omits. [4] *permeatoque*, Gardt.; *permixtoque*, V. [5] *ante, nunc* H., Her.; *antea nunc* H., G; *anteum celenopolim*, V. [6] *inrisive*, Novák; *iniuriose*, WBG; *iniuria se*, V (*iniuriosa*, V[2]).

[1] The battle-cry, or war-song, of the Gauls and Germans described in xvi. 12, 43; the word seems to be of Germanic origin, but was borrowed, with the battle-cry itself, by the Romans, xxi. 13, 15; xxxi. 7, 11, *quam, gentilitate, barritum vocant*.

and the tips of their standards lowered; and in place of terrible shouts that the barbarians call barritus[1] he was hailed as emperor; all crowded about him in the customary manner, and in harmony escorted him back to the camp, swearing, in the soldiers' manner, by Jupiter that Procopius would be invincible.

8. *After Nicaea and Chalcedon have been freed from siege, Bithynia is brought under the sway of Procopius, and later, by the taking of Cyzicus, Hellespontus also.*

1. To this success of the rebels was added another still happier event. For a tribune called Rumitalca, who had been won over to the party of Procopius and given the charge of the palace, upon a carefully devised plan crossed the sea with his soldiers and came to the place formerly called Drepanum, now Helenopolis,[2] and then with unexpected speed seized Nicaea. 2. To besiege this city Valens sent, besides others skilled in that kind of fighting, Vadomarius, a former general and king of the Alamanni,[3] and went on himself to Nicomedia. Leaving that place, he carried on the siege of Chalcedon with great vigour, from the walls of which city insults were hurled at him and he was derisively addressed as Sabaiarius. Now sabaia is a drink

[2] Named from the mother of Constantine the Great.

[3] Mentioned in xxi. 3, 5, as general in Phoenicia; cf. xxix. 1, 2.

autem sabaia ex ordeo vel frumento, in liquorem conversis, paupertinus in Illyrico potus. 3. Fessus denique inopia commeatuum, et obstinatione nimia defensorum, discedere iam parabat, cum inter haec clausi apud Nicaeam, patefactis subito portis, egressi, munitorum magna parte prostrata, ductore fidentissimo Rumitalca, properabant ardenter circumventuri Valentem a tergo, nondum a Chalcedonos suburbano digressum, et patrassent conata, ni rumore quodam praeverso, imminens exitium ille perdoctus, instantem vestigiis hostem per Sunonensem lacum et fluminis Galli sinuosos amfractus propere discedendo, frustra sequentem lusisset. Et hoc casu Bithynia quoque in[1] Procopii dicionem redacta est.

4. Unde cum Ancyram Valens citis itineribus revertisset, comperissetque Lupicinum ab Oriente cum catervis adventare, non contemnendis, spe prosperorum erectior, Arintheum lectissimum ducem occursurum hostibus misit. 5. Qui ubi Dadastanam tetigit, in qua statione perisse diximus Iovianum, Hyperechium,[2] sibi oppositum, repente

[1] *in*, added by HAG (put after *Procopii* by Brackman); V omits. [2] *Hyperechium*, G; *Hyperethium*, W; *yperechium*, V.

[1] A kind of beer.

[2] Near Nicomedia, mentioned by the geographer Ascanius.

[3] The Gallus is in Phrygia, but nothing is known of its windings. There was, however, a river Drako at Helen-

' the poorer people in Illyricum, a liquor made om barley or some other grain.[1] 3. Finally, worn ıt by scarcity of supplies and the very obstinate ısistance of the defenders, he was already preıring to depart, when those who had meanwhile ɜen blockaded at Nicaea suddenly opened the ıtes and rushed out, and after slaying a great part ' the besiegers, headed by their bold leader, umitalca, hastened eagerly on with the purpose ' surrounding Valens from the rear; for he had not ft the suburb of Chalcedon. And they would have ɜen successful, if the emperor had not from an ırlier rumour learned of the danger that threatened ım, and by a hasty retreat by way of the Sunonian ke[2] and the many windings of the river Gallus[3] ıtwitted the enemy, who were close upon his heels ı vain pursuit. And by this mischance Bithynia ıso fell into the power of Procopius.

4. When Valens had returned thence by rapid ıarches to Ancyra and learned that Lupicinus[4] with force not to be despised was drawing near from the rient, his hopes for better success were aroused, and he ınt his best general Arintheus[5] to attack the enemy. When Arintheus reached Dadastana, the station here, as we have said,[6] Jovian died, he suddenly ıw Hyperechius and his forces opposed to him; he

ɔolis in Bithynia, which in a journey to Bithynia one had ı cross twenty times.

[4] Appointed commander of the infantry (*magister ilitum*) by Jovian in the Orient, probably the man entioned in xx. 1, 2; 4, 3, 9; 9, 9. He did good service ɟainst Procopius and was made consul in the following ɜar.

[5] Cf. xxv. 5, 2; 7, 7. [6] Cf. xxv. 10, 12.

vidit cum copiis, antehac cellae [1] castrensis apparitorem, id est ventris ministrum et gutturis,[2] cui ut amico Procopius auxilia ductanda commisit. Et dedignatus hominem superare certamine despicabilem, auctoritatis et celsi fiducia corporis, ipsis hostibus iussit, suum vincire rectorem: atque ita turmarum antesignanus umbratilis comprensus suorum est [3] manibus.

6. Quae dum hoc modo procedunt, Venustus quidam, largitionum apparitor sub Valente, multo ante Nicomediam missus, ut aurum susceptum stipendii nomine, militibus per Orientem diffusis, viritim tribueret, hac tristitia cognita, alienum pervidens tempus, Cyzicum cum his quae susceperat, se citius contulit. 7. Ubi forte Serenianus repertus, domesticorum tunc comes, missus ad thesauros tuendos, urbem inexsuperabili moenium ambitu, monumentis quoque veteribus cognitam, fretus tumulturio praesidio, custodibat [4]: ad quam expugnandam, Procopius, ut possessa Bithynia, sibi etiam Hellespontum iungeret, validam destinaverat manum. 8. Morabantur autem effectum sagittis et glandibus, ceterisque iaculis, obsidentium saepe globi confixi, et propugnatorum sollertia, claustrum per catenam ferream valde robustam ori portus insertum,[5] quae ne rostratae

[1] *cellae*, Her.; *rectoris*, Gardt.; *recte*, VEBG. [2] *id est . . . gutturis*, del. as a gloss by Val., Eyssen., Corn. [3] *est*, added by Clark, Harmon, c.c.; V omits. [4] *custodibat*, Harmon, c.c.; *costodiebat*, V (corr. by V[2]). [5] *insertum*, vulgo; *insertam*, W[2]BG; *incertam* V.

ıd before been merely in charge of the commander's pplies (that is, a servant of his belly and gullet), ıt Procopius had entrusted him as a friend with e command of a band of auxiliaries. And scorning overcome in battle so despicable a man, relying his authority and his imposing stature, Arintheus dered the enemy themselves to put their leader in ons; and thus this shadow of a commander was ken prisoner by the hands of his own men.

6. While affairs were proceeding in this way, a rtain Venustus, an attendant on the state-treasury der Valens, who had been sent long before to comedia, in order to distribute into the soldiers' nds the money that had been raised for the pay those stationed in various parts of the Orient, aring of this unfortunate occurrence, and seeing at the time was unfavourable for his task, quickly ıde his way to Cyzicus with the money he had ceived. 7. There he chanced to meet Serenianus, that time commander of the household troops, ıo had been sent to protect the treasures there; d since the city had an impregnable circuit of walls, d was known because of its old monuments, he ed to hold it, relying on the hastily formed garrison. ocopius had appointed a strong force to storm at city, in order to join Hellespontus to his le now he held Bithynia. 8. However, the sucss of the work was delayed because often whole ısses of the besiegers were slain by arrows, slingots, and other missiles, and through the skill of garrison the entrance to the port had been rred by a very strong iron chain, which was ıtened to the land on both sides, so that even

irruerent naves hostiles, erat altrinsecus colligata. 9. Hanc post varios militum labores et ducum, fatigatorum acerrimis proeliis, Aliso quidam tribunus abscidit, exsertus[1] bellator et prudens, hoc modo. Coniunctis tribus navigiis, testudinem hac specie superstruxit: densetis cohaerentes supra capita scutis, primi transtris instabant armati, alii post hos semet curvantes humilius, tertiis gradatim inclinatis summisse, ita ut novissimi suffraginibus insidentes, formam aedificii fornicati monstrarent. Quod machinae genus contra murales pugnas ideo figuratur hac specie, ut missilium ictus atque saxorum, per decursus cadentium labiles, instar imbrium evanescant. 10. Itaque coniectu[2] telorum Aliso paulisper defensus, ingenti corporis robore, supposito stipite, eandem catenam fortius bipenni concidens, ita confregit, ut disiecta patefaceret aditum latum, hocque exitu civitas hostili impetu patuit improtecta. Qua causa exstincto postea proterviae totius auctore, cum in factionis participes saeviretur, hic idem tribunus, contemplatione facinoris clari, vitam cum militia retinens, diu post in Isauria oppetit, vastatoria manu confossus.

11. Hoc Marte Cyzico reserata, Procopius ad eam propere festinavit, veniaque universis qui

[1] *exertus*, VB; *exercitiis*, G; *expertus*, Bent.
[2] *a coniectu*, Momm., Pet. *coniectu*, V.

he armoured ships of the enemy could not force heir way in. 9. This chain, after various efforts of he soldiers and their leaders, who were exhausted y the hot fighting, was broken through by a tribune alled Aliso, a distinguished and skilful warrior, in he following manner. He fastened together three oats and built upon them a protective covering fter this fashion: in front stood armed men on he thwarts with their shields held close together ver their heads, those behind them stooped down omewhat lower, and those in the third rank gradually lower still, so that, since the hindermost rested n their hams, the whole gave the appearance of an rched building. This kind of device, used in battles gainst walls, has this form in order that the volleys f missiles and rocks, gliding down the sloping side, nay flow off like showers of rain. 10. Thus Aliso, lefended for the time being from the volleys of nissiles, being a man of great bodily strength, placed block underneath and struck the chain heavy blows vith an axe, breaking it in such a way that it fell part and opened a broad entrance; and by this esult the city was exposed unprotected to the nemy's attack. Because of this, when the ring-leader f the whole rebellion was later killed, and the nembers of his party were cruelly treated, this same ribune, being allowed to keep his life and his position n the army in view of his brilliant exploit, was slain ong afterwards in Isauria at the hands of a preatory band.

11. When Cyzicus had been opened to him by his martial stroke, Procopius quickly hastened to the ty; he pardoned all who had opposed him, except

repugnavere donatis, Serenianum solum iniectis vinculis, iussit duci Nicaeam servandum artissime. 12. Statimque Ormisdae maturo iuveni, Ormisdae regalis illius filio, potestatem proconsulis detulit, et civilia more veterum et bella recturo. Qui agens pro moribus lenius, a militibus quos per devia Phrygiae, miserat Valens, subito corripiendus incursu, tanto vigore evasit, ut escensa navi quam [1] ad casus pararat ancipites, sequentem ac paene captam uxorem, sagittarum nube diffusa defensam, averteret secum: matronam opulentam et nobilem, cuius verecundia et destinatio gloriosa, abruptis postea discriminibus, maritum exemit.

13. Ea victoria ultra homines sese Procopius efferens, et ignorans quod quivis beatus, versa rota Fortunae, ante vesperum potest esse miserrimus, Arbitionis domum, cui antea tamquam eadem sibi sentientis parcebat, ut propriae, iussit exinaniri, mobilis census inaestimabilis plenam, ideo indignatus, quod venire ad eum accitus, aliquotiens distulit, causatus incommoda senectutis, et morbos. 14. Et licet hac ex causa praesumptor momentum pertimesceret grave, tamen, cum obsistente nullo se in orientales provincias effundere libenti cunctorum assensione, iam licentius posset, avidas

[1] *ascensa navi quam*, W[2]; *escensana usquam*, V.

[1] See xvi. 10, 16; xxiv. 1, 2; etc. The text varies in the spelling.

Serenianus alone, who was by his order put in irons and taken to Nicaea to be closely guarded. 12. And immediately afterwards Ormisdas, a mature young man, son of the royal prince of the same name,[1] was given the rank of proconsul, and therewith according to ancient usage the control of civil and military affairs. This man acted with great mildness, in accordance with his disposition, and when he was on the point of being seized by a sudden onset of the soldiers whom Valens had sent through by-paths of Phrygia, he made his escape with such vigorous courage, that he embarked on board a ship which he had got ready in case of danger, and carried off his wife safely amid volleys of arrows when she followed him and was all but taken prisoner; she was a rich and distinguished matron, whose high reputation and commendable firmness later saved her husband amid extreme dangers.

13. By this victory Procopius was elated, beyond what is lawful for mortals, and forgetting that any happy man, if Fortune's wheel turns, may before evening become most wretched, he ordered the house of Arbitio, full of priceless furniture, to be completely stripped. Hitherto he had spared it as if it were his own, believing that the man was on his side; but he had been incensed because he had summoned Arbitio several times to come to him and Arbitio had put him off, pleading the infirmities of age and illness. 14. And although for this reason the usurper feared serious consequences, nevertheless, since he could now boldly invade the oriental provinces without opposition, in fact even with the free consent of all—as those provinces were eager to see any change,

novitatem quandam visere, taedio asperioris imperii, quo tunc tenebantur: erga alliciendas quasdam civitates Asiae legendosque eruendi peritos auri (ut sibi profuturos proeliis, quae magna exspectabat et crebra), segnius commoratus, in modum acuti mucronis obtunsus est. 15. Ut quondam Pescennius Niger, ad subveniendum spei rerum extremae, a Romano populo saepe accitus, dum diu cunctatur in Syria, a Severo[1] superatus in sinu Issico (qui est in Cilicia, ubi Dareum Alexander fudit) fugatusque in suburbano quodam Antiochiae, gregarii manu militis interiit.

9. ***Procopius in Bithynia, in Lycia, et Phrygia a suis desertus, et vivus Valenti traditus, capite truncatur.***

1. Haec adulta hieme Valentiniano et Valente consulibus agebantur. Translato vero in Gratianum, adhuc privatum, et Dagalaifum amplissimo magistratu, aperto iam vere, suscitatis viribus Valens, iuncto sibi Lupicino cum robustis auxiliis, Pessinunta signa propere tulit, Phrygiae quondam, nunc Galatiae oppidum. 2. Quo praesidiis tutius[2] communito, nequid inopinum per eos emergeret tractus, praeter radices Olympi montis excelsi, tramitesque fragosos, ire tendebat ad Lyciam, oscitantem ibi

[1] *Syria a Severo*, Val.; *syria seruere*, V.
[2] *tutius*, Bent.; *totius*, VWB; *ocius*, NG.

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[1] Cf. Herodian, iii. 4, 4 ff. [2] In 365.

from their dislike of the strict rule under which they were then held—for the purpose of winning over some cities of Asia and surrounding himself with men skilled in raising money (as likely to be helpful to him in the numerous great battles which he expected) he slothfully delayed and became blunt, just as a sharp sword might. 15. Exactly so formerly Pescennius Niger,[1] when often summoned by the Roman people to aid them in their expectation of extreme need, while he was delaying a long time in Syria, was defeated by Severus at the Issic Gulf (which is in Cilicia, where Alexander routed Darius), and driven from the field lost his life in a suburb of Antioch at the hands of a common soldier.

9. ***Procopius, deserted by his followers in Bithynia, Lycia, and Phrygia, and delivered alive to Valens, is beheaded.***

1. This is what happened in the mid-winter of the consulship of Valentinian and Valens.[2] But when the highest magistracy passed to Gratianus,[3] who was as yet a private citizen, and to Dagalaifus, after the beginning of spring Valens called forth his troops and joining with him Lupicinus and a strong force of auxiliaries, he hastened to Pessinus,[4] formerly a town of Phrygia, now of Galatia. 2. Having safely garrisoned this place in order to suffer no surprise in those parts, he marched along the foot of the lofty mountain called Olympus,[5] and over rocky paths, towards Lycia, planning to attack Gomoarius, while

[3] Son of Valentinian; he was not yet seven years old.
[4] Cf. xxii. 9, 5. [5] In Galatia.

Gomoarium aggressurus. 3. Cui pertinaci conspiratione multorum, hac maxima consideratione resistebatur, quod hostis eius (ut ante relatum est), Constanti filiam parvulam, cum matre Faustina, et in agminibus et cum prope in acie starent, lectica circumferens secum, ut pro imperiali germine cui se quoque iunctum addebat, pugnarent audentius, iras militum accenderat. Sicut aliquando dimicaturi Macedones cum Illyriis, regem [1] adhuc infantem in cunis locavere post aciem, cuius metu ne traheretur captivus, adversos fortius oppresserunt.

4. Contra has calliditatis argutias, sagaci opitulatione nutanti negotio, consuluit imperator: et Arbitionem ex consule, agentem iam dudum in otio, ad se venire hortatus est, ut Constantiniani ducis verecundia truces animi lenirentur, neque secus evenit. 5. Nam cum omnibus provectior natu, et dignitate sublimior, canitiem reverendam ostenderet, multis ad perfidiam inclinatis, publicum grassatorem Procopium, milites vero secutos eius errorem, filios et laborum participes pristinorum, appellans, orabat, ut se ac si parentem magis sequerentur, felicissimis ductibus cognitum, quam profligato morem gererent nebuloni, destituendo iam et casuro. 6. Quibus cognitis Gomoarius,

[1] *regem*, added in G; *Eropum regem*, sugg. by Clark; V omits.

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[1] Literally, "yawning"; for *oscitantem* in this sense, cf. xviii. 6, 8; Terence, *Andr.* 181; Cic., *De Nat. Deo.* i. 72.

[2] Cf. 7, 10. Faustina, also called Constantia Postuma, who married the emperor Gratianus and was daughter of another Faustina wife of Constantius II. The daughter was born after her father's death.

he loitered there half asleep,[1] 3. But he was met with general and obstinate resistance, for this reason in particular—that his enemy (as has been mentioned) both on the march and when they were almost in battle array, carried about with him in a litter the little daughter[2] of Constantius, and her mother Faustina; and thereby had inflamed the passions of the soldiers to fight more bravely in defence of the imperial stock, with which he claimed that he himself was connected. Just so once the Macedonians, when on the point of engaging with the Illyrians, placed their king, who was still an infant, in his cradle behind the battle line, and from fear that he might be taken prisoner, beat down their adversaries with greater valour.[3]

4. Against this crafty device the emperor aided his wavering cause by a clever expedient; for he urged the ex-consul Arbitio, who had long been in retirement, to come to him, in order that respect due to one of Constantine's generals might calm the savage spirits of the rebels; and so it turned out. 5. For Arbitio, who was older than the rest and of higher rank, showing to many who were inclined to rebellion his venerable gray hair, called Procopius a public brigand, while he pleaded with the soldiers who had followed the usurper's delusion as with his children and comrades in his former labours; and he begged them rather to obey him, as a parent who was known for his successful campaigns, than a profligate wretch who was already on the point of being deserted and was approaching his fall. 6. Gomoarius,

[3] Cf. Justin, vii. 2, 5 ff., who gives the infant king's name as Aëropus; see crit. note.

cum elusis hostibus unde venerat, redire posset innoxius, ad castra imperatoris, opportunitate intervalli proximi nactus [1] captivi colore transivit, velut accursu multitudinis visae subito circumsaeptus.

7. Qua succensus [2] alacritate, Valens castra promovit ad Phrygiam et prope Nacoliam collatis manibus partium, dum in ancipiti articulo proelium versaretur,[3] Agilo rem excursu prodidit repentino, eumque secuti complures, iam pila quatientes et gladios, ad imperatorem transeunt cum vexillis, scuta perversa gestantes, quod defectionis signum est apertissimum.

8. Hoc praeter spem omnium viso Procopius, salutis intercluso suffragio,[4] versus in pedes, circumiectorum nemorum secreta petebat [5] et montium, Florentio sequente et Barchalba tribuno, quem per saevissima bella iam inde a [6] Constanti temporibus notum, necessitas in crimen traxerat, non voluntas. 9. Maiore itaque noctis parte consumpta, cum a vespertino ortu luna praelucens in diem metum augeret, undique facultate evadendi exempta, consiliorum inops Procopius, ut in arduis necessitatibus solet, cum Fortuna expostulabat luctuosa et gravi, mersusque multiformibus curis, subito a comitibus suis artius vinctus, relato iam die, ductus ad castra, imperatori offertur, reticens atque defixus, statimque abscisa cervice, discordiarum civilium

[1] *nactus*, add. Clark; *per opportunitatem*, F. Walter; *opportunitatem teruallí* V (*interualli* V[2]). [2] *succensus*, C, Hadr. Val.; *successus*, V. [3] *dum in . . . versaretur*, Novák; *dum in ancipitia culorum excursus*, V. [4] *suffragio*, EBG; *suffugio*, V, Lind. [5] *petebat*, added by G after *montium*; after *secreta* by Clark; V omits. [6] *a*, EG; V omits.

on learning of this, might have eluded the enemy and returned safely whence he had come; but since the emperor's camp was conveniently near, he went over to it under pretext of being a prisoner, pretending that he had been surrounded by a throng of the enemy who had suddenly appeared.

7. Fired with eagerness at this, Valens marched on to Phrygia, and the two sides had already joined battle near Nacolia, when Agilo at the critical point in the contest turned traitor by suddenly going over to the enemy; then many others followed him who were already brandishing their pikes and swords, and deserted to the emperor with their standards and with their shields reversed, which is the most evident sign of defection.

8. By this sight, unexpected by all, Procopius was bereft of every aid to safety; so he took to flight and sought a hiding-place in the surrounding woods and mountains, followed by Florentius and the tribune Barchalba, who from the time of Constantius had gained fame in the fiercest wars, and had been led to treason by necessity, not by inclination. 9. The greater part of the night had passed. The moon, brightly shining from its evening rise until dawn, increased the fear of Procopius; and since on all sides the opportunity for escape was cut off and he was completely at a loss, he began, as is usual in extreme necessity, to rail at Fortune as cruel and oppressive; and so, overwhelmed as he was by many anxieties, he was suddenly tightly bound by his companions and at daybreak was taken to the camp and handed over to the emperor, silent and terror-stricken. He was at once beheaded, and so put an

gliscentes turbines sepelivit et bella, ad veteris Perpennae exemplum, qui post Sertorium inter epulas obtruncatum, dominatione paulisper potitus, a frutectis ubi latebat, extractus, oblatusque Pompeio, eius iussu est interfectus.

10. Parique indignationis impetu Florentius et Barchalba, qui eum duxerunt, confestim, non pensata ratione, sunt interfecti. Nam si principem legitimum prodidissent, vel ipsa Iustitia iure caesos pronuntiaret; si rebellem et oppugnatorem internae quietis, ut ferebatur, amplas eis memorabilis facti oportuerat deferri mercedes.

11. Excessit autem vita Procopius anno quadragesimo, amplius mensibus decem: corpore non indecoro, nec mediocris staturae, subaquilus,[1] humumque intuendo semper incedens, perque morum tristium latebras, illius similis Crassi, quem in vita semel risisse, Lucilius affirmat et Tullius, sed[2] (quod est mirandum), quoad vixerat, incruentus.

10. *Marcellus protector, eius cognatus, et multi Procopianarum partium supplicio capitis affecti.*

1. Eisdem fere diebus, protector Marcellus, eiusdem cognatus, agens apud Nicaeam praesidium,

[1] *subaquilus*, Her.; *subcurvus*, W[2]AG; *subfusculus*, sugg. by Clark; *subcuitus*, V. [2] *sed*, Bent., Hermann; *set*, Eyssen.; *et*, V.

[1] Perperna is the better form; cf. Liv., *Epit.* 96; Vell. ii. 30, 1; Plutarch, *Sert.* 26, has Perpenna.

end to the rising storm of civil strife and war. His fate was like that of Perpenna[1] of old, who after killing Sertorius at table, for a short time was in possession of the rule, but was dragged from the thickets where he had hidden himself, brought before Pompey, and by his order put to death.

10. In the same heat of resentment Florentius and Barchalba, who had brought Procopius in, were at once put to death without consideration of reason. For if they had betrayed a legitimate prince, even Justice herself would declare that they were justly executed; but if he whom they betrayed was a rebel and a disturber of the public peace, as he was said to be, they ought to have been given great rewards for a noteworthy deed.

11. Procopius departed this life at the age of forty years and ten months. Personally he was a tall man and not bad looking; he was somewhat dark complexioned, and walked with his gaze always fixed on the ground. In his secretive and gloomy nature he was like that Crassus[2] who, as Lucilius and Cicero declare, laughed only once in his life; but the surprising thing is, that throughout all his life he was not stained with bloodshed.

10. *Marcellus, an officer of the Guard, a relative of Procopius, and many adherents of the usurper's party are executed.*

1. At about the same time Marcellus, an officer of the guard and a relative of Procopius, commanding

[2] M. Licinius Crassus; cf. Lucil. 1299, 1300, Marx: *Remains of Old Latin* (*L.O.L.*), III, p. 422; Cic., *De Fin.* v. 30, 92.

proditione militum et interitu Procopii cognito, Serenianum intra palatium clausum, medio noctis horrore incautum adortus, occidit. Cuius mors saluti plurimis fuit. 2. Nam si victoriae superfuisset incultis moribus homo, et nocendi acerbitate conflagrans, Valentique ob similitudinem morum, et genitalis patriae vicinitatem, acceptus, occultas voluntates principis introspiciens, ad crudelitatem propensioris multas innocentium ediderat strages.

3. Quo interfecto, idem Marcellus, occupata celeri cursu Chalcedone, concrepantibus paucis, quos vilitas et desperatio trudebat in scelus, umbram principatus funesti capessit, gemina ratione fallente, quod et Gothorum tria milia regibus iam lenitis, ad auxilium transmissa[1] Procopio, Constantianam praetendenti necessitudinem, ad societatem suam parva mercede traduci posse existimabat, quodque gesta in Illyrico etiam tum latebant.

4. Inter quae tam trepida, speculationibus fidis Aequitius doctus, conversam molem belli totius in Asiam, degressus per Succos, Philippopolim clausam praesidiis hostium, Eumolpiadam veterem, reserare magna vi conabatur, urbem admodum opportunam et impedituram eius appetitus, si pone relicta adiumenta Valenti laturus (nondum enim apud Nacoliam

[1] *transmissa*, Pet.; *erant missa*, V.

[1] Cf. 8, 11. [2] Zosimus, iv. 7, says 10,000.
[3] Cf. xxii. 2, 2.
[4] A place on Mt. Haemus.

:he garrison at Nicaea and learning of the betrayal)f the usurper by the soldiers and his consequent leath, at the fearful hour of midnight unexpectedly ıttacked Serenianus, who was imprisoned within :he palace,[1] and killed him; and his death saved :he lives of many. 2. For if this man of rude nature,)urning with a cruel desire to hurt, had survived :he victory, being dear to Valens because of their ikeness of character and their common fatherland, ınd well aware of the secret wishes of a prince in:lined to cruelty, he would have caused the death)f many innocent people.

3. After killing Serenianus, Marcellus quickly got)ossession of Chalcedon, and, supported by the :heers of a few, whom their worthlessness and des)eration drove to crime, seized the shadow of a 'atal principate. He was deceived by two ideas, first)ecause the kings of the Goths, who had now been onciliated, had sent three thousand men[2] to the id of Procopius, led by his show of relationship to :onstantius, and Marcellus thought that these men ould for a small sum be brought over to his side; nd secondly, because he had not yet learned what .ad happened in Illyricum.

4. In the midst of this great confusion Aequitius, 'ho had learned from trustworthy sources that the 'hole burden of the war had been transferred to .sia, marched through the pass of Succi and with ll his might tried to open Philippopolis, formerly :umolpias,[3] which had been closed by the enemy's arrison; for that city was very favourably situated nd, if left in his rear, could hinder his attempt, if he ıould be compelled to hasten to Haemimontus[4]

gesta compererat), festinare ad Haemimontum[1] cogeretur. 5. Verum paulo postea cognita levi praesumptione Marcelli, milites missi sunt audaces et prompti, qui eum raptum, ut deditum noxae mancipium, in custodiam compegerunt. Unde post dies paucos[2] productus, lateribus sulcatis acerrime, pariaque perpessis consortibus, interiit,[3] hoc favorabilis solo quod abstulit Serenianum e medio, crudelem ut Phalarim, et illi[4] fidum quia[5] doctrinarum diritatem causis inanibus praetexebat.

6. Exstirpatis occasu ducis funeribus belli, saevitum est in multos acrius quam errata flagitaverant vel delicta, maximeque in Philippopoleos defensores, qui urbem seque ipsos, non nisi capite viso Procopii, quod ad Gallias portabatur, aegerrime dediderunt. 7. Ad gratiam tamen precantium, coerciti sunt aliqui lenius. Inter quos eminebat Araxius, in ipso rerum exustarum ardore adeptus ambitu praefecturam, et Agilone intercedente genero supplicio insulari multatus, breve post tempus evasit. 8. Euphrasius vero, itemque Phronimius, missi ad occiduas partes, arbitrio obiecti sunt Valentiniani, et absoluto Euphrasio, Phronimius Cherronesum

[1] *Aemimontum*, G; *eam montum*, V. [2] *post dies paucos*, Pet.; *postridie*, G; *post dies*, V. [3] *interiit*, G in b; *inter*, V. [4] *et illi*, Eyssen.; *falari mille et ille*, V. [5] *quia*, Her., who thought, c.c., that *in primis*, or something similar, had been lost before *quia*; *a*, V.

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[1] See xxvi. 9, 7, above.
[2] Ammianus apparently refers to magic and prophecy, to which Serenianus was given (cf. xiv. 7, 7, 8; 11, 23).
[3] Marcellus. [4] Cf. 7, 6, above.

in order to bring reinforcements to Valens; for he had not yet learned what had happened at Nacolia.[1] 5. But learning a little later of the vain presumption of Marcellus, he at once sent bold and active soldiers who seized him and imprisoned him as a guilty slave. A few days later the usurper was brought out, his body was soundly scourged, and after his accomplices had been similarly treated, he was put to death: a man who deserves credit only for making away with Serenianus, who was cruel as Phalaris, and loyal to Procopius because of the accursed science which for vain reasons he pretended to have.[2]

6. Through the death of the leader[3] the horrors of war were rooted out; but many were punished more severely than their errors or faults demanded, especially the defenders of Philippopolis, who surrendered the city and themselves most reluctantly, and only when they saw the head of Procopius, which was being taken to Gaul. 7. Some, however, through the influence of those who interceded for them, were treated more leniently, among them notably Araxius, who in the very heat of the conflagration had solicited and gained the prefecture;[4] he, through the intercession of his son-in-law Agilo, was deported to an island, but soon afterwards made his escape. 8. Euphrasius, however, and also Phronimius were sent to the west and left to the decision of Valentinian.[5] Euphrasius was pardoned, but Phronimius was banished to the Chersonesus,[6]

[5] They were Gauls; cf. 7, 4, above.
[6] The Tauric Chersonesus.

deportatur, inclementius in eodem punitus negotio, ea re quod divo Iuliano fuit acceptus, cuius memorandis virtutibus, ambo fratres principes obtrectabant, nec similes eius, nec suppares.

9. His accedebant alia graviora, et multo magis quam in proeliis formidanda. Carnifex enim, et unci, et cruentae quaestiones, sine discrimine ullo aetatum et dignitatum, per fortunas omnes et ordines grassabantur, et pacis obtentu latrocinium[1] detestandum agitabatur, infaustam victoriam exsecrantibus universis internecivo bello quovis graviorem. 10. Nam inter arma et lituos condicionis aequatio leviora facit pericula, et Martiae virtutis potestas, aut absumit quod[2] occupat, aut nobilitat, et[3] mors (si acciderit), nullum ignominiae continet sensum, finemque secum vivendi simul et dolendi perducit: ubi vero consiliis impiis iura quidem praetenduntur et leges, et Catonianae vel Cassianae sententiae fuco perliti residerint[4] iudices, agatur autem, quod agitur, ad voluntatem praetumidae potestatis, et ex eius libidine, incidentium[5] vitae necisque momenta pensantur, ibi capitalis vertitur pernicies et abrupta. 11. Nam ut quisque ea tempestate ob quamlibet valuerat[6] causam, regio imperio[7] prope[8] accedens, et aliena rapiendi

[1] *obtentu latrocinium*, Novák; *obtentuitum*, V. [2] *absumit quod*, Novák; *ausum id quod*, V. [3] *nobilitat et*, Novák (*nobilitat*, Momm.); *nobilitate et*, V. [4] *residerint*, Her.; *resident*, G; *residerendi*, V. [5] *incidentium*, V, restored by Clark (cf. xix. 12, 13); *incedentium*, G. [6] *valuerit*, V; *voluerit*, vulgo, Momm. [7] *imperio*, added by Her.; V omits. [8] *prope*, V; *propere*, vulgo.

receiving a severer punishment for the same offence because he had been well regarded by the deified Julian, whose noteworthy merits both the imperial brothers[1] depreciated, without being his equal or anywhere near it.

9. To these events were added other more serious matters, far more to be feared than those of wartime. For executioner, instruments of torture, and bloody inquisitions raged without any distinction of age or of rank through all classes and orders, and under the mantle of peace[2] abominable robbery was carried on, while all cursed the ill-omened victory, which was worse than any war, however destructive. 10. For amid arms and clarions, equality of condition makes dangers lighter; the force of martial valour either destroys what it attacks, or ennobles it; and death (if it comes) is attended with no sense of shame and brings with it at once an end of life and of suffering. But when the laws and statutes are pretexts for impious designs, and judges take their seats in false imitation of the character of a Cato or a Cassius,[3] but everything is decided according to the will of men of swollen powers, and by their caprice the question of the life or death of all those who come before them is weighed, then, destruction results that is deadly and sudden. 11. For when any one at that time had become powerful for any reason, and having almost royal authority and being

[1] Valentinian and Valens.

[2] Implying that in time of war the laws were suspended.

[3] See xxii. 9, 9, note; and cf. Cic. *In Verr.* ii. 3, 62, 146 *non quaero iudices Cassianos, veterem iudiciorum severitatem non requiro.*

aviditate exustus, licet aperte insontem, arcessens, ut familiaris suscipiebatur et fidus, ditandus casibus alienis. 12. Imperator enim promptior ad nocendum, criminantibus patens, et funereas delationes adsciscens, per suppliciorum diversitates effrenatius exsultavit, sententiae illius Tullianae ignarus, docentis infelices esse eos qui omnia sibi licere existimarunt. 13. Haec implacabilitas causae quidem piissimae, sed victoriae foedioris, innocentes tortoribus exposuit multos, vel sub eculeo locavit [1] incurvos, aut ictu carnificis torvi substravit: quibus (si pateretur natura), vel denas animas profundere praestabat in pugna, quam lateribus fodicatis, omni culpa immunis, fortunis gementibus universis, quasi laesae maiestatis luere poenas, dilaniatis ante corporibus, quod omni est tristius morte. 14. Exin cum superata luctibus ferocia deflagrasset, proscriptiones et exsilia et quae leviora quibusdam videntur, quamquam sint aspera, viri pertulere summates, et (ut ditaretur alius) genere nobilis, et forte

[1] *locavit*, Novák; *capitis*, B; *capite statuit*, Her.; *capit*, V.

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[1] Of the emperor. The text and exact meaning are uncertain, although the general sense is clear; *regio imperio prope accedens* can hardly mean "having access to the court," or "hastening to the court," as the vulgate reading *regiae prope accedens* did.

[2] Cf. Cic., *De Off.* ii. 8, 27, of Julius Caesar, *ergo in illo secuta est honestam causam non honesta victoria*.

[3] With *sub eculeo locavit incurvos* cf. xxviii. 1, 19, *quamquam incurvus sub eculeo staret*. In both passages *sub eculeo* is to be taken with the adjective (*incurvos*), which is proleptic, meaning "under (the torture of) the

consumed with longing to seize the goods of others, accused some clearly guiltless person, he was welcomed as an intimate and loyal friend,[1] who was to be enriched by the ruin of other men. 12. For the emperor, rather inclined himself to do injury, lent his ear to accusers, listened to death-dealing denunciations, and took unbridled joy in various kinds of executions; unaware of that saying of Cicero's which asserts that those are unlucky who think that they have power to do anything they wish. 13. This implacability in a cause which was most just, but where victory brought shame,[2] delivered many innocent victims to the torturers, either placing them on the rack until they were bowed down [3] or exposing them to the sword-stroke of a cruel executioner. It would have been better for them (if nature allowed it), to lose even ten lives in battle, rather than though free from all blame, with lacerated sides, amid general groans to suffer punishment for alleged treason, with their bodies first mutilated, a thing which is more awful than any death. 14. When finally ferocity was overcome by the grief that it caused, and had burnt itself out, the most distinguished men suffered proscription, exile, and other punishments which seem lighter to some, terrible though they are; and in order that another might be enriched, a man of noble birth and perhaps richer in

rack." It cannot be taken *literally* with *locavit* and *staret*, since the *eculeus* was a wooden instrument shaped somewhat like a horse (*ecus, equus*) *on* which the victim was placed with weights on his feet. There he might also be flogged or tortured in other ways. Though commonly translated "rack," the *eculeus* was not like the mediaeval rack.

meritis locupletior, actus patrimonio praeceps, trususque in exsilium consumebatur angore, aut stipe precaria victitabat, nec modus ullus exitialibus malis impositus, quam diu principem et proximos opum satietas cepit et caedis.

15. Hoc novatore adhuc superstite, cuius actus multiplices docuimus et interitum, diem duodecimum Kalendas Augustas, consule Valentiniano primum cum fratre, horrendi terrores[1] per omnem orbis ambitum grassati sunt subito, qualis nec fabulae nec veridicae nobis antiquitates exponunt. 16. Paulo enim post lucis exortum, densitate praevia fulgurum acrius vibratorum, tremefacta concutitur omnis terreni stabilitas ponderis, mareque dispulsum, retro fluctibus evolutis abscessit, ut retecta voragine profundorum, species natantium multiformes limo cernerentur haerentes, valliumque vastitates et montium tunc (ut opinari dabatur), suspicerent radios solis, quos[2] primigenia rerum natura[3] sub immensis gurgitibus amendavit. 17. Multis igitur navibus velut arida humo conexis, et licenter per exiguas undarum reliquias palantibus plurimis, ut pisces manibus colligerent et similia: marini fremitus velut gravati repulsam, versa vice consurgunt, perque vada ferventia insulis et continentis terrae porrectis spatiis violenter illisi, innumera quaedam in civitatibus, et ubi reperta sunt aedificia, complanarunt: proinde ut elementorum

[1] *terrore*, N[2], vulgo; *tremores*, BG (but cf. xvii. 7, 12); *erroris*, V. [2] *quas*, Pet.; *quos*, V. [3] *rerum natura*, Novák, Momm.; *rerum*, V.

deserts was deprived of his patrimony and driven headlong into banishment, there to waste away from sorrow, or to support his life by beggary; and no limit was set to the deadly cruelties, until the emperor and his nearest friends were glutted with wealth and bloodshed.

15. While that usurper[1] of whose many deeds and his death we have told, still survived, on the twenty-first of July in the first consulship of Valentinian with his brother,[2] horrible phenomena suddenly spread through the entire extent of the world, such as are related to us neither in fable nor in truthful history. 16. For a little after daybreak, preceded by heavy and repeated thunder and lightning, the whole of the firm and solid earth was shaken and trembled, the sea with its rolling waves was driven back and withdrew from the land, so that in the abyss of the deep thus revealed men saw many kinds of sea-creatures stuck fast in the slime; and vast mountains and deep valleys, which Nature, the creator, had hidden in the unplumbed depths, then, as one might well believe, first saw the beams of the sun. 17. Hence, many ships were stranded as if on dry land, and since many men roamed about without fear in the little that remained of the waters, to gather fish and similar things[3] with their hands, the roaring sea, resenting, as it were, this forced retreat, rose in its turn; and over the boiling shoals it dashed mightily upon islands and broad stretches of the mainland, and levelled innumerable buildings in the cities and wherever else they were found; so that amid the mad discord of the elements the

[1] Procopius. [2] 365. [3] E.g. shells.

furente discordia, involuta facies mundi, miraculorum species ostendebat. 18. Relapsa enim aequorum magnitudo cum minime speraretur, milia multa necavit hominum et submersit, recurrentiumque aestuum incitata vertigine, quaedam naves, postquam umentis substantiae consenuit tumor, pessumdatae visae sunt, exanimataque naufragiis corpora supina iacebant aut prona. 19. Ingentes aliae naves, extrusae rabidis flatibus, culminibus insedere tectorum (ut Alexandriae contigit) et ad secundum lapidem fere procul a litore contortae sunt aliquae, ut Laconicam prope Mothonen oppidum nos transeundo conspeximus, diuturna carie fatiscentem.

altered face of the earth revealed marvellous sights. 18. For the great mass of waters, returning when it was least expected, killed many thousands of men by drowning; and by the swift recoil of the eddying tides a number of ships, after the swelling of the wet element subsided, were seen to have foundered, and the lifeless bodies of shipwrecked persons lay floating on their backs or on their faces.[1] 19. Other great ships, driven by the mad blasts, landed on the tops of buildings (as happened at Alexandria), and some were driven almost two miles inland, like a Laconian ship which I myself in passing that way saw near the town of Mothone,[2] yawning[3] apart through long decay.

[1] Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* vii. 77: *observatum est . . . virorum cadavera supina fluitare, feminarum prona, velut pudori defunctarum parcente natura.*

[2] Called Methone by Thucydides, ii. 25. It was in the southern part of Messenia. There was another Methone in Magnesia.

[3] Cf. Virg., *Aen.* i. 123, *rimisque fatiscunt.*

INDEX.[1]

[1] Historical, geographical, and mythological names which appear for the first time in Vol. II and those in Vol. I which are repeated in Vol. II. Preceding figures (e.g. 1. Aegyptus, 2. Aegyptus) indicate repetitions of similar names. Superior figures (e.g. Abora [1]) refer to the Index of the volume in which the name is defined or fuller details are given. Full notes on the more important persons and places are given in Index I. Vol. III.

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